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# The Forum

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SEPTEMBER, 1895.

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## THE ENFORCEMENT OF LAW.

THE question at issue in New York city just at present is much more important than the question of a more or less liberal Sunday excise law. The question is as to whether public officials are to be true to their oaths of office, and see that the law is administered in good faith. The Police Board stands squarely in favor of the honest enforcement of the law. Our opponents of every grade and of every shade of political belief take the position that government officials, who have sworn to enforce the law, shall violate their oaths whenever they think it will please a sufficient number of the public to make the violation worth while. It seems almost incredible that in such a controversy it should be necessary to do more than state in precise terms both propositions. Yet it evidently is necessary. Not only have the wealthy brewers and liquor-sellers, whose illegal business was interfered with, venomously attacked the Commissioners for enforcing the law; but they have been joined by the major portion of the New York press and by the very large mass of voters who put the gratification of appetite above all law. These men have not dared to meet the issue squarely and fairly. They have tried to befog it and to raise false issues. They have especially sought to change the fight from the simple principle of the enforcement of law into a contest as to the extent of the restrictions which should properly be placed on the sale of liquors. They do not deny that we have enforced the law with fairness and impartiality, but they insist that we ought to connive at law-breaking.

Very many friends of the reform movement, and very many politicians of the party to which I belong, have become frightened at the issue thus raised; and the great bulk of the machine leaders of the Democracy profess to be exultant at it, and to see in it a chance for securing their own return to power. Senator Hill and Tammany in particular have loudly welcomed the contest. On the other hand certain Republican politicians, and certain Republican newspapers, have contended that our action in honestly doing our duty as public officers of the municipality of New York will jeopardize the success of the Republican party, with which I, the President of the Board, am identified. The implication is that for the sake of the Republican party, a party of which I am a very earnest member, I should violate my oath of office and connive at law-breaking. To this I can only answer that I am far too good a Republican to be willing to believe that the honest enforcement of law by a Republican can redound to the discredit of the party to which he belongs. This applies as much to the weak-kneed municipal reformers who fear that we have hurt the cause of municipal reform, as it does to the Republicans. I am not an impractical theorist; I am a practical politician. But I do not believe that practical politics and foul politics are necessarily synonymous terms. I never expect to get absolute perfection; and I have small sympathy with those people who are always destroying good men and good causes because they are not the best of all possible men and all possible causes; but on a naked issue of right and wrong, such as the performance or non-performance of one's official duty, it is not possible to compromise. Indeed, according to the way we present Commissioners feel, we have nothing to do with Republicanism or Democracy in the administration of the police force of the city of New York. Personally, I think I can best serve the Republican party by taking the police force absolutely out of politics. Our duty is to preserve order, to protect life and property, to arrest criminals, and to secure honest elections. In striving to attain these ends we recognize no party; we pay no heed to any man's political predilections, whether he is within or without the police force. In the past, "politics," in the base sense of the term, has been the curse of the police force of New York; and the present Board has done away with such politics.

The position of Senator Hill and the Tammany leaders, when reduced to its simplest terms, is merely the expression of the conviction that it does not pay to be honest. They believe that advocacy of law-



breaking is a good card before the people. As one of their newspapers frankly put it, the machine Democratic leaders intend to bid for the support of the voters on the ground that their party "will not enforce laws" which are distasteful to any considerable section of the public. Senator Hill declaims against the Board because it honestly enforces the law which was put on the statute-book but three years ago by his legislature and his governor (for he owned them both). This is of course a mere frank avowal that Senator Hill and the Democratic leaders who think with him believe that a majority in the State can be built up out of the combined votes of the dishonest men, the stupid men, the timid weaklings, and the men who put appetite above principle,—who declare, in the language of Scripture, that their god is their belly, and who rank every consideration of honor, justice, and public morality below the gratification of their desire to drink beer at times when it is prohibited by law.

When such are the fears of our friends and the hopes of our foes, it is worth while briefly to state exactly what the condition of affairs was when the present Board of Police Commissioners in New York took office, and what that course of conduct was which has caused such violent excitement. The task is simple. On entering office we found,—what indeed had long been a matter of common notoriety,—that various laws, and notably the excise law, were enforced rigidly against people who had no political pull, but were not enforced at all against the men who had a political pull, or who possessed sufficient means to buy off the high officials who controlled, or had influence in, the Police Department. All that we did was to enforce these laws, not against some wrong-doers, but honestly and impartially against all wrong-doers. We did not resurrect dead laws; we did not start a crusade to enforce blue laws. All that we did was to take a law which was very much alive, but which had been used only for purposes of blackmail, and to do away entirely with the blackmail feature by enforcing it equitably as regards all persons. Looked at soberly, this scarcely seems a revolutionary proceeding; and still less does it seem like one which needs an elaborate justification.

In an authorized interview with Mr. J. P. Smith, the editor of the "Wine and Spirit Gazette," the position of the former Police Board—and of Senator Hill and his political allies as well—toward the enforcement of the excise law has been set forth with such clearness that I cannot do better than quote it. Mr. Smith's statement appeared on July 18 last. No attempt whatever has been

made to controvert its truth, and it may be accepted as absolute. What makes it all the more important is that it was evidently made, not at all as an attack upon the persons implicated, but as a mere statement of fact to explain certain actions of the liquor-sellers in the past. The interview runs in part as follows:

"Governor Flower, as well as the Legislature of 1892, was elected upon distinct pledges that relief would be given by the Democratic party to the liquor-dealers, especially of the cities of the State. In accordance with this promise a Sunday-opening clause was inserted in the excise bill of 1892. Governor Flower then said that he could not approve the Sunday-opening clause; whereupon the Liquor Dealers' Association, which had charge of the bill, struck the Sunday-opening clause out. After Governor Hill had been elected for the second term I had several interviews with him on that very subject. He told me, 'Do you know, I am the friend of the liquor-dealers and will go to almost any length to help them and give them relief; but do not ask me to recommend to the Legislature the passage of the law opening the saloons on Sunday. I cannot do it, for it will ruin the Democratic party in the State.' He gave the same interview to various members of the State Liquor Dealers' Association, who waited upon him for the purpose of getting relief from the blackmail of the police, stating that the lack of having the Sunday question properly regulated was at the bottom of the trouble. Blackmail had been brought to such a state of perfection, and had become so oppressive to the liquor-dealers themselves, that they communicated first with Governor Hill and then with Mr. Croker. The 'Wine and Spirit Gazette' had taken up the subject because of gross discrimination made by the police in the enforcement of the Sunday-closing law. The paper again and again called upon the Police Commissioners to either uniformly enforce the law or uniformly disregard it. A committee of the Central Association of Liquor Dealers of this city then took up the matter and called upon Police Commissioner Martin. *An agreement was then made between the leaders of Tammany Hall and the liquor-dealers, according to which the monthly blackmail paid to the police should be discontinued in return for political support.* In other words, the retail dealers should bind themselves to solidly support the Tammany ticket in consideration of the discontinuance of the monthly blackmail by the police. This agreement was carried out. Now what was the consequence? If the liquor-dealer, after the monthly blackmail ceased, showed any signs of independence, the Tammany Hall district leader would give the tip to the police captain, and that man would be pulled and arrested on the following Sunday."

Continuing, Mr. Smith inveighs against the law, but says:—

"The Police Commissioners [the present Police Commissioners] are honestly endeavoring to have the law impartially carried out. They are no respecters of persons. And our information from all classes of liquor-dealers is that the rich and the poor, the influential and the uninfluential, are required equally to obey the law."

I call particular attention to the portion of the interview which I have italicized above. It shows conclusively that the Sunday-closing feature was deliberately left in by Senator Hill and his aides because they did not believe they could afford to strike it out. It is idle



to talk of a provision thus embodied in statute law as being a dead letter. Still more idle is it to talk of a law as "antiquated" when it was enacted only three years ago.

Mr. Smith's statement shows moreover that Tammany heartily approved of keeping the law in its present condition because, by so doing, they kept a sword suspended over the neck of every recalcitrant saloon-keeper. The law was never dead at all. It was very much alive. We revived it only in the sense that we revived the forgotten habit of administering it with decency and impartiality.

To show the nonsense of the talk that it was obsolete or a dead letter, I call attention to the following figures. In the year 1893, 4,063 arrests were made in New York city for violation of the excise law on Sunday. This represented a falling off from previous years. In 1888, for instance, the arrests had numbered 5,830. In 1894, the year before we took office, when the Tammany Board still had absolute power, the arrests rose to 8,464. On Sunday, September 30 of that year, they numbered 233; on October 14, 230; on the following January 13, they rose to 254. During the time that the present Board has been enforcing the law the top number of arrests which we have reached was but 223, a much smaller number than was reached again and again under the old *régime*. Nevertheless by our arrests we actually closed the saloons, for we arrested men indiscriminately, and indeed paid particular attention to the worst offenders,—the rich saloon-keepers with a pull; whereas under the old system the worst men were never touched at all, and all of them understood well that any display of energy by the police was merely spasmodic and done with some special purpose; so that always, after one or two dry Sundays, affairs were allowed to go back to their former condition. The real difference, the immense, the immeasurable difference between the old and the new methods of enforcing the law, is not one of severity, but of honesty. The old Tammany Board was as ruthless in closing the saloons where the owners had no pull, as we are in closing all saloons whether the owners have or have not a pull.

The corrupt and partial enforcement of the law under Tammany turned it into a gigantic implement for blackmailing a portion of the liquor-sellers, and for the wholesale corruption of the Police Department. The high Tammany officials, and the police captains and patrolmen, blackmailed and bullied the small liquor-sellers without a pull and turned them into abject slaves of Tammany Hall. On the other hand, the wealthy and politically influential liquor-sellers



absolutely controlled the police, and made or marred captains, sergeants, and patrolmen at their pleasure. Many causes have tended to corrupt the police administration of New York, but no one cause was so potent as this.

In the foregoing interview the really startling feature is the matter-of-fact way in which Mr. Smith records his conference with the President of the Police Board, and the agreement by which the system of blackmail was commuted in view of faithful political service to be hereafter tendered to Tammany Hall. It is hard seriously to discuss the arguments of people who wish us to stop enforcing the law, when they must know, if they are capable of thinking and willing to think, that only by the rigid and impartial enforcement of the law is it possible to cut out from the body politic this festering sore of political corruption. It was not a case for the use of salves and ointments. There was need of merciless use of the knife.

When we entered office the law was really enforced at the will of the police officials. In some precincts most of the saloons were closed; in others almost all were open. In general, the poor man without political influence and without money had to shut up, while his rich rival who possessed a "pull" was never molested. Half of the liquor-sellers were allowed to violate the law. Half of them were not allowed to violate it. Under the circumstances we had one of two courses to follow. We could either instruct the police to allow all the saloon-keepers to become law-breakers, or else we could instruct them to stop all law-breaking. It is unnecessary to say that the latter course was the only one possible to officials who had respect for their oaths of office.

The clamor that followed our action was deafening; and it was also rather amusing in view of the fact that all we had done was to perform our obvious duty. At the outset the one invariable statement with which we were met was that we could not enforce the law. A hundred—aye, a thousand—times we were told by big politicians, by newspapers, by private individuals, that the excise law could not be enforced; that Mayor Hewitt had tried it and failed; that Superintendent Byrnes had tried it and failed; that nobody could succeed in such a task. Well, the answer is simple. We *have* enforced the law, so far. It is very badly drawn, so as to make it extremely difficult of enforcement; and some of the officials outside the Police Department hamper instead of aiding the police in their efforts to enforce it. However, we understand well that we must do the best

we can with the tools actually at hand, if we cannot have the tools we wish. We cannot stop all illegal drinking on Sunday, any more than we can stop all theft; but so far we have succeeded in securing a substantial compliance with the law.

The next move of our opponents was to adopt the opposite tack, and to shriek that, in devoting our attention to enforcing the excise Law, we were neglecting all other laws; and that in consequence crime was on the increase. We met this by publishing the comparative statistics of the felonies committed, and of the felons arrested, under our administration and under the previous administration. These showed that for a like period of time about one felony less a day occurred under our administration, while the number of arrests for felonies increased at the rate of nearly one a day. During our term of service fewer crimes were committed and more criminals were arrested. In the Sunday arrests for intoxication, and for disorderly conduct resulting from intoxication, the difference was more striking. Thus in the four Sundays of April, 1895, the last month of the old *régime*, there were 341 arrests on charges of intoxication and of being drunk and disorderly. For the four Sundays beginning with June 30,—the first day that we were able to rigidly enforce our policy of closing the saloons,—the corresponding number of arrests was but 196. We put a stop to nearly half the violent drunkenness of the city.

The next argument advanced was that Americans of German origin demanded beer on Sundays, and that the popular sentiment was with them and must be heeded. To this we could only answer that we recognized popular sentiment only when embodied in law. To their discredit be it said, many men, who were themselves public officials, actually advocated our conniving at the violation of the law on this ground,—of the alleged hostility of local sentiment. They took the view that as the law was passed by the State, for the entire State including the city, and was not (as they contended) upheld by public sentiment in the city, the officers of the law who are sworn to enforce it should connive at its violation. Such reasoning would justify any community in ignoring any law to which it objected. The income-tax law was passed through Congress by the votes of the Southerners and Westerners, but it was collected (prior to the time it was declared to be unconstitutional) mainly in the Northeast. Any argument which would justify us in refusing to obey the excise law in New York would justify the whole Northeast in refusing to obey the income-tax law.



The spirit shown by the men and the newspapers who denounce us for enforcing the law is simply one manifestation of the feeling which brings about and is responsible for lynchings, and for all the varieties of Whitecap outrages. The men who head a lynching party, and the officers who fail to protect criminals threatened with lynching, always advance, as their excuse, that public sentiment sanctions their action. The chief offenders often insist that they have taken such summary action because they fear lest the law be not enforced against the offender. In other words, they put public sentiment ahead of law in the first place; and in the second they offer, as a partial excuse for so doing, the fact that too often laws are not enforced by the men elected or appointed to enforce them. The only possible outcome of such an attitude is lawlessness, which gradually grows until it becomes mere anarchy. The one all-important element in good citizenship in our country is obedience to law. The greatest crimes that can be committed against our government are to put on the statute books, or to allow to remain there, laws that are not meant to be enforced, and to fail to enforce the laws that exist.

Mr. Jacob A. Riis, in a recent article, has put this in words so excellent that I cannot refrain from quoting them:

"That laws are made to break, not to obey, is a fact of which the street takes early notice, and shapes its conduct accordingly. Respect for the law is not going to spring from disregard of it. The boy who smokes his cigarette openly in defiance of one law, carries the growler early and late on week-days in defiance of another, and on Sunday of a third; observes fourteen saloons clustering about the door of his school in contempt of a fourth which expressly forbids their being there; plays hookey secure from arrest because nobody thinks of enforcing the compulsory education law; or slaves in the sweat-shop under a perjured age-certificate bought for a quarter of a perjured notary; and so on to the end of the long register, while a shoal of offensive ordinances prohibit him from flying a kite, tossing a ball, or romping on the grass, where there is any,—cannot be expected to grow up with a very exalted idea of law and order. The indifference or hypocrisy that makes dead letters of so many of our laws is one of the constantly active feeders of our jails. . . . The one breaks the law, the other has it broken for him. . . . The saloon is their ally, and the saloon is the boy's club as he grows into early manhood. It is not altogether his fault that he has no other. From it he takes his politics and gets his backing in his disputes with the police. That he knows it to be despised and denounced by the sentiment responsible for the laws he broke with impunity all his days, while to him it represents the one potent, practical force of life, is well calculated to add to his mental confusion as to the relationship of things, but hardly to increase his respect for the law or for the sentiment behind it. We need an era of enforcement of law—less of pretence—more of purpose."

The Police Board is doing its best to bring about precisely such an era.

The worst possible lesson to teach any citizen is contempt for the



law. Laws should not be left on the statute books, still less put on the statute books, unless they are meant to be enforced. No man should take a public office unless he is willing to obey his oath and to enforce the law.

Many of the demagogues who have denounced us have reproached us especially because we took away "the poor man's beer," and have announced that, law or no law, the poor man had a right to his beer on Sunday if he wished it. These gentry, when they preach such doctrine, are simply preaching lawlessness. If the poor man has a right to break the law so as to get beer on Sunday, he has a right to break the law so as to get bread on any day. It is a good deal more important to the poor man that he should get fed on week-days than that he should get drunk on Sundays. The people who try to teach him that he has a right to break the law on one day to take beer are doing their best to prepare him for breaking the law some other day to take bread.

But as a matter of fact all the talk about the law being enforced chiefly at the expense of the poor man is the veriest nonsense and hypocrisy. We took especial care to close the bars of the big hotels. We shut every bar-room on Fifth Avenue as carefully as we shut every bar-room on Avenue A. We did not hurt the poor man at all. The people whom we hurt were the rich brewers and liquor-sellers, who had hitherto made money hand over fist by violating the Sunday law with the corrupt connivance of the police. There is small cause for wonder that they should grow hot with anger when they found that we had taken away the hundreds of thousands of dollars which they had made by violation of the law. There is small cause for wonder that their newspaper allies should have raved, and that Senator Hill should eagerly have run to their support. But it is a wonder that any citizen wishing well to his country should have been misled for one moment by what they have said. The fight they have waged was not a fight for the poor man; it was a fight in the interest of the rich and unscrupulous man who had been accustomed to buy immunity from justice. As a matter of fact we have helped the poor man and notably we have helped the poor man's wife and children. Many a man who before was accustomed to spend his week's wages getting drunk in a saloon now either puts them up or takes his wife and children for a day's outing. The hospitals found that their Monday labors were lessened by nearly half, owing to the startling diminution in cases of injury due to

drunken brawls. The work of the magistrates who sat in the city courts for the trial of small offenders was correspondingly decreased. All this was brought about by our honest enforcement of the law.

To sum up, then, Senator Hill, and his allies of every grade, berate us because we have in good faith enforced an act which they, when they had complete control of the legislature and the government, put on the statute books with the full belief that it would be enforced with corrupt partiality. They are responsible for the law. We are responsible for having executed it honestly,—the first time it ever has been executed honestly. We are responsible for the fact that we refused to continue the old dishonest methods, and that we broke up the gigantic system of blackmail and corruption to which these methods had given rise; a system which was the most potent of all the causes that have combined to debase public life in New York and to eat the very heart out of the New York police force. Senator Hill and his allies passed a law which was designed to serve as the most potent of weapons for keeping the saloon-keepers bound hand and foot in the power of Tammany Hall and of the State Democratic organization which followed Tammany's lead. We have undone their work by the simple process of administering the law in accordance with the elementary rules of decency and morality. I am far too good an American to believe that in the long run a majority of our people will declare in favor of the dishonest enforcement of law; though I readily admit the possibility that at some given election they may be hopelessly misled by demagogues, and may for the moment make a selfish and cowardly surrender of principle. The men who last fall won the fight for municipal reform, for decent government in our cities, cannot afford to borrow from their defeated antagonists the old methods of connivance at law-breaking.

In the end we shall win, in spite of the open opposition of the forces of evil, in spite of the timid surrender of the weakly good, if only we stand squarely and fairly on the platform of the honest enforcement of the law of the land. But if we were to face defeat instead of victory, that would not alter our convictions, and would not cause us to flinch one hand's breadth from the course we have been pursuing. There are prices too dear to be paid even for victory. We would rather face defeat as a consequence of honestly enforcing the law than win a suicidal triumph by a corrupt connivance at its violation.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.



## MUNICIPAL PROGRESS AND THE LIVING WAGE.

THE condition of the streets of New York is not a matter that concerns the inhabitants of that city alone. It interests directly every one who has occasion to come to the city, whether he comes from foreign parts or from this country, and the number of such travellers is very great. In a larger sense, the cleaning of these streets affects, although indirectly and insensibly, the welfare of the whole country. The city of New York is the great toll-gate of our commerce. Its position is so commanding as to enable it to levy tribute upon the larger part of all our imports and exports of merchandise, and the amount of this tribute and the manner in which it is expended are not matters of merely local concern. If the taxes in New York are excessive, or the money derived from them is wasted, the expense of transacting business there is increased. The loss may be incurred primarily in New York, but it does not end there. It is diffused throughout our industries. It may be felt on the cotton plantations of Texas and in the cotton mills of Maine; in the wheat fields of Dakota and on the fruit farms of the Pacific slope.

As a pecuniary matter alone, therefore, the street-cleaning problem in New York is of general importance. But its chief consequence lies in this, that it illustrates, in the clearest way in which illustration has yet been given, the grave danger that besets the path of municipal government in the future. When Colonel Waring took charge of the Department of Street-Cleaning, he found that he was required by law to pay in wages nearly double what was necessary. He demonstrated that he could clean the streets properly for the amount appropriated, provided he could obtain authority to pay the rate of wages current in the market, and that he could give the laborers so employed steady work; or he could clean the streets imperfectly, paying the wages fixed by law, and giving somewhat irregular employment. But if the city wished to have the streets kept clean at all times, while he was obliged to pay the legal wages, it would be necessary to have a much larger appropriation. The issue was most explicitly stated by Colonel Waring, and most carefully evaded by the

city authorities. Violent attacks were made on him from various quarters, and at one time the press seemed about to abandon his cause. But the admirable condition of the streets was a weightier argument in his favor than any that could be brought against him, and at the last moment the city authorities yielded.

But they did not yield on the matter of wages. They tried to see if expenses could not be reduced in every other direction, but the plain course suggested by Colonel Waring they most studiously ignored. And they were finally driven to strain the law in a manner which was shown by one of their own number to constitute a most dangerous precedent. The Board of Health is empowered, when sudden emergencies arise, such as the advent of pestilence, to call for the appropriation of exceptional sums of money. It was pretended that, unless the system adopted by Colonel Waring was kept up in full perfection, the health of the city would be suddenly and seriously endangered, and by the aid of this transparent fiction an appropriation largely in excess of that provided by law was made available.

Every one knows how wages and salaries in New York have come to be fixed by law at the present rates. It is necessary that funds should be provided for the purposes of the "machine," and the most convenient way of raising these funds is by assessing the office-holders. In order that they may pay these assessments without resistance the legislature is induced to fix their compensation at a figure higher than the market rate, thus leaving a substantial margin for political contributions. It is easy to see why men who have been engaged in politics in New York should be unwilling to disturb this system or publicly to recognize its existence. But it is not so easy to understand why reformers have not attacked it, or why the public appears to be indifferent to it. But it seems probable that a doctrine known in England as that of the "living wage" has exerted a silent but powerful influence in checking any movement to cut down the wages paid by the city of New York to its servants.

The principle of the "living wage," according to those who advocate it, requires that workmen should get more than what their labor will bring in the market. They should be paid, not what they will consent to receive, "pinched by hunger and under the stress of need," but such wages as will enable them to maintain a proper standard of living. There is a "moral minimum" of earnings below which they ought not to sink, and employers of labor should observe this principle in dealing with their workmen. But as the ordinary employer



is prone "to do business on business principles," municipal bodies have been selected by the English Socialists as proper agencies for establishing this "moral minimum"; and it is said that over 250 local governing boards in England—to say nothing of the general government—have now adopted the principle.

It would be unreasonable to suppose that action of this kind in England and elsewhere has not been dictated by benevolent motives. While we need not estimate too highly the virtue of spending other people's money generously, having still in mind Boss Tweed's lavish charities, we must recognize the fact that many of those who give freely of what they have to the service of the poor are attracted by socialistic ideals and are disposed to welcome socialistic experiments. They would be glad—as indeed we all should—to have poor people get higher wages than they do now, and they think that if the municipalities will set the example of raising wages other employers will be induced or compelled to follow. It seems scarcely probable that those who entertain this conviction have fully reasoned it out. Yet their standards of duty are so high that it is not unreasonable to ask that they should not lend their support to a principle of this character until it has been firmly established. In an inquiry of this kind we must not allow our conclusions to be affected by our desires. No matter how gladly we should welcome an improved standard of living among the poor, we cannot conscientiously adopt a measure claimed to produce this result without evidence that it has such tendency. At the least we should be sure that it will not do more harm than good.

In order to form clear ideas upon such a subject we must dismiss from our minds the conception of the laborer as compelled by hunger to accept whatever wages the employer chooses to offer him. This may have been at some time and in some country historically true; but it is at least not true at present either in England or in this country. No doubt there are times of depressed business when even good workmen cannot get work. There are also times of brisk business when even good employers cannot get workmen. The rate of wages is an average rate, fluctuating widely under many influences, but never in this country so low as not to afford a sufficient, if not a comfortable, support to the workman who is only moderately sober, honest, and industrious. But whether this is true or not, it is immaterial. The rate of wages may at times not be sufficient for the support of laborers, but that fact cannot at once bring about a general rise of wages, or even render it possible for government to cause such

rise by paying higher rates to its servants: on the contrary, such a policy on the part of government under such circumstances might produce the very opposite effect.

This conclusion appears indisputable when we reflect that the revenue of government is subtracted from that of its subjects. Whatever it receives comes out of their earnings. If it increases its expenditure, it diminishes theirs. If it spends more money in hiring workmen, its subjects have less to spend in hiring workmen, or, what comes to the same thing in the end, in buying the products of their labor. If it should so happen that the government should spend this money in the same manner in which it would have been spent by those from whom it is collected by the tax-gatherer,—that is, in paying laborers at the same rate at which they would have been paid for equal work,—there may be no waste, and the condition of laborers as a class may not be affected. But if the government undertakes to pay the “living wage,”—that is, to pay laborers at a higher rate than private employers pay for like service,—it necessarily follows that the same sum of money, when expended by the government, gives employment to fewer men than when expended by the citizens. It is another corollary that the product will be correspondingly less, and we know from experience that the product will be even more than correspondingly less. Thus the action of the government in paying its servants more than the market rate for their work tends to depress the “moral minimum” in the case of the servants of its subjects.

Nevertheless the conviction clings in some minds that in some mysterious way the government may subtract a part of the revenue of its subjects without affecting their ability to expend as much for wages as they did before. Of course the question of the necessity of governmental protection to individual rights is not here involved. We must assume that business cannot go on without the aid of law, and that hardly any price is too much to pay for the good order which is indispensable to all productive industry. But the proposition is that an additional tax, levied by government for the purpose of paying wages to its servants at a higher rate than that fixed by competition, and so expended, does not lessen the ability of those who pay the tax to pay the same wages that they paid before the tax was levied. Although they contribute more to pay the workmen of the government, they somehow have just as much left to pay to their own.

This proposition is at least paradoxical, and it is far from easy, to one who does not believe it to be true, to invent arguments in its



support. Possibly it may be thought that employers will, in the case supposed, not reduce wages, but forego a part of their profits. But why should they do so? By hypothesis their wealth is reduced while the number of workmen available remains the same. Under these circumstances the rate of wages tends to decline rather than to rise. If the employers had more money and there were no more laborers, the employers would compete with each other to get the additional hands which their increased capital would employ. But if the employers have less money, they are disposed to employ fewer hands, and laborers compete with each other for work. If the legislature could compel employers to pay the "living wage," then, it is conceivable, the rate of profit might fall, for employers might prefer to accept a lower rate rather than to abandon business. But even this result is far from certain theoretically, and of course it is absurd to imagine that it can be practically realized.

But let it be granted that employers, after paying their increased taxes, make no reduction in wages, but accept lower profits. It becomes necessary then to ask what they do with their profits. A part of them they expend unproductively, and a part of them they save, or set apart for the employment of labor. Their profits being reduced, they must either spend less, or save less, or both. If they were to spend less, the consequent decrease in the amount of wages paid might be temporary. But if they save less the loss is permanent. Hence we must conclude that the cost of the experiment of paying the "living wage" can be prevented from falling upon the mass of laborers who do not enjoy the favor of the government only by being charged upon the luxurious consumption of their employers. If their employers will deny themselves some of their accustomed luxuries, the government can indulge its employees in the luxury of the "living wage" without calling upon laborers as a class to pay for it. If employers do not diminish their consumption of luxuries, then laborers as a class must pay for the privilege granted by law to a few of their number. But if employers are sufficiently benevolent to practise a self-denial which cannot be proved to be forced upon them, in order to enable government to experiment in raising the "moral minimum," it seems probable that they have sufficient benevolence to spend of their own accord a fitting part of their income in promoting the welfare of the poor. And all experience shows that for such enterprises they have displayed a greater capacity than the officers of government.

But the question may still be repeated, Are not wages largely determined by custom, and may not the example of paying higher wages, set by government, have an effect upon private employers? Custom undoubtedly affects the rate of wages, and in individual cases example may be potent. But the effects of custom and example are frequently misapprehended. When "hard times" come, in communities where customary wages prevail, some laborers must lose their employment. There is not money enough to pay them all at the customary rate, and, since this rate is maintained, some of them must go hungry. In one sense the average rate of wages is not reduced. The laborers that have work may get the same wages as before. But the whole body of workmen do not get the same wages as before, and the average wages of laborers as a class are therefore lowered. *Mutatis mutandis*, in good times average wages are higher. Thus the difference between the *régime* of custom and that of competition is more apparent than real.

As to the effect of example in the conduct of business affairs, it is easy to be misled by the fallacy of composition. We look at A and B, and say that they can perfectly well afford to pay higher wages than they do. A great wealthy corporation—such as the New York Central Railroad, for instance—could perhaps, in the popular judgment, double the wages of its employees, were it not for its rapacity and greed. It is quite true that individuals are at liberty to pay such wages as they please, provided they pay their debts. Prosperous business men, those who continuously make more than average profits, could pay more than average wages. But the smartest of them do not know that they will continue to make more than average profits, and if they managed their business on the theory that such profits could be counted on, they would very often come to ruin. But such men are exceptional, and the great mass of business men make no more than average profits, and can pay no more than average wages. The example of others has nothing to do with their action. Not what they would, but what they must, is their rule. The maxim, "Profits are the leavings of wages," contains the gist of the matter. Wages must be paid first, and if a man pays too high wages, his profits will be so low that he cannot make a living at his business. We constantly see people ruined by trying to follow the example of their wealthier acquaintances in keeping many servants and maintaining a showy establishment. They live beyond their means, and the fact that others set them an example of



too high a "moral minimum" of expenditure does not increase their income a single penny. It is not a question of example, but of ability; and the same is true of the wages paid and other expenses incurred in the conduct of business in general.

As to corporations, it can only be said that their managers are required by law, and by ordinary business prudence, to conduct their affairs on business principles. It is the duty of such managers to pay the lowest wages which will ensure them the best possible service. Perhaps it often happens that these managers would get better service if they paid higher wages than they do in fact. It is their mistake if this is so, but it does not affect the principle by which their action must be guided. They may be as generous as they please with their own money, but not with that of their stockholders. As a matter of fact this principle is often disregarded by these managers, who pay excessive salaries and indulge in many extravagant expenditures, to the ruinous loss of the owners of both stocks and bonds. But the principle remains unaffected, in morals, if not in law. As to the owners of stocks and bonds, it can only be said, in a summary way, that they have to average their good investments with their bad ones, in reckoning their income. The results in the long run are not such as to justify them in insisting that their corporations shall be governed by the example of municipalities in fixing the rate of wages. Municipal enterprises are not obliged to pay dividends, frequently not even interest. Business corporations must do both, leaving the righteous use of the profits which they earn to the consciences of those who receive them.

The considerations hitherto presented point to the conclusion that the payment by government of a higher rate of wages than that prevailing in the market tends rather to diminish than to increase average wages. With those who regard such increase as eminently desirable, this conclusion should be sufficient to discredit the doctrine of the "living wage." But there are other consequences involved in this doctrine, when practically applied, which may well be regarded as even more serious than the diminution of the reward of labor. These consequences are briefly as follows: For the government to pay to such laborers as it employs higher wages than others can obtain, is unjust. It creates a privileged class, and this is contrary to the spirit of our institutions. The existence of such a class arouses envy and leads to corruption. And finally, the reform of the civil service, on which rest our hopes for municipal progress, can never

be permanently established while a privileged class of office-holders is maintained.

The first of these consequences is a corollary from the reasoning already employed. Unless it can be proved that the payment of higher wages to its workmen by government increases the wages of other workmen, these others have a right to complain. Government cannot assume the position of the lord of the vineyard in the parable. It cannot say to workmen not in its employ, "You are not injured by my paying my men more than you get. If I paid them less you would get no more." The complaining workmen would reply, "This is a government of equal rights and no favors. You have no business to collect taxes from the whole people and distribute them so that a few are exceptionally benefited. If you possess this marvelous power of making money go farther than your subjects can, you must exercise it so that all may share in its results." In spite of the "dog-in-the-manger" sound of this claim, it is obvious that it is supported by the most elementary principles of political morality. No democratic constitution could endure unless it recognized the principle that public moneys are a fund held in trust for the whole people, to be distributed only in such a manner as to give every one a fair share of the resulting benefits. Any other principle would encourage partiality and lead to the grossest abuses. It is true that such abuses exist in practice; but they are indefensible on principle.

The supposition that has just been examined is, however, an extreme, and, if the previous argument has any validity, an absurd one. The payment of higher wages by government does not raise, but lowers, the average rate, and the injustice of the policy is self-evident. Under a monarchy or an aristocracy the standard of justice is different. A king may pay his laborers who have worked but one hour the same wages as those who have borne the burden and heat of the day, and none may question his right to do what he wills with his own. An aristocracy is based upon the conception that some men are, merely by virtue of their birth, superior to others, and such men may claim corresponding perquisites. But in a government by the people, equality is the essence of justice, and no subject can claim any favor.

It is evident from what has just been said that the existence of a class of employees favored by government arouses envy. The question is not to be complicated with any assumption that the employees of government are a superior class. In so far as they are superior



they are entitled to higher compensation. If their fitness has been determined by competitive examination, they may justly claim preferment over those that are proved unfit. But the comparison must be made, not between the fit and the unfit, but between the fit who get the places and the fit who do not. It is to be expected that the incapable will be envious. Had they sufficient magnanimity not to be envious, they would not be very apt to be incapable. Such virtue would imply ability. Their envy, however, while it may be a serious evil so long as appointments are made without regard to merit and as rewards for party services, is nothing that needs be considered under the competitive system. It is a part of their general discontent with the universe and their disapprobation of the processes of natural selection. They cannot succeed because they do not deserve to succeed, and if we have a system under which desert brings success, we cannot relinquish it because of the complaints of the undeserving, no matter how much we may pity them.

It is otherwise when men are excluded, not because they are unfit, but because others have crowded in before them. We are familiar with the spectacle of a crowd of applicants for every position under government, and we know that often most of such applicants are unfit for any position. We are not yet familiar with the spectacle of a crowd of meritorious applicants; but if the compensation attached to such positions is greater than can be earned elsewhere by like service, this spectacle will infallibly be presented. If this compensation were no more than what could be otherwise earned, the number of office-seekers would be diminished until the supply was equal to the demand. But if this is not the case, those who fail to secure office through no fault of their own will naturally be envious. They will be angry at what they properly regard as injustice, and their grievance will have dangerous consequences.

For those who by favor or fortune have secured privileged places will do what all privileged classes have done in the past. They will be apprehensive of losing advantages to which they feel their title is of doubtful justice, and they will combine to protect themselves. This is no speculative peril. The legislature of New York has more than once responded to combinations of this kind with increases of salaries, and such increases have been procured by corrupt means and are available for corrupt purposes. Were the salaries only such as are paid in the competitive market, such corruption would be impossible. Rather than pay assessments, office-holders would run

the risk of being removed, considering that they could do as well elsewhere as in the public service. But if they know that their official pay is greater than they can obtain in private life, the temptation is strong to buy security. We shall presently consider how far the case is affected by permanency of tenure. But unless permanency can be counted on without paying for it, experience proves that it will be paid for. And as those who are in will pay to stay in, so those who are out will pay to get in. They will beset the legislature with their appeals. They will insist upon the creation of new offices and the extension of governmental activity. And their opponents will labor under the immense disadvantage of having to defend a system which is indefensible, and to justify what is unjust.

The bearing of this upon the reform of the civil service is plain enough. If this reform is established, it means ruin to the professional politicians, and this they know right well. From the beginning they have thwarted the reform by every means in their power. They dealt it a serious blow this year in Massachusetts, and those who are in a position to judge say that the last New York legislature would have wiped it off the statute-book had not the new Constitution saved it. The politicians will fight as those who are fighting for their lives. If they cannot control the offices they are confronted with starvation. They are impecunious as a class, and they are generally so worthless and incapable as not to command responsible positions in private life, or indeed to give satisfaction in any position. There can be no doubt as to their views on the "living wage." Experience confirms theory. The multiplication of offices and the overpayment of those who hold them are the cardinal principles of such organizations as Tammany Hall. Its leaders may not be aware that their practice has anticipated the most advanced theories of the Socialists; but the instinct of self-preservation often outruns the conclusions of thought.

Very splendid and beautiful visions of municipal progress are indulged in by social reformers. Their views are denounced as impracticable, but the examples of some foreign cities prove that there is no impossibility involved in the improvement of our own. While we may not realize the *civitas dei*, we are not precluded by any unalterable conditions from raising our municipal governments out of the miry pit in which they are now struggling. We know how to deal with crime on scientific principles, and if we should apply our knowledge the criminal classes would in a short time be nearly extirpated. We know how to ensure good sanitary conditions, and if



we should use what we know, the terrible overcrowding of the poor would be arrested, and only habitations fit for human use would be built. We are not ignorant of what is beautiful in architecture, and might make our public buildings the delight of our eyes. The children of the common people might receive such education as would fill their lives with sweetness and light. In a thousand ways we might engage in the service of the community the limitless powers of nature and the inexhaustible devotion of man.

These ideals can be realized. But they can never be realized if the government of our cities is to remain in the future in such hands as have controlled it in the past. The professional politicians can carry it on no better than they have done. Their motive is the enjoyment of the reward of office, and with this motive their actions must correspond. Success in their calling implies qualities that unfit them for the ideal public service, and requires such assiduous attention to the machinery of party as prevents any comprehensive study of the needs of government. In some way we must rid ourselves of this class of servants if we are to improve our housekeeping. Unless we do so we may as well cease to tantalize ourselves with the hope of establishing our city governments upon any permanently improved basis.

It appears, therefore, that all our prospects of nobler civic life hang upon the reform of the civil service. If we can make admission to this service depend upon fitness, and if we can maintain permanency of tenure, a great future opens before our cities. But the opposing forces are mighty, and their hostility will be unceasing. They have every advantage of position and of discipline. They will fight by fair means or by foul. They cannot surrender, and if they apparently cease to struggle it will only be to throw their adversaries off their guard. They will make no serious mistakes, and they will overlook none that are made. Unless their power for mischief can be reduced it will be almost impossible to maintain the principle of permanency of tenure of office. At all events this principle can be maintained only by the most incessant vigilance, and its champions cannot afford to handicap themselves by attempting the defence of any doubtful positions.

If the reform of the civil service is to be loaded down with the doctrine of the "living wage," or even if it is not explicitly connected with the doctrine and the practice of paying the market rate of wages and salaries, it can never be established on a permanent basis. It

may maintain itself, but it will be in perpetually unstable equilibrium. The offices will continue to be looked on as prizes, and the struggle to secure them by other means than competitive examinations will be perennial. The reform will have to bear the odium that always attaches to privilege and to favoritism, and it will be in constant danger of losing popular support. The politicians will make out a plausible, and, in the opinion of many, an unanswerable case, when they charge the reformers with perpetuating the practices which they have denounced, and with creating a privileged class of office-holders; and the office-holders themselves can feel no security in their positions, and will be tempted to ally themselves with men whose enmity is to be dreaded, and to make friends of the mammon of unrighteousness through partisan activity.

It seems, therefore, that the most dangerous foes of higher municipal development are to be found among those who clamor most eagerly for it. The politicians stand across the path of progress, but they can be overthrown if the counsels of their opponents are wise. But if these counsels are divided, and if many of those who are most sincerely and earnestly devoted to reform are determined to bring it about by socialistic experiments, the politicians may look forward yet to a long lease of power. They have but one great source of strength and revenue, and that is to be left untouched. They are vulnerable in but one spot, and that is not to be aimed at. They can be overcome unless their opponents commit one error, and that error is to be committed. Civil-service reform can be carried through, and all that it means for improved civic life be secured, if it embodies the principles on which alone ordinary business can be safely conducted. Otherwise it cannot permanently succeed, and in the judgment of many well-disposed citizens it will be better that it should not succeed. It would result in fastening upon the community a privileged class of office-holders too numerous and too expensive to be borne. To imperil this reform for the sake of experimenting with a theory which is at best unproved, if not altogether fallacious, is to assume a responsibility of the gravest kind. It is certainly the part of prudence to make sure of the reform of the civil service before everything else. If that is done we may find that the question of the "living wage" has lost its importance in the general improvement of our social condition.

DAVID MACGREGOR MEANS.



## PROFESSOR HUXLEY.

PROFESSOR HUXLEY was undoubtedly a man of genius, and I suppose, as every one who has a right to speak says so, of speculative genius. But I doubt whether his speculative genius was as great as his genius for debate, for exposition, for attack and defence. I have no pretension to say a word upon the biological sciences in which his reputation was greatest. But I have seen him as he appeared in philosophical, in theological, in practical discussions, and have greatly admired the inimitable lucidity, the fascinating vivacity, the ready humor, the happy irony, and the intellectual audacity, which he displayed in either defending his own position or assailing that of an antagonist. And I cannot help thinking, when I note how often he was tempted out of his special studies to sit on Commissions, to attend popular discussions, to represent Science on the London School Board, and even to assail the pretensions of the Salvation Army, that the genius of the man was less naturally attracted to speculative reflection and that meditative chewing of the cud which made his friend Charles Darwin so great, than it was to the give-and-take, the guard-and-thrust, of social and practical life. At a meeting of the British Association in 1860 he encountered the late Bishop Wilberforce,—a foeman well worthy of his steel,—in a duel on the subject of the evolution of man out of some lower form of being such as that of the anthropoid apes, and repelled a somewhat personal, and indeed unjustifiable, attack with a brilliance and vigor that excited the admiration of many whose intellectual sympathies were rather with the bishop than with the biologist. But the reflection which that sharp encounter elicited from those who either heard or read of it was this,—how great a figure each of the combatants might have made in a very different and more popular field of debate, and how much more each of them might have done if his gifts had not been so closely confined to a single field of study, but had been exercised in that wider arena in which meditative concentration is not half so much needed as presence of mind, rapidity of judgment, ready wit, and fertility of resource, applied under the guidance of benevolent

impulses, sagacious instincts, and strong common-sense. We have too often reason to regret that men who were great in the study have wasted themselves in administrative duties and in either the debates of Parliament or the oratory of the platform. But we have, now and then, good grounds for regret of a very different kind, and I have often thought that, in the case of both these brilliant antagonists, their great gifts might have been applied with more advantage for the welfare of their fellow-men, if both the divine and the biologist had made political life their principal object, and they had become, what they must have become, great leaders of men rather than specialists in a field where devout or speculative ardor is of even more consequence than wit, combativeness, and presence of mind.

I saw a good deal of Professor Huxley during the years when his great gifts and energies were at their meridian, especially between the years 1870 and 1877, for in 1869 we both took part in the formation of a society of which he was one of the most brilliant members—the Metaphysical Society; and in 1876 we sat side by side on a Commission in which we happened to represent diametrically opposite points of view,—the Commission to inquire into the character of painful experiments on living animals, and the desirability of imposing, on those who make them, such limitations as might prevent the infliction of the kind of torture of which there are in Europe, and even in England, too many instances.<sup>1</sup> In both cases I had many opportunities not only of observing him closely, but of entering with him into those more conversational discussions which were not limited by the conventional rules of even that semi-public debate. And my own impression certainly was that an abler and more accomplished debater was not to be found even in the House of Commons, and that he was never more effective than when he diverged from the narrower field of the specialist into the wider fields of popular interest. He made extraordinarily effective use also of his very wide and accurate reading in his own special studies, a kind of use which often puzzled the so-called metaphysicians, and reduced

<sup>1</sup> Considering that Professor Huxley represented the physiologists on this Commission, I was much struck with his evident horror of anything like torture even for scientific ends. I still remember the shudder with which he received one scientific man's assertion that a friend of his, who had done very painful vivisections, still hoped to meet his dogs again in "another and a better world." Huxley was a good draughtsman, and thereupon drew a grim pen and ink sketch of the meeting between the vivisector and a wretched creature of a dog with his tattered nerves "dissected out."



them to bewildered silence. For example, I shall never forget the dismay with which many of us heard his paper on the question, "Has the frog a soul, and of what nature is that soul, supposing it to exist?"

I am sure that he must have written it with an ironic smile, foreseeing how he would puzzle most of his hearers with his biological statements. He pointed out that if the frog has a soul at all, it must have two souls, for if the spinal cord is divided, both the divided parts manifest separately precisely the same kind of purposive action, though they do not coöperate. "The rational principles are specially present in each, because these are nothing else than the functions of the gray matter, and the gray matter in each continues to exert its inherent powers." "The separated head and trunk may be sent a hundred miles in opposite directions, and at the end of the journey each will be as purposive in its actions as before." Of course a great many of his hearers were ignorant of the physiological facts which he narrated, and many of those who were not entirely ignorant of them had never considered them in relation to the problems he attacked: as to whether, for instance, a human being with his spine broken has or has not a separate reason or will in those lower limbs which manifest every sign of sensation, without the smallest consciousness in the man himself that he has suffered what he appears to observers to suffer, if those lower limbs are irritated or tickled. I need hardly say that the discussion on this paper was not very "nutritive." The Metaphysical Society can hardly be said to have had a mind of its own on the question whether a frog has a soul or not. And I do not suppose that Professor Huxley himself had any distinct opinion on it. He certainly held that a great part of the organization of every living being is strictly that of an automaton *without* a conscious mind; and I believe he thought it probable that such creatures as frogs, even when they give signs of pain, are not always suffering, since they give the same signs of pain as men give under conditions when the men, if questioned, will affirm that they have not suffered at all. But the real object of Huxley's paper was to bewilder; and, with the greater part of the Metaphysical Society, he certainly succeeded,—all the more, perhaps, that he himself was very uncertain as to what the legitimate inference as to the consciousness of the frog ought to be. But he at least believed that the problem is insoluble in our present state of knowledge, and he had nothing more at heart than to persuade the Metaphy-

sical Society that insoluble problems lie on all sides of us,—in which modest ambition, I think, he succeeded.

I remember another paper of his which was, I think, much less successful, as in it he travelled a good way beyond the region where he was master of his ground. It was a paper, conceived in a very reverent and even tender spirit, stating his views very frankly, though with great delicacy, on the miracle of the resurrection. His object was to show, and undoubtedly he did show, that the disciples of Christ had, and could have had, no *physiological* evidence that what we now mean by death had ever taken place in the body of our Lord at all. I do not suppose that any one—even if he held, as I do, that the Gospel of John is not less trustworthy, or is even more trustworthy, in its account of the historical facts, than any of the synoptic Gospels—would deny this. It is perfectly evident that if the supposition that our Lord never died at the time when He was believed by the Church to have died, were otherwise tenable, we neither have, nor could have, any proof that death in the physiological sense had really taken place, since at that period the physiological evidences of death, as we now understand them, were not formulated at all. But what Professor Huxley entirely ignored was the impossibility of the supposition that our Lord could have recovered consciousness and the power of movement in the maimed and wounded condition in which the crucifixion had left Him, without his intimate friends and followers knowing perfectly well that He was corporeally, at the time of His so-called resurrection, a mere resuscitated and helpless invalid, and that if He subsequently lived, for a number of days or weeks or months or years, on this earth, and then died, the stress which they laid on His resurrection was a mere fraud,—a conviction that would have put a final end to all that enthusiasm of faith on which the spread of His gospel wholly depended. Of all suppositions, that which seems to be the most irrational is the supposition that our Lord recovered in the ordinary way from the exhaustion and torture of the Cross, and died a natural death at last, without a rumor of the truth having escaped to extinguish forever the awe and gratitude with which His resurrection had been regarded by the infant Church. But the object of Huxley's paper was hardly, I think, so much to convince the Metaphysical Society that the resurrection of Christ had been believed by Christians on no evidence worthy of the name, as to seize an opportunity for a very eloquent apology for the incredulity of men of science. Professor Huxley ended by remarking that men



of science are often told that the study of physical science unfits them for the due estimate of moral probability, and that indeed it might be so if moral probability is to be considered as the art of "accumulating inconclusive arguments, in the hope that a great heap of them may at least look as firm as one good demonstration." But, he went on, men of science have one advantage:—

"We are daily and by rough discipline taught to attach a greater and greater responsibility to the utterance of the momentous words 'I believe.' The man of science who commits himself to even one statement which turns out to be devoid of good foundation loses somewhat of his reputation among his fellows, and, if he be guilty of the same error often, he loses not only his intellectual, but his moral standing amongst them. For it is justly felt that errors of this kind have their roots rather in the moral than in the intellectual nature. Doubtless, men thus sharply disciplined are apt to apply their own standards of right and wrong universally; and where such a story as the miraculous version of the resurrection is presented to them for acceptance, they not only decline to believe it, but they assert that, from their point of view, it would be a moral dereliction to pretend to believe it. Looking at fidelity to truth as the highest of all human duties, they regard with feelings approaching to abhorrence that cynical infidelity which, when Reason reports 'No evidence,' and Conscience warns that intellectual honesty means absolute submission to evidence, attempts to drown the voice of both by loud assertion, backed by appeals to the weakness and the cowardice of human nature."

That has always seemed to me one of the most characteristic and most impressive specimens of Professor Huxley's eloquence, which was eloquence of no common order. And it certainly contains a lesson which we all greatly need. But it does not convince me that Professor Huxley's own mind was not as much open to prepossessions of a very potent kind against a good many sorts of conclusive evidence, as the minds of many who have not been submitted to what he justly calls the "sharp discipline" of scientific training. For in his combativeness he "drank delight of battle with his peers," as eagerly as ever did Ulysses "far on the ringing plains of windy Troy." And this militant spirit of his gave him far too implicit a confidence in the armor of men of science to admit of his feeling half as self-distrustful as some of the opponents on whose credulity he looked down. He was always more himself when he was, in his own opinion, destroying some idol of his antagonists, than when he was stating what he believed to be a truth. For example, he claimed to be in the strictest sense an Agnostic. He thought it the only true sort of religion to cherish "the noblest and most human of man's emotions by worship, 'for the most part, of the silent sort,' at the Altar of the Unknown and Unknowable"; and he sympathized

with those Athenians who had set up an altar ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ, "to the unknown God,"—the incident related in the Acts of the Apostles,—from which he borrowed for himself the name of Agnostic. But whenever he came to explain what these emotions are, which are so noble and are yet excited by the pure negation of all knowledge, you find him slipping in a good many assumptions to which, if used by an opponent, he would have taken the strongest objection, as exhibiting a most illegitimate use of "the momentous words, 'I believe.'" For example, in one of the most impressive of his lay sermons, he says:—

"Suppose it were perfectly certain that the life and fortune of every one of us would, one day or other, depend upon his winning or losing a game of chess. Don't you think that we should all consider it to be a primary duty to learn at least the names and the moves of the pieces; to have a notion of a gambit, and a keen eye for all the means of giving and getting out of check? Do you not think that we should look with a disapprobation amounting to scorn, upon the father who allowed his son, or the State which allowed its members, to grow up without knowing a pawn from a knight? Yet it is a very plain and elementary truth that the life, the fortune, and the happiness of every one of us, and, more or less, of those who are connected with us, do depend upon our knowing something of the rules of a game infinitely more difficult and complicated than chess. It is a game which has been played for untold ages, every man or woman of us being one of the two players in a game of his or her own. The chess-board is the world, the pieces are the phenomena of the universe, the rules of the game are what we call the laws of Nature. The player on the other side is hidden from us. We know that his play is always fair, just, and patient. But also we know, to our cost, that he never overlooks a mistake or makes the smallest allowance for ignorance. To the man who plays well, the highest stakes are paid, with that sort of overflowing generosity with which the strong shows delight in strength. And one who plays ill is checkmated,—without haste, but without remorse. My metaphor will remind some of you of the famous picture in which Retzsch has depicted Satan playing at chess with man for his soul. Substitute for the mocking fiend in that picture a calm, strong angel who is playing for love, as we say, and would rather lose than win,—and I should accept it as an image of human life. Well, what I mean by Education is learning the rules of this mighty game."

"We know that his play is always fair, just, and patient." The words "we know" are stronger, and are even more "momentous" than the words "we believe." They are expressive of the very opposite of "agnosticism." Where, then, is the agnostic? *How* do we know that the player is a "strong angel who is playing for love, as we say, and would rather lose than win"?—and yet Professor Huxley tells us, almost in the same breath, that the hidden player is one who does not even give "a word and a blow, and the blow first, but the blow without the word." "It is left to you to find out why your



ears are boxed." That is Professor Huxley's own description of the mode in which the "strong angel who plays for love, and would rather lose than win," treats the unfortunate player who has to find out for himself even the rules of the game at which he is playing,—a treatment, as it seems to me, neither angelic nor "generous." But the eloquent teacher was himself so expert in boxing the ears of those who, in his opinion, had never learned the rules of the games at which they played with him, that I suppose he thought the same policy perfectly legitimate in the mysterious player to whom he gave "worship mostly of the silent sort," for want of the knowledge which would have enabled him to explain clearly why the worship was given. The moment he attempts to explain why he worships, he assumes what he would have taken an ordinary theist severely to task for presuming to assume. Yet how any "noble emotion," even of the silent sort, is to be fostered toward a being who has no recognizable attributes, this great intellectual wrestler never ventured to declare.

Professor Huxley was very well read in the philosophy of the mind, but there again he seems to me to have had his attitude determined by a fixed iconoclastic purpose. On the critical subject of Free-will and Necessity, he never, I think, went to the bottom of the subject, but was always delighted to bewilder his opponents by saying strong things in a vivid way. In his little study of Hume, he never really discusses the deepest question at issue, but turns the flank of the Free-willist's position by such phrases as: "In that form of desire which is called 'attention,' the train of thought held fast for a time, in the desired direction, seems ever striving to get on to another line,"<sup>1</sup> yet to call one of the most characteristic forms of volition a "form of desire" is the most audacious philosophical *petitio principii* with which I am acquainted. Of course if will is a mere "form of desire," there is no question to argue; but the very issue between Professor Huxley and his opponents depends on whether, when we resolve to attend to an unwelcome subject, in spite of the desires which strive to get "on to another line," it is the desire which holds the thought fast, or that which overrules and controls desire, namely, the will. How audaciously Huxley dealt with this fundamental issue of philosophy, nothing could show better than the striking passage in the lecture on Descartes, in which he says:<sup>2</sup>—

"Thus I am prepared to go with the Materialists wherever the true pursuit of the method of Descartes may lead them, and I am glad on all occasions to declare

<sup>1</sup> Hume, p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> "Lay Sermons," p. 296.

my belief that their fearless development of the materialistic aspect of these matters" [namely, the possibility of establishing a correlation between mechanical force and volition] "has had an immense and a most beneficial influence upon physiology and psychology. Nay, more,—when they go further than I think they are entitled to do,—when they introduce Calvinism into science, and declare that man is nothing but a machine, I do not see any particular harm in their doctrines, so long as they admit that which is a matter of experimental fact,—namely, that it is a machine capable of adjusting itself within certain limits. I protest that if some great Power could agree to make me always think what is true, and do what is right, on condition of being turned into a sort of clock, and wound up every morning before I got out of bed, I should instantly close with the offer. The only freedom I care about is the freedom to do right; the freedom to do wrong I am ready to part with on the cheapest terms to any one who will take it of me. But when the Materialists stray beyond the borders of their path, and talk about there being nothing else in the world but Matter and Forces and necessary laws, . . . I decline to follow them."

That is an admirable specimen of the vivacity with which Professor Huxley spoke at the Metaphysical Society, and of the manner in which he, like the hidden player in the great game of life, boxed the ears of his antagonists without telling them why their ears were boxed. But it seems to me that nothing could be more sophistical than the way in which, in this powerful passage, he plays with the word "freedom." He says he should have no objection at all to be wound up like a chronometer, if, by being thus wound up, he could always secure going right; but then he says it is only the freedom to go right about which he cares, and that he would part with the freedom to go wrong on the cheapest terms to any one who would take it of him. But does he really mean that a chronometer has any freedom to go either right or wrong? I suppose that, so far as it goes right, it is under the necessity of going right, and has no freedom in the matter. And what he means is, therefore, that if he could part with every atom of freedom on condition of always feeling and acting as he should, he would grasp at the offer. But how are you to do right if the very meaning of the word is changed, and there is no such thing as right to do. Right as applied to the going of a chronometer, and right as applied to the actions of the will, are as different in meaning as the "reins" with which you rein in a horse are from the "reins" which summon you in the night season to reflect on your conduct during the day. You might just as well call a good chronometer "virtuous" as call a man a right-doer who was as mere an automaton in everything he did as he is in breathing, or blushing, or turning pale. Professor Huxley always knew how to bewilder his antagonists, but I think he sometimes bewildered his antagonists



without really convincing himself. His eagerness to be an automaton would hardly have been proclaimed if there had been any chance of his being taken at his word. But then his readiness to be transformed into an automaton did not seem to him inconsistent with retaining his "freedom to do right."

What I have never fully understood is the reverence which Professor Huxley expressed, and certainly deeply felt, for Jesus of Nazareth—whom he called "the greatest moral genius the world has seen,"—though he himself regarded worship "for the most part of the silent sort" at "the altar of the Unknown and Unknowable" as the ideal of the highest human worship. Of course I do not doubt that he made the allowances which every wise man must make for the immense chasm between the age of faith and the age of science. But why he should speak of Jesus Christ "as the realized ideal of almost perfect humanity," if agnosticism be the nearest approach to truth that we have yet made, I cannot understand. Surely "the realized ideal of almost perfect humanity" has done more to keep the human race from appreciating "natural knowledge" at the high rate at which Professor Huxley appreciated it, than any other human being who ever lived. Nay, even Christ's pure and ideal morality was rooted deep in the life of a living God, and not at all like "worship for the most part of the silent sort" at "the altar of the Unknown and Unknowable." I cannot imagine any book which has diverted the human race so far from the true path of education as Professor Huxley traces it out in his "Lay Sermons," as the Bible; nor any life traced in the Bible which has had a tenth part of the same effect in causing that wide departure from the study of what Professor Huxley meant by "natural knowledge," as that of Jesus Christ. Professor Huxley declares that to the Palestinian Jew "God was immanent in a sense few Western people realize." Well, was that a conception that has led the world right, or that has led it wrong? If right, Agnosticism must be in the last degree misleading. If wrong, how can Jesus of Nazareth be "the realized ideal of almost perfect humanity"? There never was a more dazzling, misleading will-o'-the-wisp than the attitude of Jesus Christ toward God, if the teaching of Professor Huxley's "Lay Sermons" is to be regarded as verifiable. "The man of science," said this great warrior on the side of the skeptics, "has learned to believe in justification not by faith, but by verification." Well, what was the verification of the positive teaching "that the hairs of your head are all numbered"? Was it,

in Professor Huxley's mind, "justified" at all? And if not, what is more paradoxical than the proposition that Jesus Christ was "the greatest moral genius the world has seen," and that he was the realized ideal of almost perfect humanity? Did Jesus Christ ever conceive the duty of skepticism as to the love and guardianship of God? And how, then, could Professor Huxley reverence so profoundly the man who taught the creed most opposed to his own that "Skepticism is the highest of duties, blind faith the unpardonable sin"?

The only manner in which, with my knowledge of the man, his tenderness and his combativeness, his irony and his impulsive moods of reverence, I can reconcile Huxley's strong denunciations of anything like unverified beliefs, with his sudden bursts of passionate feeling for One who was by no means a worshipper of the Unknown or Unknowable since he led the world into a perfect rapture of belief that rendered it blind and deaf for centuries to "natural knowledge," is by assuming that a great deal of his skepticism was a kind of habitual expression of the eager combativeness of his nature. If the words "I believe" were to him so "momentous," it was not solely because they and their converse expressed the final judgment of a very keen intellect, but also because they embodied the defiance of a very warlike and ardent spirit. Professor Huxley loved to throw down the glove to those who seemed to him to bar the way against the exploring genius of a very daring nature. But, none the less, he had that in him which often spurred him on to renounce his own most cherished canons of judgment and most approved repudiations of faith. Before that unseen player, whom he recognized as so utterly unknown and unknowable that he contrasted him almost scornfully with the God of Christian creeds, he sometimes invited us all to bow our heads in acts of true adoration. And so long as he could combine his love of Christ with some sort of defiance of conventional Christianity, he did not hesitate to prostrate himself before the Being whose normal nature subdued him into a feeling of awe for which he could find no adequate utterance, and in the presence of which, physical wonders lost their impressiveness, and the ethics of tribal evolution, to which he subscribed, found themselves so utterly bereft of all sublimity, that they seemed the pallid ghosts of the vision and the thought of Christ.

RICHARD H. HUTTON.



## CRIMINAL ANTHROPOLOGY: ITS ORIGIN AND APPLICATION.

ONE thing strikes you when you enter one of our courts,—the sight of judges, state employees like others, who think that they cannot fulfil their functions unless they are masked in a costume of the Middle Ages. The same spirit pervades their judgments. These are often evoked from remote ages. Antiquity is more honored than the truth. The lawyer who can cite in behalf of his client a law of the twelve tables has a better chance to gain his case. Worse yet, the courts are often led astray by formulas that had some sense at the time of their origin, but have none now and simply turn justice from the true path. In Italy, for example, sentences are often annulled because the clerk had forgotten to preface them with the formula, "In the name of His Majesty, by the grace of God and the will of the people, King of Italy." The law prescribes times for the accomplishment of certain formalities. Now justice is often denied to poor wretches who are quite in the right, because they come a half an hour too late, or because they have made a mistake of a few moments in the execution of these formalities.

What is the reason of all this? It is because of the tendency of the human mind to reduce to a minimum the number of mental associations required in a given task. The literal interpretation prevails in practice over all considerations of justice. Legal provisions can be only the rude and imperfect indication of the legislative will, useful only as a guide to the magistrate in attaining justice by a personal mental effort. But they have taken the place of justice and right, and the magistrate has to apply them literally. To judge rightly he ought, in each case, to have resort to his own consciousness, to give free course to those associations of ideas and emotions of which the complexity is so great. He ought to compare the answer of his own consciousness with the customary interpretation of the law. If they do not agree he should examine the differences, analyze the provisions of the law, and, comparing the idea of the more

frequent cases for which the law was made with the idea involved in the specific case, modify the application as justice requires.

But this is a long, complex, difficult task. If the comparison be not obvious enough, the judge becomes lost in doubt, and every new case requires a renewed effort. How much simpler it is to apply general provisions of law, drawing from them their logical inferences, not bothering with all the concomitant associations of ideas and emotions, but merely following a longer or shorter chain of reasoning. Once this habit of idio-emotional, or let us call it professional, judgment is formed the mind continues to consider only the logical relations of the general principle to the specific case. It excludes all collateral associations of ideas and feelings, numerous and varied as they are, which lead to a just solution of the actual question. The lofty and complex sentiment of justice is reduced to a sentiment of satisfaction in the logical application of the general principle. All notion of the wrong done to the victim, and the causes of that wrong, is excluded. In brief, the idio-emotional judgment results in the substitution of pure logic for observation and investigation of facts, a characteristic of the primitive periods of science and of periods of scientific degeneracy and decadence.

The consequences of this heedlessness are enormous. The judges pronounce judgment as if the crime formed the simplest incident in the life of the criminal. The criminal, on the other hand, does all that he can to prove the contrary by the rarity of his repentance and his continual relapses, which often reach 80 per cent, with enormous peril and expense to society, and discredit to justice,—which is often only a futile fencing with the criminal for the sole benefit of some rhetorician. The trouble is still greater when the same penalty is administered to a man who kills and steals from cupidity, and to one who has been impelled to crime by a great and noble passion,—patriotism, for instance, or love. It is a long time—thirty years—since I began to think that to avoid these pitfalls the criminal and not the crime must be studied. How did I reach this conclusion? How did I succeed in establishing it?

#### I. HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY.—ATAVISM OF THE CRIMINAL.

I arrived in Paris in 1861, a very young clinical professor of mental disease, a boy, with my head full of philology and comparative physiology. I soon saw that the most serious lack in this science



was that of anatomical and anthropological knowledge. They were studying insanity in general without studying individual lunatics. I set to work. I insisted that we should study lunatics as we would a special variety of the human race, noting the skin, the form, the skull, and particularly the functions, sensibility, etc. My colleagues laughed at me and called me the "Doctor of the steelyard." Little by little the idea prevailed, and now they seem almost to have forgotten who it was that introduced the new somatic school. I had a strong desire to study the morally insane who have since been shown to be the born criminals. It was a principle of mine to deny everything which I did not see, and as there were none of these in our clinic I was inclined to deny their existence. Nevertheless, to make sure of the facts, I commenced to occupy myself with criminals, to frequent prisons, and carefully to gather skulls and brains of prisoners. One evening there died in one of the prisons of the city a celebrated brigand, robber, and incendiary who had often escaped by means of his great agility. Upon the death of this man, who was a true type of the born criminal and morally insane, I examined his skull. It presented an enormous median occipital fossa in place of the occipital median spine which occurs in the interior of the skull. This is a characteristic wanting in the superior apes and existing in all other vertebrates. I made the autopsy in the yard of the prison in the early hours of the morning. The day was very foggy, in the winter of 1864. The weather and the place did not permit me to make a thorough autopsy, but I recollect how, at that moment, the whole idea of my future work rose before me like a picture.

I instantly perceived that the criminal must be a survival of the primitive man and the carnivorous animals. The idea, though yet embryonic, was perfected a few days later, when I was called as an expert by the tribunal of Bergamo in the case of a sort of Jack the Ripper,—one Verzenti. This young peasant, with cross eyes and enormous jaws, was possessed with a desire to disembowel, chew, and eat morsels of women, young and old, who happened to cross his path. He afterward confided to me in secret the great erotic pleasure which he experienced in this.

Then I went furiously to work in the examination of facts, in museums, in prisons, especially at Pesaro (when I was director of an insane asylum), near a great cellular prison where, with a corps of aides, I could go whenever I wished. Some of these took weights, others measured the figures or sketched the faces of the

criminals. As for myself, I noted the more important characteristics, questioned the prisoners, treating them to cigars and wine, and applied to them all the modern methods. While the criminal had his hand in the plethysmograph, which gave me in graphic lines all the psychic impressions and the reactions of the brain, I showed him things likely to interest him strongly,—a woman, a purse, a glass of wine, cigars,—and noted the effect of these impressions and especially the effect of electric currents. The result indicated a curious insensibility. To complete my studies I finally shut myself up for three years in the great cellular prison of Turin as a physician, until my health was undermined.

It was there that I perceived that my earlier ideas fell short of the truth. I saw that the criminal was worse than the savage, worse sometimes than the true carnivora, especially as regards analgesia. On one occasion I saw one of these criminals, who was working upon a roof several yards in height, fall to the ground and immediately return to his work as if nothing had happened. On another occasion a woman refused, for many days, to allow herself to be cared for, until the odor warned us of the presence of gangrene. It had, in effect, eaten away four fingers from one hand, where she had been cut by her lover. The total of these facts thus gathered was enormous, so that the image of the criminal arose from them in perfect clearness. The anatomy of criminals showed a great number of completely atavistic changes: surcillary arch and frontal sinus enormous; median occipital fossa; suture of the atlas; virile aspect of the skull in women; double articular face of the occipital condyle; flattening of the palate; large oblique orbits varying from 2 per cent to 58 per cent. These traits are often grouped in the same individuals, producing a *type*, in the proportion of 43 per cent. The convolutions of the brain present frequent atavistic anomalies, such as the separation of the calcareous fissure from the occipital, the formation of an operculum of the occipital lobe, and absolutely atypical variations, such as the transverse furrows of the frontal lobe.

The study of 25,000 living beings confirmed, though less constantly, the frequency of the anomalies revealed by the anatomical table. It showed analogies between savages and delinquents in the proportion of 35 to 36 per cent. Among these anomalies were prognathism; the hair black and crisp; the beard thin; oxicephaly; oblique eyes; small skull; the jaw and the zygomes developed; the forehead retreating obliquely from the eyes; the ears large; analogy between



the two sexes; a greater extension of all new characteristics added to the necroscopic characteristics which assimilate the European criminal to the Mongolian and Australian type.

A photographic study of 5,000 criminals furnished a means of verifying and fixing the frequency of the criminal physiognomic type in the proportion of 25 per cent, with the maximum of 56 per cent for assassins, and a minimum of 6 to 8 per cent for bankrupts, swindlers, and bigamists. Photography showed how often the ethnic type is effaced among criminals, while they have with each other a veritable resemblance. It shows the frequency of feminine aspect among certain thieves and pederasts, and virility among many female criminals, especially murderesses. A study of 800 free men showed that there may often be found among these the characteristics of degenerate physiognomy, but very rarely, almost never, combined in the same person, and frequently justified by latent criminality. It often happens that greater shrewdness, wealth, or political influence avert the action of the law and hide the criminal in men of great power,—Crispi, for example, or, in New York, the leaders of the Tammany ring.

The anomalies appeared still stranger on studying the psychology and the biology of these unfortunates. Here the analogy with savages was more striking, especially as to tattooing, which in certain criminals prevails to the extent of 25 per cent, among thieves 16 per cent, among minor criminals 34 per cent, and which often serves, as among the savages, to indicate a sect or to boast of a crime. Tattooing is sometimes composed of true pictographic characters, as in the writing of the Indians reported in the publications of the Smithsonian Institution. Thus one man was tattooed with the figure of a woman, winged and crowned. "I caused her to take flight," he said, "for she fled with me, and by me she lost her virgin's crown." She had in her hands two bleeding hearts, denoting the parents who mourned her. Like savages, criminals display great insensibility to pain, which explains their longevity, their ability to bear wounds, their frequent suicide. As with savages also, their passions are swift but violent, vengeance is considered as a duty, and they have a strong love for gambling, alcohol, and complete idleness. Thus the New Caledonians were accustomed to repeat, without knowing it, the remark of the murderer Lemair, "Better die than work." In connection with this, I remember reading one day in a scientific review that among the Australian savages there were found more left-

handed persons than among Europeans. I immediately made observations upon 600 criminals in Turin, and found the proportion of left-handed ones double that in the same number of journeyman printers. Again, having read that savages have greater visual acuteness, I set to work with the oculists and found indeed that the acuteness of their vision was far greater than the normal, contrasting with their dulness of touch, hearing, and sense of color. At another time I read concerning a tribe of American Indians that their plays were almost like combats. Then I studied the games and amusements of young criminals in the reformatories, and I found that almost always these amusements involved wounds, even more often than among the savages. Thus, in one game, the object of a player was to save the head and hands from the wounds of two knives used by the others.

However, these observations were not so original as I at first thought they were. The knowledge of a criminal physiognomic type, which at first appeared most novel, and was most generally denied by the savants, is often instinctive among the common people. There are often persons, especially among women, who are far from suspecting even the existence of criminal anthropology, and who yet, at the sight of those who bear criminal characteristics, instantly experience a lively repulsion and know that they are in the presence of a malefactor. I was acquainted with one lady whose life was quite withdrawn from society, who on two occasions discovered the criminal character of certain young people, not before suspected, but afterward detected by the police. How often we read in the reports of trials, of perfectly honest people, unfamiliar with the slightest anthropological observations, who escape certain death from being warned in time by the sinister glance of the assassin, in which they read his criminal intention. It was in this way that the first letter-carrier who was to have been the victim of the murderer Francesconi had time to flee, haunted by that glance. At my request schoolmasters have shown to forty young girls twenty portraits of thieves and twenty of great men. Four-fifths of these children recognized the first as wretched creatures or as scoundrels, and the second as honest men. The universal although involuntary consciousness of the existence of a physiognomy peculiar to criminals has given birth to the epithets "a thief's face," "the look of an assassin," etc. The only way to explain the opposition to the fact is the reluctance of men to draw a general conclusion from individual observations. But



how is this universal consciousness itself to be explained? In young girls there is certainly no knowledge acquired by experience. Then what is there? An intuitive sense, is it said? That is a vulgar explanation with which the public is contented because it has no meaning.

I suspect that the phenomenon is hereditary. The impression left us by our fathers and transmitted to our children has become unconscious knowledge, like that of the little birds born and reared in our houses, who strike their wings and beaks in fright against their cages when they see pass above them birds of prey known only to their ancestors. Every day teaches us the importance of the unconscious part in human actions, and what a rôle is played by atavism and heredity. Who of us can realize, when he bends the knees and joins the hands in prayer, that he is making an hereditary movement transmitted from those epochs of barbarism when war was the normal state?

## II.—EPILEPSY OF BORN CRIMINALS.

My work was only at its beginning. In the earlier years, possessed by the idea of the skull with its occipital fossa, I believed that the criminal was solely and simply an atavistic phenomenon. I was soon compelled to admit that there are in born criminals, not in others, still stranger anomalies than are presented by savages, and with which atavism has nothing to do. These are: precocious wrinkles, irregular teeth, strabismus, synostosis, osteoma, hernia; meningitic, hepatic, and cardiac lesions. These show the criminal to be abnormal before birth, through the disease of various organs, especially the nervous centres. This again is confirmed by histologic observations, dilation of the cerebral lymphatic vessels, pigmentation of the nerve and connective cells, obtuseness of the senses.

I must confess that in my studies I have never reached the solution of my problems suddenly. Thus, in the study of the nature of the *pellagra*, or Italian leprosy, I reached a solution only by successive stages and by accidents occurring in the path of my studies. This time, also, I was aided by an accident after much time lost in investigation. A soldier at Naples, one Misdea, assassinated without any plausible motive three or four of his companions. It was not noticed in any way, on this occasion, that he had an attack of

epilepsy. He showed great coolness in his murder and remembered it sufficiently well, though not quite correctly. The entire life of this man, who was descended from a line of degenerates, murderers, and epileptics, was a mass of crimes and diseases. One day he set out to kill his *fiancée*, fell fainting in a church, and lay there all night, foaming at the mouth. He remembered nothing of it. He was a barber by trade. In his regiment he had been relieved of this duty on account of his disease. He was straightway seized with a boundless rage, tore his razors into bits with his teeth, and spit them out before his superior officers. In studying this curious criminal I divined instantly that the disease, which was confused with and obscured by the atavism of the crime, was epilepsy.

In effect, in epilepsy there is found the same absence of moral sense, the same dulness of the physical senses, the same impulsiveness as among criminals. This discovery, strange enough in appearance, is very simple in reality. We often hear the spontaneous remark that certain attacks of criminal rage are marked by "epileptic fury." The discovery was rejected with great unanimity, even by those who, like Tamburini and Morselli, had seen cases of psychic epilepsy without convulsion and without amnesia as is often seen in the case of criminals. As for me, I am used to this reception from savants and demi-savants. Indeed, I see in it the sign that I have struck a new and fruitful vein. For thirty years my colleagues ridiculed me for maintaining that *pellagra* is a poisoning by spoiled maize; and during all those years I was known in Italy as the "pellagroseine crank." But there is one thing more trustworthy than academicians,—Time. After some years the proofs in this direction became very numerous. Left-handedness was found to be very frequent among epileptics, as well as insensibility to wounds. Dr. Ottolenghi discovered a characteristic peculiar to epileptics and born criminals alone, the interruption and contraction with scotoma of the periphery of the visual field. Rossi demonstrated that the proportion of epileptics among criminals was 40 per cent. Even the official statistics of the criminals showed the proportion to be six times more than normal. Krafft-Ebing, and Panata of Verona, found epilepsy in the case of many sexual psychopaths, which explains almost all the more curious crimes due to luxury. Literature, both the ancient and the most modern, agrees with these views. Shakespeare surmised epilepsy in the mind of Macbeth, who suffered from hallucinations. Goncourt saw epilepsy in the murderer of the girl Eliza. Dostoi-



ewski described all his criminals as epileptic in his "Crime et Châtiment." Zola, without knowing it, gave us a complete type of psychic epilepsy in the murderer of "La Bête Humaine." I was able to found the first editions of my "Delinquent Man" on living documents, taking as a basis atavism and epilepsy.

### III.—NEW STUDIES: FERRI, GAROFALO, MARRO.

By a strange coincidence, which may be called the maturing of an idea, a young man of Bologna, Ferri, about this time wrote a book in which he demonstrated that if there is no free will all the laws should be changed, for punishment has no influence upon the criminal. He continued in this direction, entered completely into my ideas, and showed that I had not taken sufficient account of the occasional criminal and the habitual criminal. Finally he applied himself to the study of "Fifty Years of Criminality in France," supplying for me another of my defects—that of statistics, which has never been my forte. Later he gave in his "Criminal Sociology" all the sociological bases of our school. At the same time a young magistrate of Naples, Garofalo, who acknowledged no standard of punishment but the defence of society, summed up his studies in the sentence, "The more a man is to be feared, the more he should be confined." Shortly after, Marro, a laborious and learned alienist of minute exactness, contributed powerful support to my theories by studying with the patience of a Benedictine all the moral, physical, and psychical characteristics of five hundred criminals, divided, according to the crime, into thieves, swindlers, etc., and compared them with two hundred normal persons of the same country and age. As a climax of exactness he prepared in twelve personal tables all the observations that he had made and provided for the verification of his conclusions. It will be seen that the little edifice, which was quite rudimental when I began to work alone, was beginning to be completed. Thanks to these critics I was able to add to the criminal born the insane criminal (who is quite as formidable, and resembles him closely), the mattoid (also known as the "crank"), and the criminaloid (a semi-criminal born, who requires a great occasion to violate the laws), and the occasional criminal (who violates them when forced by circumstances). But the gap was not yet entirely filled. One last and almost tragic accident revealed to me the criminal through passion. I was one day in a printing-office, correcting the proofs of my

"Delinquent Man" with the chief reader. I came to a page which spoke of a young man in the diplomatic service who, impelled by jealousy only too well justified (his *fiancée* had almost shown him the price of her prostitution), had stabbed her with a knife and afterward stabbed himself. Sentenced to a light punishment, he had disappeared. The proof-reader was this man. Suddenly he threw himself at my feet, declaring that he would commit suicide if I published this story with his name. His face, before very gentle, was completely altered and almost terrifying, and I was really afraid that he would kill himself or me upon the spot. I tore up the proofs, and for several editions omitted his story; but I had discovered the criminal through passion.<sup>1</sup> There is a class of men, young, honest, of gentle appearance, whose beauty of soul corresponds to their beauty of body, in no wise apathetic like born criminals, but of an exaggerated affectionateness. One of these young men, being in love and unable to talk with his lady-love, put his ear to a wall, transported with delight to hear her step. My proof-reader declared that he wished to burn his ears with red-hot iron when he heard his *fiancée* uttering unclean things. All these men are capable of remorse and of repentance, and are impelled to crime by a strong and often just cause. They commit the crime in broad daylight, with whatever weapon is at hand, and never seek to prove an alibi. It is my opinion that many political criminals belong in this category,—Orsini, for example, Sand and Charlotte Corday.

After this the work arose, it may be said, if not complete, certainly vital and fecund. A large number of monographs appeared upon special crimes, which would not have been published before. Balestrini made a wonderful study of infanticide and abortion, and demonstrated that these crimes might almost be stricken from the code,—on the one hand because criminals through passion are incapable of relapse, and on the other hand because, in the case of abortion especially, what is killed is not a man, but a being inferior in the zoological world. Margri at Pisa undertook a study of theft. Florian took up another on defamation, showing that what resembles defamation and is severely punished by the Italian law—which always goes contrary to right—is a necessity of moral and political lib-

<sup>1</sup> I may add that a few years later this man, who had married an extremely plain woman, and who had told me that at the slightest suspicion of his wife he would kill either her or himself, committed suicide without any known cause. I made a study of his skull and brain and found them of admirable beauty.



erty; that the liberty of criticism, even when it is offensive, should not be restricted, but favored in every possible way. Sighele studied collective crime. He showed, more amply than I had been able to do, that aggregations of human beings have a character quite opposed to that of the units of which they are made up. Though the majority of the crowd may be good, the crowd itself may be converted into a cruel beast. The passions of each, when shared by a great number of individuals at once, become doubly intense, because the emotion of each is communicated from one to another, and the latent criminality of every individual breaks out through the certainty of impunity or through the influence of some one not so honest. This is the basis of his "*Foule Criminelle*." In another work, "*Le Crime à Deux*," he demonstrated that persons associated for evil are more to be feared than any single criminal. Occasional criminals, or criminals through passion, never have accomplices. I, myself, with Laschi, constructed a complete penal system for political crimes, starting from misoneism. In nature the law of inertia prevails, and still more in the human race, which has a horror of the new. Every precipitate change which is not extorted by necessity is painful to it, and in politics is punished, for it goes against the opinions and sentiments of the majority. If organic and moral progress does not take place slowly, through powerful attrition, provoked by exterior and interior circumstances, and if man and society are distinctly conservative, it must be concluded that those efforts in favor of progress which adopt means too abrupt and too violent are not physiological. They may sometimes be a necessity for an oppressed minority, but in the eyes of the law they are anti-social and therefore a crime. Often it is a useless crime, for it awakens reaction in the misoneistic direction, which, since it is solidly based on human nature, has great force. All progress, to be accepted, must be slow, otherwise it is futile and mischievous. Those who wish to impose a political innovation upon society, without tradition, without necessity, offend misoneism and arouse that reaction in the public mind which comes from a dread of the new, and invite the application of the penal laws. Here appears the distinction between revolutions and revolts or seditions. The former are slow, long-prepared, necessary, or at most hastened a little by some neurotic or passionnal spirit. The latter may be an artificial and precipitate incubation, at an exaggerated temperature, of embryos doomed to certain death. These latter are for the most part the work of mattoids (semi-lunatics), lunatics, and

born criminals who have a strong tendency to innovation. The former prevail more among the Germanic and Anglo-Saxon races in cold or temperate climates (Luther, Cromwell); the latter are more often found in Latin, Catholic, and warm countries.

Mr. Henry Ferri made a brilliant beginning with the biological, psychical, psycho-pathological study of homicide in his "*Criminels, avec Atlas*." Under natural conditions of primitive humanity homicide bore, in many respects, a great part, and Mr. Ferri notes with great perspicacity a double process of evolution, toward diminishing ferocity and moral sentiment, and toward judicial institutions. Homicide, therefore, in the form of sanguinary vengeance, is the embryo of all social rights of repression. He infers that murder is not the product of an abstract voluntary fiat, but that it has its roots deep in the animal organism; that it is the natural effect of physio-pathological, physical, and social causes. He gives us the evidence in insensibility, which is the key of innate criminality; in the indifference, and sometimes the pleasure, taken in the sufferings of others; the cool ferocity of crime; the apathetic impassibility as to the crime itself and its penalties,—evident proof that this psychic analgesia is founded upon physical anæsthesia. He shows the futility of motive, the disdain of human life which is a characteristic of savages, and finally the behavior of born homicides, cynical and vain during their trial, and very different afterward. Ferri reports numerous original observations which show that, contrary to the general belief, many homicides confess their crimes, and do so much more frequently than thieves or pickpockets. Quite novel, and capable of a still greater development, is his study upon moral daltonism, by which, in certain criminals, there exists a strong aversion for certain crimes and for the causes and reasons for committing them. Moreover, despite these abnormal conditions of their general senses, criminals also possess sentiments common to other men, but differently developed, lacking the guide and check of the moral sense. For instance, the religious sentiment, which is very frequent among homicides, has nothing to do with the genesis of the crime, because it represents rather a moral sanction than a true and proper moral sense. The most extraordinary part of this work is the atlas. The figures of arid criminal anthropometry are handled with striking certainty. Accounts are given of 695 investigations of great variety and interest. It is the geography not only of homicide, but of all crimes in all the countries of Europe.



Madame Tarnowski, in her studies of the *filles de joie*, thieves, and village women, demonstrated that the cranial capacity of prostitutes is inferior to that of the female thieves and the villagers, and still more to that of women of good society. *Vice versa* the zygomatic process and the mandibles were more developed among the former, who also showed a greater number of anomalies,—87 per cent; while the thieves had 79 per cent, and the villagers only 12 per cent. According to the author, what distinguishes the thieves from the prostitutes is their utter repugnance to giving any information as to their sexual relations, and the silence that falls upon them when the question is raised as to the causes of their confinement. They deny their offence and will not yield even to proof. The hereditary defects of thieves are less marked than those of prostitutes. The latter have, for example, among their ancestry, 82 per cent of inebriate relatives and 44 per cent of consumptives, while the thieves have only 49 per cent and 19 per cent respectively. Thus the thieves possess fewer signs of physical degeneration. Moreover the number of births among them exceeds that of the other class as 256 to 64, a circumstance approaching the normal.

Kurella and Fraenkel in Germany, Havelock Ellis and Morrison in England, extended the horizons of these studies by their own works and by translations from the Italian. A large number of reviews, entirely special, appeared on every side. "L'Archivio di Antropologia Criminale" is already in its eighteenth year. Kowalewski and Mucewski have two in Russia, Lacassagne one in France, Kurella one in Germany. There sprang also into existence a publishing house devoted exclusively to books on criminal anthropology in Italy, which has already issued more than sixty works in three series. A similar one was established in Germany under the direction of Kurella, and another by Morrison in England, which unfortunately commenced with the poorest of my works, making it still poorer by the cruelest mutilations.

#### IV.—PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS.

It is easy enough to see the practical application of these theories. The criminal code has been conceived through the study of crime as an abstraction. It must be modified by knowledge of the criminal. There should be in it no dream of theological expiations, which man has no right to impose, but it should aim solely at the defence of

society. The greatest criminal anomaly—even insanity—should not be considered as an extenuating circumstance. Even lunatics should be arrested in order to protect society, especially the morally insane, who are a great peril, and the masked epileptics. In the punishment of crime the tendency of its authors should be considered. If the author is born criminal, he must be confined for life, though the crime itself is not great. On the other hand, a crime committed by an honest man impelled by some strong motive should be punished with much indulgence, especially political and religious crimes, which often only anticipate by some centuries the thought of the people. In our time, when hours are years and years are centuries, a political idea which appears to be dangerous and even criminal through its excessive novelty, after some time may appear practical and just. Such, for instance, were the ideas of Christ and of Luther, and at the present time the ideas of the equality of all classes and of the participation of workmen in profits. There was a time when it would have been a crime to maintain these ideas. Now they pertain to a possible reform. Then it must be understood that for these crimes there should be no irrevocable penalty, like death. The penalty should be revocable when the novelty has passed away and the idea is no longer criminal.

*Vice versa*, the hand of the law must fall heavily upon the recidivists, putting aside all sentimentality, especially if they have accomplices. And the complicity must not be judged arithmetically, for whether there are four or ten they are equally dangerous. It is merely preferring formulas to facts to exempt an association with less than six members, as is done in Italy, and to ignore the perils of any criminal association. A man who is not contented to steal himself, but enlists others, is more dangerous, and must be treated without pity. Justice cannot be an emanation from the Eternal Father repressing sin and disregarding interests. It especially should undertake to compensate the victims of crime at the expense of the criminal, making him work in order to pay the indemnity if he is not rich. It is a blunder also, when society has lost through the crime, to compel it to lose still more for the support of the criminal.

All efforts at reform should be concentrated upon occasional criminals. They are the only ones for whom much can be done. They should be removed from all opportunity by procuring them employment and protecting them from the mischievous influence of



alcohol, not only by prohibitory laws and fines, which are generally a dead letter, but by giving them mental amusement, which will satisfy that cerebral excitement that is gratified by alcohol. Above all, the tendency to crime which appears in infancy must not be allowed to continue in youth and become habitual. All this has received no application in Italy. I was fairly startled when THE FORUM requested from me an account of the applications made in Italy of my ideas. What can one expect from a race of advocates and rhetoricians? When there is a great evil to correct we are contented to make laws, and speeches which have quite as much force. The speeches vanish, and the laws with them, producing no effect. But people get along contentedly because their apathetic quiet is not disturbed. In their hatred of the new they prefer suffering to change. It is true that a new criminal code has been made in our country since my school sprang up, but it is wholly opposed to my ideas. The penalties in the case of relapses have been almost suppressed with great applause in the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. These great legislators take no account of the foes of free will or of classic law. Nevertheless the *manicome* (guardian of the insane) is necessary for criminals despite the law, and three establishments have been founded in Italy. The penalty of death, which is a sovereign remedy for us, has been abolished, though murderers continue and even multiply their offences.

No provision for judicial anthropometry has been established. An Italian, one of my dearest disciples, Anfasso, has invented an instrument, the tachianthropometer, which rapidly and automatically takes all the measures of the body (I call it, half in jest, the "anthropometric guillotine"), but after much negotiation the government did not accept it. The only countries where anything has really been done in the direction of my school are North America, England, and Switzerland. We must admit that there is a tendency to crime at a very early age. Children are liars, thieves, etc. This tendency in well-born children disappears with a good education, when they are removed from bad examples and evil incitements, but in the criminal born it is continued in spite of everything. Every effort that we can suggest to combat crime should be concentrated, not upon the criminal born, but upon the occasional criminal, to prevent him from wandering from the right path. This class forms about 75 per cent according to our calculations. Now, almost unconsciously, by that intuition which comes from practical vice joined to religious

fanaticism unspoiled by formulas and by the bonds of Catholicism, London and Geneva have found the means to prevent the child not criminal born from being driven to evil through the abandonment of his parents or the want of work or of nourishment, so that he does not become an occasional criminal and afterward an habitual one. In this work the ragged schools, etc., Dr. Barnardo's missions, and the enterprises of the Salvation Army are engaged. While in England millions of rescued children are reported, in Italy there are only 12,000; and these are not really rescued, for the houses of correction and reformatories are in reality universities of crime. In the United States, especially in Boston and New York, great efforts have been made in this direction. In all these countries—in America, England, Norway, and Switzerland—an effort has been made to restrict alcoholic poison, which may transform the honest adult into the criminal. Unfortunately, in some countries, continual immigration composed always of adventurous men, together with the mixture of blood, black and yellow, having no common moral sense, and the evil influence of professional politicians, prevent results as important as at London and Geneva. But the United States alone can boast of having conscientiously applied scientific knowledge of criminal anthropology to criminal therapeutics, for at Washington there has been founded the first bureau for degenerates and abnormal people. The worthy founder of the Elmira Reformatory, with the frankness which is no longer found among our old races, has declared that his whole system of education is based upon the knowledge given by our school as to the criminal, and especially as to his psychology. To give new strength to good tendencies; to make of mischievous tendencies—vanity for instance—the stimulus toward the right way; to engraft the taste for work; to avail one's self of the natural desire of the prisoner to shorten his penalty; to remove from all adult occasional criminals the opportunity for relapse,—that is, according to our school, the greatest possible effort for the cure of crime: and I believe that these efforts would be crowned with still greater success if masses of individuals had not been brought together in the same place, and if the adults had not been employed to care for the young; if, following the example of Barnardo, instead of making the prisoners servants or workmen, they had been made good farmers. Nevertheless, when I compare these establishments with those which I see in Italy and in France, where there is only the appearance of work, with a varnish of bigotry, I am happy and proud. If the new ideas sprung from our old



European soil must perish there for want of people who understand them, they will find in the new world fervent supporters, able to perpetuate and apply them. As the inspiring fruit of the vine, which was the first joy and the first sin of the ancient world, is now commencing to be returned to us from the new world modified and improved, so the true political liberty, a Utopian dream in our ancient continent, has already taken deep and sure root in North America, whence the great thinkers of Europe may draw new force for work, and whither they may direct their last glance, finding consolation for a life misunderstood and disdained.

C. LOMBROSO.

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Readers desiring to investigate this subject further may consult with advantage the following books and articles: Lombroso, "Delinquent Man"; Lombroso and Ferrero, "The Female Offender," New York (D. Appleton & Co.); Havelock Ellis, "Men and Women," New York (Charles Scribner's Sons); Z. R. Brockway, "The State and the Criminal," *THE FORUM*, November, 1886; W. M. F. Round, "Criminals and the Victims of Heredity," *THE FORUM*, September, 1893; Henry C. Lea, "The Increase of Crime and Positivist Criminology," *THE FORUM*, August, 1894; Ferri, "La Sociologie Criminelle," author's translation from the 3d Italian edition, 1 vol., Paris, 1893 (Rousseau); Garofalo, "La Criminologie," 3d ed., 1 vol., Paris, 1892 (Alcan); Tarde, "La Criminalité Comparée," 2d ed., 1 vol., Paris, 1890 (Alcan); Falkner, "Prison Statistics of the United States," Philadelphia, 1889; Morrison, "Crime and its Causes," 1 vol., London, 1891 (Swan, Sonnenschein & Co.); Köbner, "Die Methode einer wissenschaftlichen Rückfallstatistik," 1 vol., Berlin, 1893; Von Oettingen, "Die Moralstatistik in ihrer Bedeutung für eine Socialethik," 3d ed., 1 vol., Erlangen (Deichert).

## SHALL CUBA BE FREE?

ON October 28, 1482, Columbus discovered Cuba. His son Diego, in 1511, fitted out an expedition consisting of 300 men, and despatched it under command of Diego Velasquez to take possession of the island and begin its colonization. According to all early writers, the Siboney Indians, who possessed this noblest of the Antilles, were amiable, innocent, hospitable, and graceful. Velasquez lost no time in despoiling them of their possessions, trampling on their natural rights, and butchering those who resented his brutal domination. The Chief Hatuei, who saw his people so cruelly enslaved, struck back, and Velasquez burned him at the stake. Between the savage conceptions of immortality which Columbus declares these gentle savages to have possessed, and the new doctrines of salvation which Spanish conquerors never failed to confide to those whom they were about to roast, Hatuei must have experienced a certain confusion of ideas; but his primitive soul so revolted at the cruelty of his tormentors that he said: "If there are Spaniards in heaven, I prefer to go to hell." For about four hundred years Spain has owned Cuba, and she has governed it, with certain honorable exceptions, on the lines of oppression and exhaustion laid down by Diego Velasquez.

Slaughter and deportation for the slave markets of Spain, within fifty years so reduced the Indian population—variously estimated from 500,000 to 1,000,000—that importation of African slaves was authorized, and thereafter continued, either openly or clandestinely, until within forty years of the present date. Coarse greed underlay the enslaving of both Indians and Africans, and the oppression born of that greed, and practised on peoples whom it was safe to maltreat, became so ingrained in the class that governed Cuba, that to-day in this late year of our Lord, after the last Siboney sleeps in his grave, and Spain has been forced to abolish her African slavery, she must needs hold over her own flesh and blood in Cuba the same old iron rod of oppression. So exasperating is that rod, so cruel its strokes, that Cuba is again in the throes of a bloody insurrection.



Hatuei in 1511 preferred hell to a heaven with Spaniards. The Cubans of 1895 had rather die the death of battle than live under Spanish rule. I propose briefly to explain how it is that a people living in Paradise, with every gift of nature to ensure human content and cherish social joy, have been stung and tormented into flinging their lives into the vortex of war, with scarcely more than a heroic courage to oppose to the fearful odds against them. Most great wrongs have their tap-roots deep in the past. To trace these roots from their origin upwards into the bitter fruitage of Cuba will require a patience which I am forced to ask of the reader.

Somewhat after the middle of the sixteenth century the administration of Cuba, previously under colonizing chiefs, was formally handed over to the military arm in the person of a Captain-General, to whom was given despotic power; and it so continued until within very recent years, when the office has been changed in title to Governor-General: but as he is always a general of the Spanish army, and commander-in-chief of all the Spanish forces in Cuba, in one or the other of his capacities he still wields the same old absolute power.

Until the first decade of the present century Cuba shared the varying fate of the other members of the Spanish empire: according to the personal characters of the sovereigns, viceroys, and captains-general, she was governed well or ill as it happened. But she was part and parcel of the commonweal of Spain, not a province singled out to be held down beneath the military heel, and plundered at will, as she now is. Early Spanish laws and ordinances had formally announced that the Indias were to be governed under the same principles as Leon and Castile. Ordenanza 14, of the Council of Philip II., and 13 of Philip IV., I translate literally as follows:

"Because the kingdoms of Castile and of the Indias belong to one crown, the laws and mode of government of both should be the most similar and consistent that is possible. Those of our Council, in the laws and ordinances which they institute for these states, seek to accommodate their form and manner of government to the custom and order into which the kingdoms of Leon and Castile are ruled and governed, so far as the diversity and difference of countries and nations permit."

But this unity, of course, was always under the sway of the absolutism of the Spanish monarchy, and that absolutism embodied in captains-general had reduced Cuba to insolvency and bitterness so long ago as the middle of the last century. In this despair the liberal spirits of Cuba, like those of Spain, clung to a single hope,—that of escape from personal tyranny into modern constitutional freedom.

The seeds of chartered liberty that had matured in such definite and even modern shape in the days of the mediæval Aragonian kings had never really died, but retained their power of vital germination during all the dreary decline of Spanish greatness, through the whole Hapsburg dynasty and earlier Bourbon reigns. But it was not until Napoleon overran Spain, and the last relics of national independence under the Junta Central had gathered in convention in Cadiz, that those seeds bore living fruit. There in 1812 the Spanish Constitution was formed and adopted. That instrument, drawn closely after the lines of the Constituent Assembly of France, in terms extended its jurisdiction to the "Indias," including, of course, Cuba. It embodied the broad ideas of Charles and Philip as to Spanish unity, and even went so far as to make formal declaration that "the Spanish nation is the reunion of the Spaniards of both hemispheres." Article after article prescribed the steps to be taken by the people of Ultramar (under which designation were included the Americas) to avail themselves of their new rights. Article 10 declared the whole of Spanish America, including the Antilles, to be an integral part of Spanish territory. Article 30, in providing for the basis of representation for the Ultramarine provinces, gave one deputy for each 60,000 people. Articles 37, 61, 80, and 101 prescribed the mode and conditions for the election of these Ultramar deputies. Article 107 established a "permanent deputation" of the Cortes, a sort of executive committee, to be chosen from its own members and to consist of seven persons, three from the European Spanish provinces and three from Ultramar; the seventh, and presiding officer, to be the President of the Council of the Indias. Finally, Article 232 required that of the Council of State, to be composed of forty individuals, not less than twelve should be natives of the provinces of Ultramar. Thus this Constitution stretched its arm over Cuba, and would, if honestly administered, have lifted the island into brilliant prosperity and content; but, in 1814, before the new machinery could be started, that false and brutish Bourbon, Ferdinand VII., recovered the family throne, tossed the Constitution into his waste-basket, and took a plunge back as far toward the dark ages as was possible in a world that had just witnessed the French Revolution. Cuba, with the rest, sank into the old routine of personal rule, and went on in sadness and decline under the captains-general. The subsequent story of Ferdinand's cowardice only matches that of his folly. In doing away with the Constitution he had meant to



throw liberty with it, but sturdy Cadiz, within whose walls the Constitution had been drawn, arose in 1820 and scared the poor king into a new acceptance. But, alas! backed by a hundred thousand French bayonets and the moral support of the Holy Alliance in 1823, Ferdinand felt himself master again, and tore up the instrument which stood between free Spain and Bourbonism.

In 1836, Ferdinand having died, the Constitution was again made the living basis of Spanish government; this time accepted by Christina, then regent for her daughter Isabella. In these vicissitudes of the thrice-adopted document, Cuba had a critical interest. The hearts of her people fell and rose, as the barometer sags and surges up again when a hurricane tears across the island. After the final acceptance of the Constitution, and before the organization of the Cortes, which occurred on October 24, 1836, intrigue and agitation began over the status to be arranged for Ultramar. Tyranny and exactions had lately led to the revolts of Chili, Peru, Mexico, and the other Continental provinces; they had already successfully thrown off the yoke, and were in that strange state of liberty and chaos which is familiar to the world. Spain, always callous to the sufferings of her provinces, regarded their loss purely from the point of view of revenue. The torrent of money that since the Conquest had poured like a great golden gulf-stream across the Atlantic, bathing Spain in a climate of wealth, now shrank to a feeble flow, and she felt the chill.

Although Cuba, by refusing to follow the example of the Continental American provinces, had gained the title of "ever faithful," Spain knew well enough that her oppressions might wear out even the patience of an unqualified loyalty, and she found herself confronted with the problem of how she could forever keep for her own the revenue which in time must flow from so rich a country as Cuba. Under the liberty of her Constitution, impartially extended to Cuba, she saw a vision of growing resources and of uprising power, but towering above all stood the distinct spectre of Independence. She had political sagacity enough to know that liberty for Cuba meant power and autonomy, and autonomy the loss of that as yet far off but inevitably coming wealth. To be just and impartial involved for Spain the moral energy of a new departure and the ultimate loss of Cuba. The reign of oppression and plunder was in full force, and if let alone would go on with all the momentum already given to it by centuries of cupidity.

The instrument of her greed in Cuba was just then General Tacon, a soldier of violence and ignorance, who came to the captain-generalcy embittered from a failure to encompass Spanish ends in South America. Tacon was a true type of the Spanish oppressor, born with a contempt for all other than force, and hardened by the omnipotence of his Spanish commission. The following royal order, addressed to a predecessor, conveys an idea of the powers of the captain-generalcy to which Tacon succeeded when he arrived in Cuba. This is not the credential of a Persian satrap under Cambyses, nor of a Roman pro-consul under Caligula, but is an ordinary commission in the nineteenth century to the Cuban captain-general, issued by his Catholic Majesty Ferdinand VII. It reads as follows:—

“His Majesty, the King, our Lord, desiring to obviate the inconveniences which might result in extraordinary cases from a division of command, and from the interference of powers and prerogatives of the respective officers; for the important end of preserving in that precious island [Cuba] his legitimate sovereign authority and public tranquillity through proper means,—has resolved, in accordance with the opinion of his Council of Ministers, to give to your Excellency the fullest authority, bestowing upon you all the powers which by the royal ordinances are granted to the governors of besieged cities. In consequence of this His Majesty gives to your Excellency the most complete and unbounded power, not only to send away from the island any persons in office, whatever be their occupation, rank, class, or condition, whose continuance therein your Excellency may deem injurious, or whose conduct, public or private, may alarm you, replacing them with persons faithful to His Majesty, and deserving of all the confidence of your Excellency; but also to suspend the execution of any order whatsoever, or any general provision made concerning any branch of the administration, as your Excellency may think most suitable to the royal service.” (Royal decree, March 28, 1825.)

Under precisely similar faculties Tacon was governing in Cuba when constitutional light dawned over Spain. Like all despots, he was quick to catch the meaning of a new portent, and flung himself hotly into the struggle to prevent the extension of the new Constitution to Cuba. On the 27th of September, 1836, the barkentine “Guadalupe” brought to Santiago de Cuba news of the promulgation in Spain of the Constitution; and the Liberals under General Lorenzo, the military governor of the province, thinking the millennium had come, gathered all Santiagan authorities and proclaimed it for Cuba. Tacon instantly stamped his heel on Santiago, ordering that “in that province not the slightest change in the order of things should be made, unless preceded by his express and final order as Captain-General of the island.”

When, on the 24th of October of the same year, the Cortes organ-



ized for the first time in Madrid, it immediately appeared that a struggle was inevitable over the Antilles. In January there arrived in Madrid three deputies, elected, in spite of Tacon's order, from Santiago. They presented their credentials with a forcible memorial, but were met with silence and delay. Meanwhile enemies of Cuba within the Cortes secured in secret session the appointment of a committee which in the month of February, 1837, presented a report recommending in substance that (I translate the essential words) "the Spanish provinces of America and Asia be hereafter ruled and administered by special laws, and that their deputies are not to take seats in the present Cortes." This *Informe* became the subject of a memorable debate, which lasted from the 7th of March until April 16. There was abundant time for the full expression of opinion, for reason and consideration; the action of the body was therefore as deliberate as it was final. When the parliamentary division was taken, there were 155 deputies present; *but only two voted for the extension of the privileges of the Constitution to Ultramar*. Reports of this debate show that the two reasons which determined the action of the Cortes were a resolution to wring revenue out of Cuba and to guard against her achieving independence. This action of the Cortes found official expression two days later in the promulgation of the following law, which I translate:—

"The Cortes, using the power which is conceded to them by the Constitution, have decreed: not being in position to apply the Constitution which has been adopted for the Peninsula and adjacent island to the Ultramarine provinces of America and Asia, these shall be ruled and administered by special laws appropriate to their respective situations and circumstances, and proper to cause their happiness; consequently, the deputies for the designated provinces are not to take their seats in the present Cortes."

Thus Spain disinherited Cuba and withheld her birthright. Thus she crushed her noblest hopes, and broke the heart of her fairest province. This was the moment when Cuban loyalty turned into hate.

While this act of disinheritance turned the great body of liberal-minded Cubans forever against Spain, there has always remained a conservative party of natives who realized that genuine reforms of policy and administration might secure the condition of "happiness," to which the law of 1837 ironically alluded, without severing the link with the mother country. The hope and aim of this deluded group has been to secure representation in the Cortes, where, although in powerless minority, they might carry on a campaign of education which should finally persuade Spain to see the mutual advantage of a qual-

ified autonomy. Madrid remained deaf to forty years of this sort of pleading. However, in 1878, Martinez Campos negotiated a peace with the unconquered and apparently unconquerable Cuban insurgents who had fought heroically for ten years, which peace was paid for in promises.

Slavery had been practically killed by the war; Campos only bound Spain to publish the death notice. The main concession for which the insurgents accepted peace was the promise of constitutional reform. As a matter of fact, there promptly followed four royal decrees as follows: June 9, entitling Cuba to elect deputies to the Cortes, one for each 40,000 people; June 9, dividing the island into the present six provinces; June 21, instituting a system of provincial and municipal government, followed on August 16 by the necessary electoral regulations. But the system was immediately seen to be the shadow without the substance of self-government. The Provincial Assembly could nominate only three candidates for presiding officer. It was the inevitable governor-general who had the power to appoint, not necessarily one of the three nominees, but any member of the Assembly he chose. But all this provincial machinery is in reality an empty form, since expressly by law the governor-general was given the power to prorogue the assemblies at will. The deputies have never been able to accomplish anything in the Cortes. Moreover, the crux of the whole financial oppression—the tariff, taxes, and absolute control and expenditure of the revenue—remained with Spain. Her cynical apathy was momentarily jarred by the ten years' war, and under fear she yielded so far as to grant reforms which reformed nothing, privileges which carried no benefit, nominal changes which in no essential particular disturbed the absolutely despotic power of the Spanish pro-consul. A century of hope and of struggle ended without progress. Cubans are under no illusions; they know that they are exactly where they have been from the beginning,—under the heel of military force,—

*"Plus ça change plus c'est la même chose!"*

The result, from an economical point of view, has been the continued enforcement of a financial system frankly contrived to enrich Spain at the expense of Cuba, but practically extinguishing the healthy industrial progress of the island. That system comprises: 1. A tariff, which by differential duties forces Cuba to buy to Spanish advantage and her own disadvantage, and sell (with an export



duty for Spain's benefit) where she can. 2. A scheme of internal taxation laid in crushing weight on every phase of industrial life. 3. A complete system of control and espionage over the details of business, with countless fees and explanations. The body of officers who execute this universal system of great and petty interference are too generally blackmailers who adroitly temper their exactions to the little wool left on the oft-shorn lamb. 4. The distribution and expenditure of practically the total collected revenues remains with Spain.

The general result of this policy, besides embittering the Cubans, has been to strain and drain every industry, and by idiotic administrative meddling to discourage new projects and embarrass old ones.

With the exception of a few modern sugar estates, largely of foreign ownership, and some almost comic railways, Cuban industry is back in the period of the Roman empire. The island has long ceased to pay a legal, above-board profit to Spain, but yearly piles up a mountain of deficit. To merchants in Spain, from whom Cuba is by the tariff forced to buy, there is profit; to the Spanish tradesman in Cuba there is fortune; to the army of blackmailers there is wealth. All profit and all advantage go to Spain. Cuba only suffers and grows poor. She has, moreover, the bitterness of seeing that the host of almost hostile Spaniards in the island, both official and commercial, are there only to despoil her. She sees her revenues imposed and spent by Spain, and the private gains of the army of aliens carried off when greed is glutted.

Nowhere within the limits of western civilization is there a more favorable spot for the swift, almost boundless, development of vast popular wealth. Rich beyond description, beautiful as Eden, Cuba, with only a tenth of its area occupied, and its resources as yet hardly touched, lies bankrupt under the coarse heel of a despot too blind to see even his own advantage.

Half a century ago, by a liberal fiscal policy and decently good administration, even denying constitutional rights and by means of her "special laws," Spain with supreme ease could have placed Cuba in opulence and turned the old golden gulf-stream again toward her shores. But with that towering vanity which has replaced her just national pride, she scoffed at the appeals of Cuba, and went on in that career of conceited folly which has reduced her from the loftiest position in modern European history to the pitiable insignificance of to-day, and left for Cuba only ruin and rage. It is now too late. Spain can never win back the heart of Cuba. She can never

again make a lasting peace. It is war till Cubans are free or dead. Flung from the continent of America for her intolerable oppression, Spain lags in this hemisphere as the mere embodiment of tyrannical greed. From a historic distance there is a kind of picturesque Roman grandeur in her armed and bannered conquerors, trampling down barbarians and putting them to the sword and cross; but no haze of time or distance will ever soften the miserable spectacle of her last days in Cuba, oppressing and blackmailing her fairest daughter.

The dilemma forced upon Spain in 1836 was this: on the one hand constitutional liberty for Cuba, with a future of greatness and prosperity, but with inevitable final independence; on the other, a continuance of the old military and financial despotism which had always meant sacrificing real industrial progress for to-day's plunder, and a future of insurrections with probable independence at the end. Although Spain apparently never saw it, both roads lead to independence. We have seen how she chose the latter course, and its logical result of bankruptcy and rebellion. Prior to the present insurrection four others have occurred in this century. The conspiracy of the Black Eagle in 1829, the Lopez conspiracy in 1848-51, the Pinto conspiracy in 1855, and the bitter ten years' war, 1868-78.

Having seen how her financial short-sightedness has brought about ruin, it is worth while to advert now to the manner in which Spain, in maintaining her military government, has treated the persons and personal rights of Cubans. For example: the alleged slave conspiracy of 1844 was met by the immediate placing of a court-martial at Matanzas, the scene of the trouble. No incriminating evidence was obtainable under ordinary examination, so the court went back to the fine old methods of the Inquisition, and followed the example of Torquemada. Slaves, colored freedmen, and whites, were stretched face down on ladders, and their naked backs lashed till they satisfied their torturers. As a result 1,846 people were sentenced, some to death, others to banishment, others to hard labor for various periods. Any Cuban patriot may find himself under a tacit ban. Let us suppose that he is a suspected person: he is watched, and if suspicion rises to a sufficient degree of certainty he is arrested; and now comes one of the neatest and most effective methods of disposing of a suspect among the extraordinary wealth of expedients known to Spanish military law. Evidence being slight, the prisoner may be ordered removed under guard to some other place of safe-keeping, and is liable to be shot by his soldier guard if he attempts to escape. So com-



mon has this been that a wink of his superior to the guard is as good as a nod. When the prisoner stumbles, or sneezes, or looks out of one eye,—he is killed, and a report is rendered, “Shot while attempting to escape.”

In the 1868–78 war, the insurgents were never accorded belligerent rights by any power strong enough to take Spain by the throat and force her to conduct operations under the reasonable humanities of modern war. The peculiar form of Cuba renders the control of every port easy to the Spanish navy; and although battles were won and campaigns steadily conducted for ten years by the insurgents, the United States government chose to close its eyes to the truth. The real facts were, not that a state of war was not fully demonstrated, but the Alabama claims were in the air, and we were ready first to turn our backs on Cuba in order not to prejudice our money case against England, and after the payment of the award, the precedent was still too fresh. The South American republics which recognized Cuban belligerency were powerless, and Europe remained indifferent. Thus Spain, left unrestrained by foreign powers, worked her will with a cynical frankness that laid bare her full savagery. The war having begun, General Count Valmaseda published the following proclamation:

“Inhabitants of the country! The reinforcements of troops that I have been waiting for have arrived; with them I shall give protection to the good, and punish promptly those that still remain in rebellion against the government of the metropolis.

“You know that I have pardoned those who have fought us with arms; that your wives, mothers, and sisters have found in me the unexpected protection that you have refused them. You know, also, that many of those we have pardoned have turned against us again.

“Before such ingratitude, such villany, it is not possible for me to be the man that I have been; there is no longer a place for a falsified neutrality; *he that is not for me is against me*; and that my soldiers may know how to distinguish, you hear the order they carry:

“1st. Every man, from the age of fifteen years upward, found away from his habitation, (*finca*) and who does not prove a justified motive therefor, will be shot.

“2d. Every habitation unoccupied will be burned by the troops.

“3d. Every habitation from which does not float a white flag, as a signal that its occupants desire peace, will be reduced to ashes.

“Women that are not living at their own homes, or at the houses of their relatives, will collect in the town of Jiguani, or Bayamo, where maintenance will be provided. Those who do not present themselves will be conducted forcibly.

“The foregoing determinations will commence to take effect on the 14th of the present month.

EL CONDE DE VALMASEDA.”

Bayamo, April 4, 1869.

Spanish tyrants are always deeply Christian, so that it can hardly be supposed that Valmaseda, in using solemn words of the Saviour, did so unconscious that the source of his phrase is the source of divine compassion to men.

A month later, Mr. Fish, then Secretary of State, correctly branded this proclamation as "infamous," and wrote in a letter to Señor Lopez Roberts (Spanish minister to the United States):

"In the interest of Christian civilization and common humanity, I hope that this document is a forgery. If it indeed be genuine, the President instructs me in the most forcible manner to protest against such mode of warfare."

We have not forgotten the wanton butchery of Americans in the "Virginus" affair. It remains of value as a proved example without which we should be slow to believe that Spanish generals habitually shot insurgents captured in battle, as in fact they did. A published record of the Spanish barbarities of the war gives in detail a list of 2,927 "Martyrs to Liberty,"—political prisoners executed during the war,—and of 4,672 captured insurgents whose fate has never been made known. There were 13,000 confiscations of estates, 1,000 being those of ladies whose only crime was the love of Cuban liberty.

The experience of American newspaper correspondents, like O'Kelly, in rebel camps and Spanish prisons, confirms the revolting character of the Spanish conduct of the war; and there are extant letters of Spanish officers which throw gleams of light into the darkness of the period. A specimen or two are enough.

Jesus Rivocoba, under date of September 4, 1869, writes:

"We captured seventeen, thirteen of whom were shot outright; on dying they shouted, 'Hurrah for Free Cuba, hurrah for Independence.' A mulatto said, 'Hurrah for Céspedes.' On the following day we killed a Cuban officer and another man. Among the thirteen that we shot the first day were found three sons and their father; the father witnessed the execution of his sons without even changing color, and when his turn came he said he died for the independence of his country. On coming back we brought along with us three carts filled with women and children, the families of those we had shot; and they asked us to shoot them, because they would rather die than live among Spaniards."

Pedro Fardon, another officer, who entered perfectly into the spirit of the service he honored, writes on September 22, 1869:

"Not a single Cuban will remain in this island, because we shoot all those we find in the fields, on the farms, and in every hovel."

And again, on the same day, the same officer sends the following good news to his old father:

"We do not leave a creature alive where we pass, be it man or animal. If



we find cows, we kill them; if horses, ditto; if hogs, ditto; men, women, or children, ditto; as to the houses, we burn them: so every one receives his due,—the men in balls, the animals in bayonet-thrusts. The island will remain a desert."

Valmaseda himself paid a visit to the plantation home of the Mora family, and, there being no male patriots on whom to wreak his lust for blood, butchered and burned the sisters Mora and left their home in ashes. A mere enumeration of authentic cases of Spanish inhumanity in the last insurrection would fill volumes and exhibit one of the blackest episodes of history.

There is reason to hope that Campos will make war as a civilized soldier. In his termination of the last insurrection he showed a comprehension of modern methods, and there are symptoms that he is conscious of the general barbarism of Spain's Cuban policy. It is not clear that he was not sincere in his programme of reform which induced the peace of 1878. For the despicable falseness of Spain as to her promised reforms, perhaps Campos was in no way responsible.

In Spanish character survives a continuous trait of the pagan cruelty of Rome, reinforced and raised to fiendish intensity by the teachings of the Inquisition. Had the United States, by one stroke of her pen, recognized Cuban belligerency, as was her moral duty, all the Caligula-Torquemada atrocities would have been stopped, and the war for freedom gone on to victory unstained by the blood of women and children. President Grant lost this noblest opportunity of his civil career by miserable anxiety about the Alabama claims.

Cubans are under no delusion as to the fateful step they have taken; the men who survived the scourge of the ten-years' war, in rushing to arms again, act in full consciousness of what they are doing, and willingly face the cruel odds. If this were a first effort to acquire freedom it might be attributed to the over-confident enthusiasm of a brave people inexperienced in war and its train of suffering and grief, and ignorant of the combination of money, material, and men their enemy can hurl against her. But these are the very people who half a generation ago fought ten years, and felt the shock of 200,000 Spanish soldiers, and suffered as no modern combatants have done. They enter this war as bravely as before, but with eyes open and with memory loaded down with visions of agony and blood. Of that adoration of liberty which is the only sure foundation of modern representative government, this insurrection is as pure and lofty an example as the course of human history can show.

That all the material advantages of war are against them can easily be seen. In the first place, Cuba is a long, narrow island about seven hundred miles in east-and-west extent, by a north-and-south breadth of twenty-one to one hundred and twenty miles. It possesses a truly remarkable series of great and small harbors: the more important ones roomy and landlocked, like those of Havana, Cienfuegos, Santiago, and others of the type; and the small, but often admirable ones strung at short intervals along the whole 2,000 miles of sea-coast. The greater harbors are fortified. Spain has a respectable navy, and has in fact occupied all the chief and several of the small harbors with fifteen vessels of war. She has besides a fleet of light-draught gunboats, partly in use, and partly under contract on the Clyde, and soon to be available for cruising perpetually along the short intervals of shore between the various harbors which are occupied by larger war-vessels. In her centuries of neglect of useful public works in Cuba she has built practically no wagon-roads, so that if the insurgents possessed artillery, which they cannot obtain, they could not, save by an almost superhuman effort, move it to concentration for the capture of one of the ports. Spain, on the other hand, holds the few rudimentary roads within the theatre of war, and whatever use of field guns is possible is therefore for Spain alone. Not only is every important harbor under effective blockade against insurgent people and freight, but it is a secure base of supplies. Practically seventy miles would be a maximum distance for any considerable operation from a safely maintained—even an unthreatened—base, and the average cannot be above fifty miles. Spain therefore begins her campaign to quell the Cubans with a cordon of impregnable bases, to which at all times she has unrestricted access by a sea on which not a single Cuban flag floats, except on some hovering unarmed sea-tug or timid blockade-runner which avoids the ports and creeps in under cover of darkness to bring a handful of patriots or some boxes of arms. By means of this complete chain of fortified and occupied harbors, Spain can pour in the whole resources of the nation in men, supplies, and munitions, without a moment's interruption or a shadow of danger. These resources are a peninsula population of 17,000,000 to draw from, and a standing army which on a peace basis carries 115,735 men, and reaches in nominal war resource something more than 1,000,000. Financial advantage is also wholly with Spain. Although bent under a debt of over a thousand millions of dollars, and her fiscal affairs in such wretched condition



that there has been no parliamentary indorsement of expenditures since 1865-67, and the Tribunal of Accounts has not dared to publish the national books since 1869,—nevertheless Spain is a nation still possessing the shattered remnants of a public credit. She can vote bonds, and there is even yet a price at which they can be sold. Her soldiery face death with courage in spite of Napier's epigram that "Spaniards are brave behind walls, cowards in the field, and robbers always,"—their conduct in action in Cuba disproving the middle term of an otherwise correct characterization.

The Spanish "Military Gazette" gives the figures of the national forces in Cuba as follows: 60,000 regulars, the chief part of which are infantry, but including cavalry, 2,596; artillery, 621; engineers 415; public-order officers, 676; civil guards, 4,400; marines, 2,700; guerrillas, 1,152; the whole under one Captain-General, seven division generals, one auditor, one military intendant, one sanitary inspector, and the usual complement of staff and line officers. Besides this there are about 40,000 Cuban militia recruited from the loyal classes and used chiefly for garrison purposes. There are fifteen war-ships, and nineteen vessels in purchase.

All Cuba has a population of about 1,600,000, of which more than half are in garrison cities and regions so overawed by the power of Spain that they cannot successfully rise until the national forces are shattered in the field. Of the portion in revolt (about two-thirds of the area and one-third of the population) it is probable that of the total number of a sex, age, and physical condition to bear arms, the figure would not exceed the actual peace force of the Spanish army, to say nothing of the 17,000,000 which the enemy have to draw upon.

Impoverished by centuries of financial oppression, the Cuban patriots are poor, their slender resources are the sum of innumerable small contributions. Few in number, empty of purse, they stand within this tight-drawn ring of Spanish fire. Cut off from any but dangerous and clandestine introduction of arms and medicines; lacking supplies to form a base; with not a cent to pay a single soldier or officer of their little army; with only a skeleton medical corps,—in short almost nothing to make war with,—these brave souls are facing, not death only, but Spanish death. The region under revolution is one great graveyard of those fallen in the ten-years' revolt, yet Cubans are undaunted by the numbers or resources of their foe. Beside this far-reaching patience of valor a single act of heroism like

Thermopylæ is pastime; compared with the raggedness, hunger, and privation which Cubans bravely choose to accept, Valley Forge was a garden party. For ten years these same men with the same slender resources held the arms and pride of Spain at bay, and then capitulated to promises which were made only to be broken.

Of Spain the insurgents have no fear; but if the United States rigorously prevents the shipment of arms and munitions from our shore, we can discourage, we can delay the triumph of patriotism, but in the end we cannot prevent it. In this war, or the next, or the next, Cuba will be free. Although these men are our near neighbors, although we are to them the chosen people who have won independence and grown great in freedom, yet they have never made the slightest appeal to us for active aid in their struggle. They expect no good-Samaritan offices. They look for no gallant American Lafayette to draw sword for them and share the penury and hardships of their camps. They ask nothing. But I happen to know that they are at a loss to comprehend how a great people to whom Heaven has granted the victorious liberty for which they are fighting and dying, should let months pass in cold, half silence, without one ringing "God speed!" to cheer them on into battle.

It is doubtless explicable enough that a people whose own business is so essentially materialistic as ours, and who mind it so absorbedly, should remain carelessly ignorant of the real Cuban question and the moral attitude of the island people; but is it fair, is it generous, is it worthy of the real blood of freedom that still flows from the big American heart? Already a change is coming, and isolated expressions of genuine sympathy are becoming frequent. The time will come, and that not long hence, when the voice of America will ring out clear and true.

The Cuban war hangs before us an issue which we cannot evade. Either we must stand as the friend of Spain, and, by our thorough prevention of the shipment of war supplies to the insurgents, aid and countenance the Spanish efforts to conquer Cuba into continued sorrow, or we must befriend Cuba in her heroic battle to throw off a mediæval yoke. Let us not deceive ourselves! Spain alone cannot conquer Cuba; she proved that in ten years of miserable failure. If we prevent the sending of munitions to Cuba, and continue to allow Spain to buy ships and arms and ammunition here, it is we who will conquer Cuba, not Spain. It is we who will crush liberty!

To secure victory for Cuba it is necessary for us, in my opinion,



to take but a single step; that is, to recognize her belligerency; she will do all the rest. That step the government will doubtless hesitate to take at the present state of the struggle, because as yet the insurgents have neither instituted a government nor established a capital. In the last insurrection they did both, besides maintaining a state of war for ten years. That a state of war exists to-day is virtually admitted by the proclamation of Governor-General Campos, who in addition to the army under his command, consisting of about 60,000 regulars and 40,000 militia, calls for heavy reinforcements, and the Spanish war office has been obliged to order out the first class of reserves. Moreover, a commander-in-chief routed in battle and fleeing, his "rear-guard fighting bravely all the way into Bayamo," to use his own words, connotes nothing less than war.

When the Cuban government is set up, as it soon will be, we shall have equally as good international authority and precedent to recognize a state of war in the island as Spain did for our own Confederate insurgents forty days after the shot on Fort Sumter. We can return to her, in the interests of liberty, the compliment she then paid us in behalf of slavery. The justice will be poetic. With all possible decorum, with a politeness above criticism, with a firmness wholly irresistible, we should assist Spain out of Cuba and out of the hemisphere as effectually as Lincoln and Seward did the French invaders of Mexico in the 'sixties. Moreover, according to American precedent, neither a state of hostilities nor the setting up of a civil or military organization is positively necessary to entitle a people to belligerent rights; for before either of these conditions were established in 1838, we went so far as to issue a proclamation for "prevention of unlawful interference in the civil war in Canada."

Our record toward Spain is clear. We heartily approved when George Canning invoked the Holy Alliance to prevent her from recovering her American provinces, and in 1825 we refused to guarantee her perpetual possession of Cuba in exchange for commercial concessions to ourselves. Our obligations to her are measured by an easily terminable treaty, which, however, while in force, in no way prevents us from recognizing Cuba's belligerency. Is it difficult for us to decide between free Cuba and tyrant Spain? Why not fling overboard Spain and give Cuba the aid which she needs, and which our treaty with Spain cannot prevent? Which cause is morally right?—which is manly?—which is American?

## GEORGE ELIOT'S PLACE IN LITERATURE.<sup>1</sup>

It will be the duty of the more serious criticism of another generation in some degree to revive the reputation of George Eliot as an abiding literary force—a reputation which the taste of the hour, in view of her most undeniable failures, is rather disposed to reduce. Five and twenty years ago the tendency was toward excessive praise: many fine judges, of trained literary insight, proclaimed her as the greatest genius of the age, one of the brightest stars of English literature, nay, said some of them, quite losing control of their speech—a modern Shakespeare, and so forth. Some cooler heads looked grave, but none save the inveterate cynics ventured to mock; and the great public, as usual, thought it best to follow the lead of so many men and so many women of the higher culture. The inevitable reaction ensued: when, not only were the grave shortcomings of George Eliot ruthlessly displayed, but her noble aim and superb qualities were heedlessly ignored.

The taste in popular romance sways hither and thither in violent contrasts, like the taste in hats or in frocks, or the verdict of manhood suffrage. This or that type of skill becomes suddenly the rage, this or that mannerism is voted an offence, as easily as fashion runs after a new tint, or boycotts an obsolete sleeve. Journalism and all the other forces of the hour stimulate and express these caprices and carry away the masses by their volubility and noise. It is the business of serious criticism, keeping a cooler head, to correct these fervid impulses of the day—whilst excited audiences in the amphitheatre raise or depress the fatal thumb, awarding life or death to the combatants in the great arena. The business of criticism is to *judge*—to judge upon the whole evidence, after hearing counsel on both sides with equal attention, after weighing every shred of argument and every word that any witness has to offer, and, after patient weighing of every aspect of the case, to deliver a complete and reasoned estimate of the whole matter at issue. The true critic is not a juryman, who has nothing to do but to say—"guilty," or "not

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guilty." He is a judge of the supreme court of equity, who may find, in some intricate story unravelled at his bar, a dozen errors in law and as many mistakes of fact, and yet may give substantial relief or may decree onerous penalties. It is easy enough to detect faults, easy enough to insist on merits: the thing wanted to guide the public is the cool, compensated, equitable judgment that is not seduced by any conspicuous charm, and is not irritated by any incorrigible defect, but which, missing no point of merit and none of failure, finally and resolutely strikes the just balance. This just balance, with all its intricate adjustments of compensation and equivalence, is peculiarly needed in the case of George Eliot, and at the same time is unusually difficult. George Eliot was most conspicuous as an artist, as a worker in the sphere of imagination and creation. At the same time she had very rare powers and a really unusual learning quite outside of imaginative art. And these reflective powers and such stores of knowledge are often antagonistic to creative art, and undoubtedly were so not seldom with her. If Aristotle himself had written a dull psychological tragedy, we might read it for his sake, but we should not forgive him, and we ought not to forgive him. And if Shakespeare himself had written the "Novum Organum" or the "Principia," we should not have had "Hamlet" and "Lear," as we now know them. There is no compensation between philosophy and poetry. No profundity, no learning, can give beauty to verses which lack the divine fire. If George Eliot's fame had to be based solely on her great powers and endowments, her art would not be worth much. However, it is not so: she was an artist, with true artistic gifts. Her philosophic power and her scientific attainments often ennoble these gifts: yet it is too often evident that they seriously mar and embarrass them.

Turn it the other way. Until nearly the age of forty, George Eliot was known only as a critical and philosophical writer. And in reading, in logical acumen, and in breadth of view, she was the equal of the first minds of her time. But no one of her contemporaries, eminent in philosophy and science, approached her, however remotely, in artistic gifts; and no one of them even attempted to invest ethical and social ideas with high imagination and beautiful creations. Thus, George Eliot was of a far higher mental plane than any contemporary who has used imaginative prose as an art, and she was also a far greater artist than any contemporary philosopher. It is quite certain that learning and wisdom may be lodged in the same

brain with the highest poetry, as Lucretius, Virgil, Dante, Milton, and Goethe may prove. And brains of original power have not seldom used imaginative art with signal success to convey the ideas with which they were charged; for this has been done by Cervantes, Rabelais, Swift, Rousseau, Byron, Shelley, Goethe, Carlyle, and Victor Hugo.

It is therefore perfectly legitimate and quite natural that a powerful and teeming mind should resort to art as its medium, and also that an artist of high aims should be a systematic thinker and an omnivorous student. The combination is very rare and success is singularly difficult. To fail in art is to lose all and to end in utter failure. And to carry ethical purpose and erudition into art is indeed a perilous undertaking, wherein but one or two of the greatest have wholly succeeded. The problem with George Eliot is to judge how far she has succeeded in the all but impossible task. That her success is far from complete is but too obvious. That she has had many incidental successes is also obvious. Her work is not sufficiently spontaneous, not free, not buoyant enough. But it has great nobility, rare distinction. It will not live as perfect art; but it will not perish as an ambitious failure. If George Eliot were not a writer of romance, she was nothing at all in the front ranks of Victorian literature. With all her powers of mind, her mastery of language, her immense stores of knowledge and supreme culture, she gave to the world nothing of great mark, acknowledged and known as hers, except her famous romances; for, as we shall presently see, we cannot count any of the poems as of great mark. But as a writer of romance, George Eliot differs essentially from all the other writers of romance in her own or preceding generations. Most certainly she was not a born romancer; she had no spontaneous gift of telling stories, no irrepressible genius that way. Now all the great romancers have been born to it, as Robinson Crusoe was born to the sea, or as Turner was born to paint. Though Scott published novels late, he had begun "Waverley" at thirty-four; his earlier works are ballads and metrical romances; and from boyhood, at home and abroad, he was never without his tale of adventure and character. Jane Austen and Maria Edgeworth "lisped" in novelettes, as Pope said he "lisped in numbers." Though Charlotte Brontë published so little, she wrote stories incessantly from childhood. Lytton, Dickens, Thackeray, Trollope, invented tales as part of their daily lives, and from the earliest age. George Eliot was thirty-nine when her first



tales were published, and she was forty before she was known to the public as a novelist at all. And so little was novel-writing her natural gift, that her most intimate friends never suspected her power, nor did she herself altogether enjoy the exercise of her art. To the last, her periods of mental gestation were long, painful, and unhopeful. Parturition was a dangerous crisis, and the long-expected infant was reared with misgivings and a superfluity of coddling. The romances of George Eliot came like some *enfant de miracle*, born late in the mother's life, at the cost of infinite pain, much anxiety, and amidst the wondering trepidation of expectant circles of friends.

We never quite get over the sense of almost painful elaboration, of a powerful mind having rich gifts striving to produce some rare music with an unfamiliar and uncongenial instrument. It reminds us of Beethoven evolving his majestic sonatas on an untuned and dilapidated old piano, the defects of which he could not himself hear. The conventional critic in the "Vicar of Wakefield" is told to say that "the picture would have been better if the artist had taken more pains." With George Eliot we too often are made to feel that the picture would have been, at any rate, more enjoyable, if the artist had taken less pains. To study her more ambitious tales is like an attempt to master some new system of psychology. The metaphysical power, the originality of conception, the long brooding over anomalies and objections—these are all there: but the rapid improvisation and easy intention are not there. Such qualities would indeed be wholly out of place in philosophy: but they are the essence of romance. In romance we want to feel that the piece is only brought to an end by time and our human powers of listening; that there is "plenty more where these came from"; that the story-teller enjoys telling stories for their own sake, and would go on with the tales, though the audience were reduced to a child, an idiot, and a deaf man.

This explains the paradox that the most popular and certainly the most praised of George Eliot's works are the simpler and the shorter. Every one enjoys the "Scenes of Clerical Life,"—short stories of a hundred pages each, with simple plots and a few characters in everyday life. I have no doubt myself that "Silas Marner" comes nearer to being a great success than any of the more elaborate books. Yet "Silas Marner" is about one fifth part of the length of "Middlemarch"; and its plot, *mise-en-scène*, and incidents are simplicity

itself. There is no science, no book-learning, and but few ethical problems in it from beginning to end; and it all goes in one small volume, for the tale concerns but the neighbours of one quiet village. Yet the quaint idyllic charm of the piece, the perfection of tone and keeping, the harmony of the landscape, the pure, deep humanity of it all, make it a true and exquisite work of high art.

Modern English (and I am one of those who hold that the best modern English is as good as any in our literature) has few pieces of description more gem-like in its crystalline facets than the opening chapter that tells of the pale uncanny weaver of Raveloe in his stone cottage by the deserted pit. Some of us can remember such houseweavers in such lonesome cottages on the Northern moors, and have heard the unfamiliar rattle of the loom in a half-ruinous homestead. How perfect is that vignette of Raveloe—"a village where many of the old echoes lingered, undrowned by new voices"—with its "strange lingering echoes of the old demon-worship among the gray-haired peasantry"! The entire picture of the village and its village life a hundred years ago is finished with the musical and reserved note of poetry, such as we are taught to love in Wordsworth and Tennyson. And for quiet humour modern literature has few happier scenes than the fireside at the Rainbow, with Macey and Winthrop, the butcher and the farrier, over their pipes and their hot potations and the quarrel about seeing ghos'es, about smelling them! Within this most graceful and refined picture of rural life there is a dominant ethical motive which she herself describes as its aim "to set in a strong light the remedial influences of pure, natural, human relations." This aim is perfectly worked out; it is a right and healthy conception, not too subtle, not too common—to put it in simpler words than hers, it is how a lonely ill-used old man is purified by the love of a faithful and affectionate child. The form is poetic; the moral is both just and noble; the characters are living, and the story is original, natural, and dramatic. The only thing, indeed, which "Silas Marner" wants to make it a really great romance is more ease, more rapidity, more "go." The melody runs so uniformly in minor keys, the sense of care, and meditation, and introspection is so apparent in every line, the amount of serious thought lavished by the writer and required of the reader is so continuous, that we are not carried away, we are not excited, inspired, and thrilled as we are by "Jane Eyre" or "Esmond." We enjoy a beautiful book with a fine moral, set in exquisite prose, with consummate literary resources,



full of fine thoughts, true, ennobling thoughts, and with no weak side at all, unless it be the sense of being over-wrought, like a picture which has been stippled over in every surface. A clever French woman said of George Eliot's conversation—" *Elle s'écoute quand elle parle!*" Just so, as we read on, we seem to see how she held up each sentence into the light, as it fell from her pen, scrutinized it to see if some rarer phrase might not be compacted, some subtler thought excogitated. Of all the more important tales, "Silas Marner" is that wherein we least feel this excessive thoughtfulness. And thus it is the best. Perhaps other born romancers would have thrown into it more life, energy, jollity, or passion. Thackeray would have made the weaver rather ridiculous; Dickens would have made Eppie a sentimental angel; Charlotte Brontë would have curdled our blood; Trollope might have made more of Nancy's courting. But no one of them could have given us a more lofty lesson "of the remedial influences of pure, natural, human relations." The only doubt is whether a novel is the medium for such lessons. On this, opinions are, and will remain, divided.

When we ask for a romance fully developed and not a graceful vignette, "Adam Bede" must be regarded as the principal, and with the wider public it is the typical, work of George Eliot. She said herself that it seemed to her "impossible that she should ever write anything so good and true again";—and herein she was no doubt right. It is the only one of her works in prose or verse which we feel to be inevitable, spontaneous, written out of the abundance of enjoyment and experience. It is of all her books the heartiest, the wittiest, the most cheerful, or rather the least desponding. In that book, perhaps, she exhausted herself and her own resources of observation as an eye-witness. She wrote fine things in other veins, in different scenes, and she conceived other characters and new situations. But, for all practical purposes, "Adam Bede" was the typical romance that everything she had thought or known impelled her to write, and in which she told the best of what she had seen and the most important of what she had to say. Had she never written anything but "Adam Bede," she would have had a special place of her own in English romance:—and I am not sure that anything else which she produced very materially raised, enlarged, or qualified that place.

"The Mill on the Floss" must always be very interesting to all who knew George Eliot and loved her work, if for no other reason,

for its autobiographic and personal touches and its revelation of yearnings and misgivings hardly suspected in life. There are scenes and minor characters in it which hold their own against "Adam Bede," but as a whole it is not so strong or so rich in colour, and it can hardly be said to occupy new ground. It has not the pathos of "Amos Barton," nor the exquisite style of "Silas Marner," nor the breadth and constructive merit of "Adam Bede." And, except to the chosen band of Eliotists, it is not likely to retain any permanent popularity. It is a book to study for those who have special interest in George Eliot as woman, as teacher, and as artist—but for my own part I find it rather a book to reflect upon, than a book to read and to re-read.

With respect to "Romola," though we must all agree with Mr. Oscar Browning that it is "replete with learning," "weighted with knowledge in every page," exquisite in art, and so forth, it is really impossible to call it with him "the best historical novel ever written." Even in exact reproduction of another age, it cannot compare with "Esmond," and how immeasurably as romance is it beneath the fire and movement of a dozen historical romances that one could name! The beauty of the Florentine pictures, the enormous care, thought, and reading lavished on the story, the variety of literary resource—all make it a most memorable work, a work almost *sui generis*, a book which every student of Italy, every lover of Florence must mark, learn, and inwardly digest. But to call it a complete success is to go too far. The task was too great. To frame in a complex background of historical erudition an ethical problem of even greater complexity and subtlety—this was a task which might have sorely tried even greater powers than hers—a task in which Goethe and Scott might have succeeded, but which Goethe and Scott were too truly the born artists to attempt. "Romola" is certainly a wonderful monument of literary accomplishments; but it remains a *tour de force*, too elaborate, too laboured, too intricate, too erudite. As the French say, it has *trop de choses*, it is too long, too full, overcostumed, too gorgeously mounted on the stage. We sometimes see nowadays "a Shakespearian revival," with scenery studied by eminent artists on the spot, costumes archaeologically accurate, real armour, "properties" from famous collections, a *mise-en-scène* of lavish splendour and indefatigable research—and then we ask what has become of Hamlet or Lear, and why is Romeo such a melancholy devil? Few men enjoyed the earlier portions of "Romola" more than I did.



*Italianissimo* and *Florentissimo* as I was, it was an intense treat. But, though I have read and re-read "Romola" from time to time, it has always been in sections. I have never read it straight through at one time; and to this hour, I am not quite clear about all the ramifications of the plot and the various cross-purposes of the persons. Could any one say this about "Quentin Durward" or "Ivanhoe," or of the "Last Days of Pompeii," or of "Esmond," or even of "Hypatia"? "Romola," we know, tried its author most cruelly in composition, nor need we wonder at this. "I began it," she said, "a young woman—I finished it an old woman." "It ploughed into her," said her husband, "more than any of her other books." And, in my opinion, it marks the decline of her genius. I cannot count any of the later books as equal to the earlier books. Her truly great period of production reaches at most over the six years 1858–1863 (*ætat.* 39–45) in which she produced "Scenes of Clerical Life" (1858), "Adam Bede" (1859), "The Mill on the Floss" (1860), "Silas Marner" (1861), and "Romola" (1863). If I were to measure by true success in the higher art, this period should not be extended beyond the four years which closed with "Silas Marner." "Romola" is a most ambitious, very beautiful, altogether noble failure. And I cannot count any of the later pieces, prose or verse, as anything but far inferior to "Romola." They have great beauties, fine passages, subtle characters, and high conceptions—but they are the artificial products of a brain that showed symptoms of exhaustion, of a great writer who was striving after impossible tasks without freedom and without enjoyment.

I cannot at all agree with those admirers of George Eliot's genius who believe that it grew continuously in power, who even assure us that it reached its zenith in "Daniel Deronda." What can they mean? "Daniel Deronda," as usual, shows brilliant literary skill in many passages, and its insight into modern Hebraism is a psychological problem, only explicable on the theory that George Henry Lewes himself was a kind of unconscious, unrecognized, Gentile Jew in spirit. But with all its merits, and even beauties, "Daniel Deronda" has the fatal defect of unpleasant characters who are neither beautiful nor interesting, terrible situations which bore rather than terrify us, and a plot which is at once preposterous and wearisome. As to "Middlemarch"—George Eliot's longest, most crowded, and ethically most elaborated romance—with all its subtlety, its humour, its variety, and its sardonic insight into provincial Philistinism, it becomes at

last tedious and disagreeable by reason of the interminable maunderings of tedious men and women, and the slow and reiterated dissection of disagreeable anatomies. At this moment I cannot after twenty years recall the indefinite, lingering plot, or the precise relations to each other of the rather uninteresting families, who talk scandal and fuss about in Middlemarch town.

In "Felix Holt" I was naturally much interested, having read it in manuscript, and advised upon the point of law, as appears from her published letters in the "Life" by J. Cross. There are two or three lines—the lawyer's "opinion on the case"—which she asked me to sketch; and I remember telling her, when she inserted these lines in the book, that I should always be able to say that I had written at least a sentence which was embodied in English literature. "Felix Holt" contains some fine characters and scenes, but I cannot regard it as equal to "Adam Bede" and "Silas Marner." We will not speak of "Theophrastus Such" (1879), written just before her death. It was the work of a woman physically and intellectually exhausted. I feel a certain guilty sense of disappointment when I think of the book, for I possibly had some hand in leading to its being written. I had sent her a long letter pointing out that our literature, with all its wealth of achievement in every known sphere, was still deficient in one form of composition in which the French stood paramount and alone. That was what they call *Pensées*—moral and philosophical reflections in the form of epigrams or rather apophthegms. I thought, and I still think, that this form of composition was peculiarly suited to her genius, at least in its prime. It was not in its prime when she painfully evolved the sour affectations set forth in "Theophrastus."

A word or two must be said about the Poems. They have poetic subjects, ideas, similes; they are full of poetic yearning, crowded with poetic imagery; they have everything poetry needs, except poetry. They have not the poet's hall-mark. They are imitation poems, like the wonderful forged "ancient masters" they concoct at Florence, or the Tanagra statuettes they make in Germany. With all her consummate literary gifts and tastes, George Eliot never managed to write a poem, and never could be brought to see that the verses she wrote were not poems. It was an exaggeration of the same defect that mars her prose; and her verses throw great light on her prose. They are overlaboured; the conception overpowers the form; they are too intensely anxious to be recognized as poems. We see



not so much poetic passion, as a passionate yearning after poetic passion. We have—not the inevitable, incalculable, inimitable phrase of real poetry—but the slowly distilled, calculated, and imitated effort to reach the spontaneous. It is melancholy indeed to have to say this, after such labour, such noble conceptions, such mastery over language: but it is the truth. And it explains much of kindred failure in her prose work. Great imagination, noble conceptions, mastery over language can do much, but they cannot make a poet. Nothing can, but being a poet. Nor can these gifts make a great romancer or poet in prose. Nothing can, but being born to romance, to being a prose poet. The Lord said truly—"Which of you by taking thought can add one cubit unto his stature?" George Eliot had not sufficiently meditated on this scripture. She too often supposed that by taking thought—by enormous pains, profound thought, by putting this thought in exquisite and noble words—she might produce an immortal romance, an immortal poem.

And yet let us never forget that "The Spanish Gypsy" is a very grand conception, that it has some noble scenes, and here and there some stately lines—even some beautiful passages, could we forget the artificial alliteration and the tuneless discords to which the poet's ear seems utterly insensible. The opening lines seem to promise well and have much of mellow thought, in spite of five hissing sibilants in the very first verse:

" 'Tis the warm South, where Europe spreads her lands,  
Like fretted leaflets, breathing on the deep."

And then comes in the fourth line an awful cacophony of alliteration—and an alliteration in "c."

"A calm earth-goddess crowned with corn and vines"

Then comes a really pretty but artificial line—an alliteration in "m."

"On the Mid Sea that moans with memories"

The seventh line again is an alliteration of alternate "p" and "d."

"Pant dumbly passionate with dreams of youth."

The tenth line is an excruciating alliteration in sibilants—

"Feeds the famed Stream that waters Andalus."

But it must be admitted that the next line is graceful—

"And loiters, amorous of the fragrant air."

The whole introduction of some four hundred lines is full of beautiful images, fine thoughts, and striking phrases—but it is crowded, artificial, brocaded to excess with *trop de choses*; and it suddenly breaks into drama, with dialogue in persons. This alternation of dramatic form and dialogue with epical narrative, interlarding the tragedy in parts with portentously long explanatory comment, is perhaps the most unlucky novelty which was ever attempted in verse. What would one say if whole pages out of Wordsworth's "Excursion" had been accidentally bound up between the pages of Shakespeare's "Hamlet"?

But it is needless to enlarge on all the metrical and poetic defects of this medley of nearly ten thousand lines, with its lip-twisting, ear-torturing lyrics—(was there ever such a cacophony as—

"O the sweet sweet prime  
Of the past spring-time!—")

—with its strange alternations of action and narration, its soliloquies of one hundred and fifty unbroken lines, and all its other incongruities. The important point is—that it has a really grand scheme, that the characters of Zarca and Fedalma are lofty, definite, impressive, and nobly dramatic, that the whole poem is, in conception, a work of power and true imagination. Just as Kingsley, who had far greater poetic faculty than George Eliot, mistook in making "The Saint's Tragedy" a drama, when he might have made it a grand historical romance, so George Eliot made a cruel mistake in writing "The Spanish Gypsy" as a poem, when she might have written it as an historical romance—a romance, it may be, much superior to "Romola," as the subject and the conception were on grander lines.

It is to me a truly melancholy duty to have to admit that so much in the noble conceptions and rich thought of George Eliot was not a complete success in ultimate execution—and that, in great measure, because the conception and aim were so great and the execution so profoundly conscientious. I knew her well; I was amongst those who had the deepest regard for her mental power and her moral insight. I always recognized her as one of the best and most cultured minds of her time. I had great faith in her judgment, and could respect her courage even when I repudiated her opinions. But I never was one of those who exaggerated her gifts as an artist. I never could count anything later than "Silas Marner" as a complete and unqualified masterpiece. One may have the imaginative power of



Michael Angelo's Sistine Chapel, or of his Medicean tombs, and yet if one is not complete master of the brush and the chisel, no imagination, no thought will produce a masterpiece in fresco or in marble. George Eliot was a most thoughtful artist, but she was more of a thinker than an artist; she was always more the artist when she was least the thinker; and when she conceived a work of art in her sublimest aspirations (as notably in "The Spanish Gypsy") she almost makes us doubt if she were an artist at all. She was an artist: and the younger generations will make an unpardonable error if they fail to do justice to the permanent survival of her best and earliest work. They will also be guilty of unpardonable blindness, if they fail to note how completely she stands above all her contemporary rivals in romance in thought, in knowledge, in nobility of aim. She raised the whole art of romance into a higher plane of thought, of culture, and of philosophic grasp. And when she failed, it was often by reason of the nobility of her aim itself, of the volume of her own learning, of the intensity of her own standard of perfection. Her passages in prose are studied with the care that men usually bestow on a sonnet; her accessories and landscapes are patient and conscientious transcripts of actual spots of country and town; her drama is a problem of ethical teaching, subtly elaborated, and minutely probed. In these high aims and difficult ambitions, she not seldom failed, or achieved a somewhat academic and qualified success. But the task was not seldom such that even to have fallen short of complete success was a far from ignoble triumph.

She raised the whole art of romance to a higher plane, I say; and, although in this ambitious aim she too often sacrificed freshness, ease, and simplicity, the weight of the limits she imposed on herself must fairly be counted in the balance. Romance had never before in England been written with such a sense of responsibility, with such eager subtlety of form, and with such high ethical purpose. The sense of responsibility wearies many readers, and at last crushed the writer; the form became "precious," and at last pedantic; and the ethical purpose was sometimes more visible than the ethical life. In the French drama, Corneille had great conceptions, noble types of character, stately verse, and tragic situations; but English readers too often find him mannered, artificial, dull. Corneille, I freely admit, is not Shakespeare: I greatly prefer Shakespeare; but I prefer Corneille to Ibsen. We have plenty of Ibsenites to-day, and rather a plethora than a dearth of ignoble creatures in squalid situa-

tions who expose to us their mean lives with considerable truth to nature. In such an age, it is just as well that the lessons of "Adam Bede," "Romola," *Fedalma* and *Zarca*, should not be quite forgotten.

The art of romance, in the widest and loftiest sense of the term, is even yet in its infancy. Ancient literature, mediæval literature, knew nothing of it. Nor indeed did modern literature entirely conceive it in all its fulness until the days of Le Sage, Richardson, Fielding, Goldsmith. Nay, we may say that its power was not quite revealed before Scott, Goethe, Manzoni, Jane Austen, Balzac, and George Sand. Its subtlety, its flexibility, its capacity for analytic research, its variety of range, and facility for reaching all hearts and all minds—all this is simply incalculable. And we may be sure that the star of romance in its best sense has not yet reached its zenith. It is the art of the future—and an art wherein women are quite as likely to reign as men. It would be treason to Art to pretend that George Eliot came near to such perfection. But she had certain qualities that none of her predecessors had quite possessed, and she strove for an ideal which may one day become something more than a dream—a dream that as yet eludes and escapes from the mind as it struggles to grasp it and to fix it.

FREDERIC HARRISON.



## THE BENEFITS OF HARD TIMES.

It has often been remarked that a commercial crisis is a part of the process of cure of preceding evil conditions. What is called speculation has customarily preceded such crises, often on the wildest possible lines. Yet every man who buys or provides goods in anticipation of their consumption is in one sense a speculator. He trusts the future for an increasing demand coupled with a gradual reduction of the stock of each season. He thus distributes such goods, equalizing and steadying prices, to the benefit of all, including himself. But when fancy and imagination take the place of sound judgment, speculation runs riot. The prices of stocks, of lands, and of goods of every kind are forced to a point which is injurious both to the producers who are misled and to the consumers who for the time pay more than the goods are worth. Then comes the commercial crisis which merely weeds out the unsound or bankrupt, leaving the solvent establishments to recover and to go on their usual course.

There are other crises in the conduct of business of a different kind. The most notable one which ever occurred in this country was the financial panic and paralysis of industry which, although long anticipated by a few persons, suddenly burst upon the country in April, 1893. This crisis was not due to the customary causes. There had not been any recent extravagant speculation. Railway enterprise had even been restricted. There had been no excessive construction of mills or workshops of any moment. The prices of goods were low, the wages of labor were high, and there was no lack of employment for the industrious and capable either in the field, in the forest, in the mine, in the factory, or in the workshop. The panic was a purely political one, due to the incapacity of the Congress of the United States to deal with the great financial questions then pending. The warning had been repeatedly given that disaster would ensue unless the credit and integrity of the country were maintained by stopping the inflation of the currency on a silver basis. It was finally stopped to avoid immediate disaster. The effects of this crisis lasted for over two years, bringing want and

compulsory idleness in the midst of abundance, and in the face of all natural conditions making for prosperity and welfare. Its malignant influence is still felt.

Can there be any benefit from hard times due to such causes? Of course no one would wilfully promote such a cause of hard times in order to attain an ultimate benefit. Whatever benefit may have ensued would have surely come in the lapse of time, but perhaps not so soon except for this active cause. One may, therefore, rightly review the compensations which may ensue or have ensued to the benefit and welfare of the people as a whole, but at the cost of many individuals who have wrongfully suffered from this panic.

One conspicuous result of a crisis of any kind is to bring into view bad practices which have been either fraudulent or semi-fraudulent, and which have tended to develop what might be called "financial dry rot," first working slowly, but surely culminating in virulent activity and in sudden collapse. There has, perhaps, never been a commercial or financial crisis in which these effects were more marked than they have been since the panic of 1893.

The most conspicuous effect of this panic has been in its influence upon railway property. A very considerable proportion of the mileage of our railways has been forced into the hands of receivers, leading to the necessity of reorganizing several very extensive systems. This disaster has without doubt been very severe upon many holders of stocks and bonds, to many of whom no fault could be imputed. On the other hand, a permanent benefit will come out of this disaster. There has been little or no difficulty during the last ten or twenty years in making a selection of the bonds of solvent railway corporations for permanent investment with little or no hazard of the loss of either interest or principal; while, on the other hand, there is hardly a railway corporation or system which has been forced into the hands of receivers on which the risk could not have been anticipated by prudent persons examining the cases on their own account, or upon which they could not have received advice from prominent bankers or railway experts which would have saved them from their present loss.

If regard be given to the financial history of almost every one of the railway systems which have lately become insolvent, the cause may be readily found, dating in many cases from the very beginning of the enterprise. The ordinary rules which govern sound business undertakings have been wholly disregarded in the lay-out and construction of a very considerable part of the railway service of this



country. Had any one at any time in the last twenty years put before investors a manufacturing or commercial undertaking upon the lines on which railway construction has been conducted, not a dollar of true capital would ever have been invested either in the manufacturing operation or the business thus promoted. What would have been thought of a promoter of a textile factory, machine-shop, or any other department of productive industry who should have laid before the public a plan for borrowing money sufficient to pay for the plant on first-mortgage bonds, thereby incurring a debt equal to the investment at the very beginning; then issuing as a bonus an equal or lesser amount of second-mortgage bonds; and then throwing in the preferred and common stock for a sum equal to both classes of the bonds combined, more or less, without any payment whatever? Would he not have been deemed an imbecile or a rogue? Yet that is not an extravagant statement of the way in which many railway enterprises, now almost all in the hands of receivers, have been put upon the public.

Next has followed an effort to recover from the price of the railway service a full income on both classes of bonds and something over for a dividend on the stock. Success has sometimes been temporarily attained even in that undertaking. Hence the virulent bitterness against watered stock. What followed? Some other corporation more conservatively managed, witnessing the opportunity to extend its own business, has built a competing line on a cash basis at true cost. Competition has ensued. The railway capitalized on a cash basis and operated with true business sagacity has of necessity secured a large part of the traffic at a lessening and yet sufficient charge. After a vain struggle the speculative enterprise has come to grief, to the great benefit of the public, but in total disregard of the relatively small number of innocent victims.

Yet again, there is a certain number of men whose names are synonyms for integrity, ability, and true business capacity, under whose direction great railway enterprises have been successfully conducted, subject only to temporary difficulties such as affect all branches of productive energy. On the other hand, great systems of railway have fallen into the hands of malefactors whose very names might have been taken as a warning to prudent investors not to put their money under conditions in which it might be stolen from them. It has never been difficult to choose railway investments of the safer kind on the part of those who may have elected to incur a true busi-

ness risk on a cash basis; it has never been difficult for any person of ordinary prudence to avoid being shorn by the malefactors and their associates who have abused their trust and whose names had become synonyms for fraud.

But in addition to these forces, on the one side sustaining skilled management, and on the other side leading to the destruction of the victims of the malefactor, other causes have gravely affected the railway service. No prudent manager of any manufacturing corporation, or of any business enterprise in which capital has been invested in costly machinery, ever fails to charge to the cost of the annual product a full sum for the necessary depreciation of the plant. How many railway corporations are there which have closed their construction account (except for extensions), and have regularly charged off year by year a sum sufficient to bring the valuation of locomotive engines—which, not many years ago, were rated at over twice what they cost to-day, cars in proportion, and steel rails which cost one hundred dollars a ton,—down to the present cash valuation of about seven thousand dollars for the locomotive engine of a more effective kind, better cars at a similar reduction in cost, and steel rails at less than twenty-five dollars a ton? Yet is it not in the interest of the public, and is it not a matter of necessity on the part of the railway corporation, that their plant on which they may expect to earn an income shall be brought down to a valuation representing only what the cost of that railway would be at the present time, on which only can any income now be recovered from the service? Whatever may be the misfortune to the small fraction of the population of this country who have a property interest in railway bonds, or to the yet smaller fraction who have any interest in railway stocks, it is nevertheless an economic necessity that all property of this kind must be brought down to a cost valuation at the present time, on which the profit over and above the cost of service may be maintained at 4 or 5 per cent per annum, as compared to a rightly expected profit twenty years ago of 6 to 10 per cent.

Turning now to the future: the railway service of the country is wholly insufficient for its present need. There may be more than enough through lines, but a very great amount of railway construction is yet required to bring the crossway or connecting service of individual States to anything like a sufficient condition. It is to the great benefit of the country as a whole that the speculative method of promoting, and the malefactor's method of plundering



the community have been brought to an end. When railway construction begins again, as it soon may, will it not of necessity be conducted by men of integrity on a cash basis with an effort to earn only a reasonable income on a true investment? Is it probable that the malefactor's method can again be imposed upon an over-confident community? It may, however, well be remembered that the sheep who are shorn in the stock market always bring their own fleeces to the man who holds the shears: each generation seems to supply a new flock of gullible sheep.

There is another beneficial aspect of the influence of the panic upon the future of the railway service. There can be little doubt that on very many railway lines and systems a true and careful economy had never been exercised. Hard times have been a most severe schoolmaster. There has probably been greater progress in increasing the efficiency of the railway service of this country, and in reducing the cost by the exercise of true economy, during the last two or three years, than in any similar period at any previous time. The margin of profit in almost every branch of productive energy now consists in saving the waste of previous periods. This rule is as urgent and severe in railway operation as it is in manufacturing. On the other hand, the entire profit of the nation as a whole in a prosperous year now amounts to a less sum than has been saved by the reduction in railway charges in the last twenty years. Were railway charges at the same rates as they were from 1865 to 1870, the excess each year would come to more than the present savings or additions to capital of the whole nation. The reduction in railway charges and the substitution of railways for roadways even since 1870 is equal to the reduction in the prices of nearly all our great staple products: the benefit of this reduction has been reaped by consumers, who have gained both from the low prices and high wages which are the complement of lessening cost of production and distribution. These are permanent benefits both to the public and to the present railway owners. By so much as the dividends of railways may have been unduly reduced of late under the pressure of hard times, may they be moderately increased in the future through the exercise of greater economy and more efficiency in the conduct of the work of the railways themselves.

It may happen that in certain instances the final conclusion of the present difficulties affecting some railway systems may not be reached until through actual bankruptcy the property is sold under the fore-

closure of the first-mortgage bonds; all other securities being wiped out. Thereafter the property may be reorganized on the basis of what it would cost at the present time. Under such conditions nearly all existing lines may be expected to continue to be operated for the benefit of the community, and in most cases to the benefit of the successors of the present owners of the speculative "securities," so-called.

If these points are well taken, the disaster which may be attributed to the panic of 1893 in the railway service has been limited to a very small fraction of the community; the general benefit will be distributed through many subsequent years.

We may next take up cotton, subsequently wheat. There are no two products which are more conspicuous than these two, because they enter so largely into our international commerce. There are several other products which exceed them in importance and in valuation, but their use, being mainly limited to this country, does not attract so much attention.

Dealing first with cotton, there is no great important staple which has been so maltreated, from the beginning of its cultivation down to a very recent period, as American cotton. The Southern States, relying upon their paramount advantage in the production of the useful cotton of commerce, have wholly ignored the most important elements of improvement in the production, under the mistaken notion that their customers paid for their abuses and their neglect of the staple. The saw-gin by which the cotton is separated from the seed ought to be and will soon be invented out of existence. Its only merit is the quantity which can be run through each machine; and the greater the quantity and the higher the speed, the greater the damage. It tears and cuts the staple. It renders it useless for planters to lengthen or improve their staple, because with that improvement comes the greater injury when the longer cotton is ginned upon the saw-gin. After it has been badly ginned, our cotton has been as badly baled, as badly covered, and as badly treated as it is possible to conceive. Every effort to promote improvement in past years failed. The writer undertook to deal with this subject many years ago, but long since came to the conclusion that nothing but the lesson of hard times and excessively low prices would bring about any change for the better. That time arrived. The silver craze increased its intensity. Prices, which would have been forced very low by enormous crops, were forced yet lower through the discredit, especially of the Southern section of the country, induced by the



silver craze. The benefits are in sight. The whole South is aroused. New methods of baling, new methods of handling, and improved methods of ginning are already invented and firmly established.

The merit of Egyptian cotton for American use, whereby a great many factories have been established in this country on the finer numbers for which American cotton as now grown and handled is utterly unfit, has called the attention, especially of the people of Texas, to the reason why Egyptian cotton is better. There are vast areas, notably in the southern and upon many parts of the coast of Texas, also upon the Red River and other bottom lands, where cotton equal to Egyptian cotton can doubtless be grown; possibly from American green seed, but more surely from the black seed of Egypt itself if it can be kept separate from other types and maintained on its own merits. Yet it would be useless to cultivate and pick such cotton if it were then ginned upon the saw-gin and packed as badly as American cotton is now packed. There are signs of a true comprehension of this question. Within the year several different types of the roller-gin on which Egyptian cotton is now prepared have been brought to the attention of the cotton-growers. The way is plain. All that is needed to attain the benefit of the recent hard times is for the Southern cotton-growers to exercise their own intelligence and to learn the true lesson. Egypt has reached her maximum until enormous and expensive irrigation brings into cultivation new areas of soil now desert. Within a few weeks the supply of Egyptian cotton appears to have been exhausted, and while the price of American cotton has advanced moderately the price of Egyptian cotton has nearly doubled.

Under the pressure of lessening prices a vast general benefit is being secured in the Southern States, so lately redeemed from the burden of the slave system of agriculture. That system was described more perfectly by Southern men than it ever has been by any other writers. Dr. N. B. Cloud, of Alabama, one of the most intelligent ante-war writers on agriculture, long since stigmatized Southern methods of farming in substantially the following words:

"You have gullied your hillsides and blasted your prairies, and, while possessing the control of the best forage plants of the world, have made yourselves dependent upon the Northern States for hay with which to subsist your stock."

The late Governor Wise of Virginia used yet more pointed words when he said, "Your niggers have skinned the land, and your white men have skinned the niggers."

All that has passed away. For many years during the period of Reconstruction, when the white brain of the South which had been in rebellion was too long disfranchised, while the then ignorant black was charged with the duty of the suffrage, disorder and discredit prevailed. That period ended some years since. Progress in agriculture, mechanical arts, mining, and manufactures then began,—at first under bad and misdirected efforts. Low prices and other causes had brought special discredit upon many parts of the South two or three years before the panic due to the silver craze came. This was to the great benefit of the South. The people then began to make progress from within, rather than depending upon outside capital. Hence it happened that the South was in a stronger position, relatively, than either the North or West when the silver panic ensued.

Great progress has been made in the reorganization of the colored people of the South. Evidence of any kind can be obtained, according to the purpose of the seeker, in regard to the present qualifications or disqualifications of the black population of the South; but any one who endeavors to elicit the truth becomes doubtful whether any other race except the black race could have sustained itself, increased and multiplied under the period of slavery, or would have made such progress since emancipation. Every other race has vanished from the face of the earth under similar conditions of slavery. To the vitality of the blacks has been added the imitative faculty and almost a superstition in regard to common education. Hence it is doubtful if any other great body of people of any white race whatever could ever have made as great progress in individual wealth and welfare, and in conquering the long-inherited prejudice of those among whom they dwell, compared to that which the blacks of the South have already attained. On the other hand, the poor whites have come to the front. They had been disqualified by ignorance and by the discredit of working on their own behalf in the times of slavery. They are gradually surmounting the blunders of the Farmers' Alliance, the Populist, and the silver craze. They are rapidly learning to renovate the soil which had been "skinned" in the days of slavery, and, possessing as they do the control of an almost infinite variety of leguminous plants through which the nitrogen of the atmosphere can be converted to the nutrition of the soil, they are rapidly gaining ascendancy, and with that ascendancy and responsibility they will learn discretion in the control of government. Where their prejudices are still adverse to the colored race



they are being met by the influence which the former Confederate leaders have rightly gained, by which they are securing the support of the black voters without regard to defunct party names.

The hard times which ensued in South Carolina from the abuses of the so-called "carpet-bag" government, of which the majority of the white men in the legislature were Southern born and Southern bred, led to a change under which Gen. Wade Hampton was chosen governor. The lesson of the hour was given to me by an old negro whom I found alone in charge of the half-finished capitol on my first visit to Columbia, S. C.; of him I asked an explanation. His answer was, "Dat's very easy to 'splain, boss; yer can't put ign'ance on top o' 'telligence and make it stay dar."

Again, in wheat: nothing could have been more wasteful than the first methods of dealing with the great wheat lands of the far Northwest. They were cropped year after year under a single-crop system; the elements of the soil were slowly but surely exhausted; the straw wasted; yet enormous profits were gained at the high prices which prevailed. With lessening prices the reduction in the cost of moving the wheat from the field to the consumers on distances of one to five thousand miles, and the application of new inventions to the processes of agriculture, enabled this wasteful single-crop system to be continued longer than it should have been continued. The panic due to the silver craze carried the price of wheat far lower than it had ever been before. With what results? A great impetus was given to the varied system of agriculture upon which the most intelligent farmers had already entered. The all-wheat system yielded; now, under the rotation system, the crop has been kept up in its average quantity, varying according to the season, on a lessening area of land.

A revolution has occurred in milling processes, and it remained for the hard times to teach the people of this country a lesson which a few had learned in Great Britain,—namely, that wheat is a better food and also a cheaper food for stock under many conditions than either Indian corn or any other kind of grain. That lesson now learned is a permanent benefit, bringing stability into the processes of Western agriculture, and hereafter tending to prevent the great variations in price which have so frequently marked the varying crops of wheat, oats, and Indian corn.

In the manufacturing arts, in metallurgy, and in many mechanic arts there have been few periods in which such progress has been made in the applications of science and invention to the development

of each art as in the last two years of hard times and low prices. A very few old establishments have become bankrupt,—iron furnaces, textile factories, and the like, in which the machinery or mechanism had not been kept up. A very few strong concerns, which owed a little too much on demand, have been temporarily placed in the hands of receivers. As a whole, very little disaster, beyond the temporary loss of profits, has affected either the mining interests, the great machine works, or the textile factories of the North and West.

The last few years have also been marked by the organization of numerous so-called trusts. These organizations are of three kinds. One is occupied in the production and distribution of materials which must be dealt with on an enormous scale in order that the lowest cost may be attained. When these combinations are under the direction of men of true insight and capacity, they may justify their existence by reducing the cost of the product to the consumers, even though they may themselves secure a large profit for a time in thus organizing to the mutual benefit of the public and of themselves. Another class of trusts consists of those who control patent-rights,—occasionally of great value,—more often serving merely to float speculative bubbles. The third class is promoted by the speculative persons who buy up or obtain bonds for the sale of important manufacturing plants which have been successful under individual conduct and control, capitalizing, as they call it, these manufacturing plants at twice to three times what they would cost, then putting off upon a gullible community these so-called “securities.”

The benefit of the recent hard times has been to expose the iniquity of many undertakings of the second and third class. Whether the warning will last beyond a few years is doubtful. In each generation will be found a body of men of a plausible and to some extent able type whose moral sense is obtuse, and who have no sense of wrong in promoting these speculative patent bubbles or inflated “industrials,” as they are called; while, on the other hand, each generation produces its proportion of those who are ready to be fleeced in their effort to make something out of nothing. Such dupes are very apt to be the descendants of men who have penuriously and laboriously piled up wealth, but whose children, “not having been brought under the healthy stimulus of prospective necessity, and for whom nothing else has been provided,” lose the property with which they have been charged. In many cases this method of distribution works a benefit to the community. The property passes



from the hands of those who have proved to be incapable of making a good use of it, while they themselves are sometimes developed into active and useful persons under the pressure of the need of working which they have brought upon themselves in their effort to live on profits made at the cost of other people's losses.

In conclusion it may be held that it is the function of capital to bear the brunt of all commercial crises. Capital can wait for favorable changes which laborers must meet at once, and from which many may suffer. The burden upon capital is rendered the more severe in hard times through the fact that the inventor is the great destroyer of capital. Hard times promote invention. That which had been previously valuable property is wholly displaced by new inventions and new processes, to the end that material progress and general welfare are more fully promoted by the destruction of property and capital through invention than by the accumulation of individual wealth. Science and invention add to the common wealth at the cost of the individual. Nothing in the way of statistics can be more delusive than the efforts which are made to prove the progress of the people by the progressive increase in the value of lands and other property measured in money. The fact that large areas of farm land upon the bleak hills of New England have been abandoned is one of the most conclusive proofs of the progress in intensive agriculture. The fact that a lessening number of persons now occupied in agriculture develops increasing crops is a proof that we are being spared a part of the hard work of providing food, while the mechanism of the inventor is being substituted. The hardships to which the few laborers are subjected by these changes may be unavoidable. Such hardships can be surmounted only by the development of individual capacity and aptitude for various work. Through the recent period of hard times, brought on by the silver craze and by the danger to the credit of the United States, a very large number of persons has been deprived of work from the incapacity of Congress. They have suffered want in the midst of abundance,—that abundance consisting of idle capital waiting for a restoration of confidence in order to be invested so as to provide for future wants. This customary and normal investment in constructive enterprises was kept back merely by lack of confidence in the fiscal legislation of the country. It is now being resumed.

Great as may have been the number of the unemployed during the past two years, that number has yet constituted a very small fraction of those who are occupied for gain, the great majority of whom

must at all times be continuously employed upon the work by which the country lives. A little larger proportion have had their wages temporarily cut down. But at least three-quarters of the great body of the employed have been, during this very period of so-called "hard times," enjoying higher rates of wages and gaining a better subsistence at a lesser cost than ever before. The evidence of this can be found, by him who has eyes to see, in the extension of every great city, in the multitude of houses of moderate cost, in the multiplication of the small industries, in the enormous sale of bicycles, and in the rapidly extending markets for flowers and other common luxuries which the mass of the people now enjoy.

At the present time a few of the prices of crude materials which had been abnormally depressed are being brought back to profitable rates; but the improvement in the methods of converting these crude products into their higher forms, which have been forced into action by the hard times, will still enable the converters to supply the finished goods of many kinds, both in metals, in textiles, and of other kinds, at prices very nearly or quite as low as those which were reached at the lowest point, yet with a sufficient profit to lead to the extension of the works and to make provision for the wants of our rapidly increasing population. Never before in the history of any country has there been such a complete demonstration of the true rule of progress by which society is governed under the law of competition. That rule is that in proportion to the increase and effectiveness of capital the gross product is augmented; the share of that product falling to the capitalist is also augmented in the aggregate, but is diminished relatively to the quantity produced; the share of that product which falls to those who do the direct work is augmented both absolutely and relatively. Hence the benefit of hard times will presently be further developed under this law, to the end that those who take over to themselves the specific title of the "working people" of this country will secure to their own use and enjoyment a larger share of an increasing product than they ever attained before; being already in the enjoyment of the largest share of the most abundant product as compared to all other nations in the so-called civilized world. What may be the effect of these progressive conditions of increasing welfare upon a country which is now the lightest taxed for national purposes of any machine-using nation, the future only can tell.

EDWARD ATKINSON.



## THE ANECDOTIC SIDE OF ENGLISH PARLIAMENTARY DISSOLUTIONS.

THE power which controls the dissolution of the English Parliament is supposed theoretically to be the Crown; but this requires explanation. In the practical working of the British Constitution there are two operative forces,—Law and Usage; and Usage is more operative than Law. The Crown has, indeed, the power to dissolve Parliament at any time, for any good cause; but inasmuch as the Crown has either to act by the advice of Ministers or to find Ministers who will accept responsibility for the acts of the Crown, the prerogative of dissolution, unrestricted in theory, is strictly limited in practice; therefore, in the end, it is the Prime Minister who “gives the advice,” or “takes the permission,” to dissolve. But as the Prime Minister, if he wishes to continue in public life, must find colleagues willing to share responsibility—first to the House, and finally to the constituencies—for his acts, his power of advising a dissolution is also limited by these considerations, all of which are constantly operative. The Prime Minister’s mind has to be made up, as to the wisdom of dissolution, rather by the influence of a great and pressing necessity admitting of no alternative, or by the reports and advice of the party agents. In either case he may be deceived.

The interest taken in dissolutions of Parliament is no new thing. There has never been a time when men were not eager for news of such an event. Chief Justice North, for example, dined with the Duke of Lauderdale at Ham about 1680, “when both those councilors were as blown deer and would be glad to have Parliament dissolved; of which, to say truth, the whole nation was weary. And at this time the frost was very sharp and the company at dinner complained of cold. The Duke turned round, and, looking back toward the window, said: ‘There will be a thaw soon.’ None at table but his Lordship guessed his meaning. And so he intended it; for he knew that the Parliament would in a few days be dissolved; but his Lordship did not tell that he guessed it from that sentence of the Duke’s, and so it proved accordingly.” Cromwell dissolved his Parliaments

without scruple, placing the responsibility, as usual, on Providence—"God judge between you and me." Charles II. dissolved his Parliament when it opposed his policy. Of the dissolution which took place in 1679, Macaulay writes:—

"During some weeks the contention over the whole country was fierce and obstinate beyond example. Unprecedented sums were expended. New tactics were employed. It was remarked by the pamphleteers of that time as something extraordinary that horses were hired at a great charge for the conveyance of electors."

But we do not begin to take a really keen interest in Parliamentary dissolutions till the beginning of the modern political practice in 1784. At midnight on December 18, 1783, Mr. Fox and Lord North received the King's orders to deliver up the seals of office, and to send them in by the Under-Secretaries, since a personal interview on the occasion would be disagreeable to His Majesty. On the 19th the House of Commons met. Fox and North were in their places. It was the custom in those days for Ministers to appear in the House in full dress; hence Lord North had hitherto been styled "the Noble Lord in the blue ribbon." On this occasion the badge was missing. We read in Pitt's "Life":

"There was seen to walk up a young member, Mr. Richard Pepper Arden, holding an open paper in his hand, and soon after, rising in his place, he moved a new writ for the borough of Appleby, 'in the room of the Right Honorable William Pitt, who since his election has accepted the office of First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.'"

So hazardous seemed the venture that we are told this motion was received with loud and general laughter on the Opposition side. The question of a dissolution at once arose. Pitt could not hope in that House to command a majority. Fox and North had from seventy to eighty of a majority on which they could depend. "I here declare," said Fox on this occasion, "that if a dissolution shall take place, and if very solid and substantial reasons are not given for it, I shall, if I have the honor of a seat in the next Parliament, move a very serious inquiry into the business and bring the advisers of it to account." An address against either prorogation or dissolution was carried without a division. But neither the King nor Pitt was to be bound in this way by a House which, in the judgment of both, had ceased to represent the country. Pitt, on being appealed to some days later to say whether a dissolution was intended, said, after some silence, "I decline to pledge myself to the House that in any



possible situation of affairs I would not advise His Majesty to dissolve Parliament." He continued to combat a weakening opposition in Parliament and to acquire a growing popularity in the country. On March 23, 1784, he wrote to the Duke of Rutland:

"Our calculations for the new elections are very favorable and the spirit of the people seems still progressive in our favor."

On the 24th thieves broke into the Lord Chancellor's room in Great Ormond Street and stole the Great Seal. If they were not friends of Fox and North, they worked in their favor. By prompt measures, and the consent of the King, a new Seal was ordered, which was ready next day, as Pitt was determined that what he significantly called a "curious manœuvre" should not succeed. Parliament was dissolved on the 25th. "I feel it a duty which I owe to the Constitution and to the country in such a situation to recur as speedily as possible to the sense of my people by calling a new Parliament," was the language of the King. James II. had thought to embarrass his successor by dropping the Great Seal into the Thames. The Opposition thieves had tried to prevent a dissolution in a similar manner. Both parties were disappointed. When the first fight in the House regarding the dissolution was over, Pitt wrote to the Duke of Rutland:—

"The Opposition argued everything weakly, and had the appearance of a beaten party, which appeared still more on the division, when the members were 282 to 114."

Regarding these events of 1784, Lord John Russell, in his "Memoirs of Charles Fox," says:—

"The precedent of 1784, therefore, established the rule of conduct that, if the Ministers chosen by the Crown do not possess the confidence of the House of Commons, they may advise an appeal to the people, with whom rests the ultimate decision. This course has been followed in 1807, in 1831, in 1834, and in 1841."

The dissolution of 1790, after six years of successful administration by Pitt, caused no excitement. "We are daily adding to our strength, wealth, and prosperity," said Mr. Pitt, and the country sustained him in his belief in the success of his administration. When the dissolution of 1796 was approaching, Pitt was as strong as ever. Fox was still in a hopeless minority; the division on his motion for an address to the Crown condemning the war with France left the mover in a minority of 42 to 216. In May the House was dissolved. The main interest centred in Fox's election for Westminster, as it had on the previous occasion. Pitt was again sustained. When the dissolution of 1802 was at hand, the scene had changed and was still

rapidly changing. Seventeen years of power had been well employed by the Minister at whom the Opposition had laughed so derisively on December 27, 1783. The India Bill had been carried. The war with France had been conducted with vigor and success. The trial of Warren Hastings had afforded an opportunity for the display of all the parliamentary eloquence which England possessed. The legislative union with Ireland had been accomplished. In bringing about the union Pitt had pledged himself to the Catholic leaders to grant them relief from the political disabilities under which they labored. The King, however, was obdurate; and the Minister, finding it not possible to fulfil his promise to the Catholic leaders, resigned the power he had held so long. The dissolution of 1802 took place when Addington was Minister in succession to Pitt. Pitt gave Addington the benefit of his loyal support. The Parliament was near the end of its term. There were no disturbing questions at home. The parties in the political field were the Peace Party, the Moderates, and the Ministerial War Party; and these, at the elections, had everything all their own way.

In 1806, the Grenville Ministry being in power, the Parliament was dissolved in order to strengthen the hands of the Ministry in the war against France. There was some talk of protests against the dissolution. Parliament was only four years old. The Government had a good majority, but the Ministry itself was weak; and Mr. Walpole, in his "Life of Perceval," says:—

"The conviction that they could obtain a substantial advantage by a general election, overcame their temporary scruples."

Lord Grenville assumed the responsibility of advising His Majesty to dissolve. "For myself," he said, "sacred as I hold every prerogative of the Crown, I feel that His Majesty's servants are answerable for the advice which they give His Majesty for the exercise of every one of them." But he defended the particular exercise of the prerogative of dissolution as follows:—

"If at any moment of our history the exercise of this prerogative was wise, proper, and discreet, it was upon the late occasion, and the Empire has gained this great and important advantage from the measure: that the degree of unanimity which has been manifested by the people from one end of the Kingdom to the other on the subject of the war, and on the determination to persevere in the struggle; on the necessity for vigorous exertions; and the approbation of the steps which have been taken by His Majesty's Government,—has given strength, confidence, and spirit to the Government, and has given a noble example to the world of the vigor of a people who understand the blessings of independence and are determined to maintain them."



This was long-winded eloquence, but probably Mr. Walpole's summary of the reasons for the dissolution was the more accurate.

In 1807, although it was the first session of a new Parliament, a fresh dissolution was ordered. The King (George III.) had become alarmed at the attempt of the Grenville Ministry to weaken his prerogative in regard to army appointments, and by taking action on the Catholic claims; and he dissolved Parliament fourteen months after it had been elected, after having first forced his Ministers to resign and filled their places with men more willing to give him pledges of resistance to the Catholic question. The King's speech at prorogation was prepared by Perceval. The new Ministry had, to its own surprise, won a majority of thirty-two on a vote in the House; and after this the dissolution was determined on. The result was favorable to the new men, and the Opposition were naturally very much chagrined. The King was again triumphant over a Parliamentary majority which had misunderstood the popular will.

The dissolution of 1812 is not historical in its character. No consideration affecting parties was concerned in it except the tiresome affectation of "No Popery." Lord Liverpool evoked a Ministry which lasted from 1812 to 1827. Lord Castlereagh, a much misunderstood and much maligned man, became Foreign Minister; Lord Elgin took the woolsack; the banner of "No Popery" was flung to the winds; and the new Ministry was sustained. Among the men defeated on this occasion was William Lamb, the future Lord Melbourne. The dissolutions of 1818, 1820, and of 1826 offer few points worthy of notice, though to students of parliamentary history those of 1820 and 1830 are interesting on account of their being precedents in the old doctrine, now done away with by statute, of the dissolution of Parliament on the demise of the Crown.

In 1831 there began a series of interesting struggles for "Reform." The dissolution of 1831 took place on account of the defeat of Ministers on the Reform question. "I am not prepared," said the Duke of Wellington in the course of a speech in the Lords, "to bring forward any measure of this nature, but I will at once declare that, as far as I am concerned, as long as I hold any station in the government of the country, I shall always feel it my duty to resist such measures when proposed by others." On the same night Brougham gave notice of a motion on Reform. On the 15th of November the Government of Wellington and Peel was defeated, and on the next day they announced their resignation. Lord Grey's administration followed. Its early

stages are marked by the struggles of Brougham for the woolsack. "The Bar laughed; Mr. Sugden sneered; and King William IV., who had occasional glimpses of political forecast, assented not without reluctance." The new Government of Earl Grey made a first attempt at a Reform Bill, but was defeated twice between the 19th and 21st April. They advised a dissolution. The King, after some hesitation, consented, and even went down to the Lords and dissolved Parliament in the midst of a debate on a motion *against* dissolution,—so very close to our own time was this very remarkable exercise of prerogative.

In 1832 there was another dissolution, though only a year had elapsed since the last. Lord Grey's Ministry having passed a Reform Bill in the Commons, the Lords threw it out. "Perhaps the Lords who formed the majority," says Mr. Spencer Walpole in his "Life of Lord John Russell," "failed to see the full significance of the division. It brought the country to the verge of civil war." The Ministers advised the King to create as many new peers as would carry the bill through the Lords. The King, however, shrank from the alternative. The Duke of Wellington attempted to form an administration and failed. Lord Grey was recalled. Permission was finally given to Lord Grey to nominate enough peers to carry the bill; and he was prepared to act on this permission. But the King, to avoid this unpleasant necessity, wrote a letter advising the acceptance of the bill; and the Duke of Wellington exerted his influence with the Peers; the result was that enough stayed away from the division to enable the bill to go through. Parliament was then dissolved in order to enable the newly created constituency to exercise the franchise for the first time. The Ministry was of course sustained.

Two years later, in 1834, Sir Robert Peel obtained power to dissolve. The circumstances were these: The King (William IV.) had no confidence in Lord Melbourne and wanted to get rid of him. Lord Althorpe was leading the lower House for Melbourne, but his father's death removed him to the House of Lords. Lord Melbourne proposed to supply his place by means of Lord John Russell. The King refused this proposition, having said that he "could not bear John Russell." "And so," says Mr. Walpole, "to bring a long story to a short conclusion, the King, exercising his personal authority in a manner which the sovereign of England has never since employed, dismissed his advisers and sent for the Duke of Wellington. The Duke advised the King to send for Peel, but Peel found that he could not control the existing House of Commons and asked for a



dissolution. Parliament was accordingly dissolved on December 30, 1834, in order to obtain a House that would give the King's new Ministers 'a fair trial.' Peel was strengthened, but not sustained, at the elections. He was beaten in the Commons on the election of a Speaker, and an amendment to the Address condemned the Ministry on the ground that the progress of Reform should not have been interrupted and endangered by the unnecessary dissolution of Parliament."

The death of William IV. and the accession of Queen Victoria necessitated a new appeal to the electors by Lord Melbourne in 1837. "As far as I can calculate," wrote the Secretary of the Treasury to Lord John Russell on July 5, "I think we shall gain by the dissolution to the extent of twenty or thirty. In Ireland we shall gain, I think, eight, and perhaps twelve; in Scotland, ten; in England from fifteen to twenty." But the results did not fulfil this anticipation. In England the Ministers lost considerably; in Scotland they won heavily; and Ireland sent seventy-three Ministerialists out of a hundred and five members. The elections had been fiercely contested. "It is amusing," says Greville, "to see both parties endeavoring to avail themselves of the Queen's name, the Tories affecting to consider her as a prisoner in the hands of the Whigs, and the Whigs boasting of the cordiality and warmth of her sentiments in their favor."

In 1841 the House was dissolved again. The Whig Government, which had been weakening, was defeated by a majority of one. A dissolution was procured by the defeated Ministers who, cleverly enough, in one way, shifted the ground of political discussion from the question of "confidence" to the question of a fixed duty on corn. Mr. Trevelyan, in his "Life of Macaulay," writes:—

"There could be but one issue to a general election which followed such a session, and but one fate in store for a party whose leaders were fain to have recourse to so feeble and perfunctory a cry."

The Whigs were defeated, and Peel was in office again.

In 1847 it was Lord John Russell's turn to dissolve. The Parliament of 1841,—which had been elected to confirm and organize Protection and had adopted Free Trade; which had first chosen Peel above Russell and had ended by putting Russell above Peel,—was drawing to a close. When Lord John was elected, we read in his "Life": "When the children heard and understood the news, their spirits rose to the highest pitch. They danced, hurrahed, put a big wreath on John's head, and sang 'See the conquering hero.'"

In 1852 neither the Government nor the Opposition was well organized. Lord Derby took office early in 1852 with an acknowledged minority in the lower House. He avowed that it was his policy to re-impose a protective duty on corn, after having taken the opinion of the country. Parliament was dissolved on July 1, 1852, the result being a defeat, though not a conclusive one till Parliament met. Then the Government was defeated on Disraeli's Budget, and had to resign. Mr. Russell, in his "Life of Gladstone," condemns Disraeli's Budget speech on this occasion, both as to matter and manner; but Lord Macaulay, Lord Malmesbury, and Mr. Buxton in his "Finance and Politics," praise it highly; the balance of opinion seems to be in favor of Disraeli's ability on the occasion.

In 1859 a "want of confidence" motion having been carried against the Derby-Disraeli Government, the Ministers determined to dissolve and notice was given of the intention on this occasion. In reply to Lord Palmerston, Lord Derby demanded where any authority could be found to justify any restriction upon the prerogative of the Crown to dissolve Parliament at any time and upon any occasion. Lord Palmerston in reply acknowledged the right of Government to dissolve, saying, "We recognize the right of the Crown upon any occasion to appeal from the House of Commons to the country." He, however, asserted the right of the House to protest against dissolution, so as to avoid inconveniences in the public business. But on previous occasions the Crown did not listen to such protests, and on one occasion, as has been seen, stopped a debate in the Lords, in order to accomplish a dissolution against which they were engaged in protesting.

The dissolution of 1865 was had by Ministers on the singular ground stated by Mr. Walpole in his "Life of Lord John Russell":—

"The Ministers were anxious that the dissolution should take place while the country was fresh from the spectacle of their leader displaying night after night the elasticity of youth beneath the weight of years. The Parliament was dissolved in July, and the elections which immediately followed showed that his colleagues had not exaggerated the effect of Lord Palmerston's popularity."

The victory of July was followed by the disaster of October. The elastic constitution of Palmerston broke down under the strain of the elections, and he died.

In 1868, Mr. Disraeli being Premier, and the Government having been defeated in the Commons, the Premier proposed to the Queen that he resign, or that she give him a dissolution. The Queen offered him the dissolution. Mr. Disraeli, in making the announcement,



stated that he had advised that the appeal should be made to the new constituency created by the Reform Bill of 1867. By consent of both parties it was agreed that the new Ministers should hold office till the new constituencies were organized. On this occasion some noteworthy points were raised. In the first place, it was contended that the dissolution was a "penal" one inflicted on the House because of its defeat of the Disraeli Administration. In the next place it was singular to see a Government defeated on one ground appealing to the country against the policy of its opponents on another,—the Irish Church. In the third place, for more than six months the government of the country had been carried on by compromise until both parties were ready for a fight, the Ministry being unable to control the House, and the Opposition being unwilling to turn out the Ministry. Finally, when the dissolution took place and the Disraeli party was defeated, Mr. Disraeli established the unusual course of resigning office without waiting for the meeting of Parliament,—a transfer of immediate power from the House to the electorate which marked a great stride forward—or backward—in political practice. Mr. Disraeli thus defended this line of conduct:—

"We felt that this course was due to our own honor; to the personal convenience of the sovereign and the progress of public business; and lastly due to the incoming Minister that he should not be thrust into office without time to prepare his measures."

Not one of these reasons would bear close examination. The personal honor of Ministers would not have suffered if they had waited for the meeting of Parliament whose committee they were. The personal convenience of the sovereign could not have been disarranged if the routine of administration went on. There was no public business which had not been duly provided for by the passing of the estimates. And an "incoming Minister" might at any time, as in the case of Lord Salisbury at the present time, have to take office at a couple of days' notice.

In 1874 Mr. Gladstone was supposed to have exercised the power of dissolution without consulting his colleagues. There are reasons now for doubting that statement. In his speech in the House of Commons after the elections, Mr. Gladstone took occasion to hint that he had a principal though not exclusive responsibility for the dissolution. The announcement was made publicly on a Monday, but was known to the management of the London "Spectator" on Friday evening, and was mentioned in its issue of Saturday. Mr. Gladstone therefore must have consulted and must have trusted somebody.

The vote of the people was adverse to him, and, following the example of Mr. Disraeli, he resigned office before the House met. On the meeting of the new Parliament, complaint was made by a private member regarding the sudden dissolution; but there was little debate and no division, and the power of putting Ministers out of office passed more completely than ever into the hands of the people.

In 1880 Mr. Disraeli, feeling after six years of power that he might be still strong enough to go to the people, dissolved Parliament. The announcement on this occasion was made to Parliament and was carried into effect after the Chancellor of the Exchequer had made his financial statement. The result was fatal to Lord Beaconsfield. We all know now that the confidence with which the Conservatives went to the country in 1880 was ill-judged, and was not wholly shared in by Lord Beaconsfield. The secession of Lord Derby and Lord Carnarvon had weakened the Administration by giving an air of adventurousness and danger to the foreign policy from which these types of "prudent" statesmen dissented. Sir Stafford Northcote tells us that the publication of "Endymion" had injured Lord Beaconsfield in the eyes of the Nonconformists. The Irish electorate was strongly organized on hostile lines. Mr. Gladstone's tours in the country had roused much fervor for the "Grand Old Man." And the end, as we have said, was the defeat of the Conservatives.

In 1885 there was another change. Foreign affairs are always dangerous to Liberal administrations, which are too apt to be influenced by commercial considerations of immediate importance, and by humanitarian considerations which are often of no importance at all. The great Powers had become unfriendly to Great Britain. Khartoum had fallen, and Gordon had been slain; and public feeling had not been improved by the insinuation that the man whom the Tories called a "martyr" was only a madman after all. Lord Randolph Churchill, with a furious zeal, was making successful attacks on the Administration. Finally the Ministry was defeated on the characteristically British item of the duty on spirits and beer, and was forced to resign. The dissolution took place in the autumn, and was followed by a boisterous campaign. All the elements of Liberal agitation were roused to fury. Radical pledges of "three acres and a cow" to every agricultural laborer were scattered. Home Rule for Ireland, though not actually on the official programme, was pledged in many places. Mr. Gladstone kept himself free from pledges of any sort till it became obvious that pledges of some sort were required to



put him into office. The Conservatives clung to office very properly for some months, till in fact Mr. Gladstone found a sure opportunity of overturning them by counting on the vote of the Irish members *en masse*. Then he gave the necessary indications of his "life-long convictions" in favor of Home Rule, and the Conservatives were defeated in the House of Commons on January 25, 1886, by a majority of 79, 74 being Irish members.

On February 6, 1886, Mr. Gladstone was again Prime Minister. The secession of the Liberal Unionists, which will probably form an important event in British politics, now began. Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain, in refusing to follow the lead of Mr. Gladstone in Irish affairs, rendered his most strenuous labors in that cause useless, and in the end put a period to the power of the Liberals. But unless the alliance is cemented by stronger ties than appear to exist, the same influence may, as the result of the same differences of opinion and object, put an end in turn to the power of the Tories. Lord Salisbury and Mr. Chamberlain have each much to ignore and forget before there can be absolute alliance between them.

The life of the new Ministry of 1886 was short. Taking office in February, it was defeated in June, on the second reading of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill, by a vote of 343 to 313, a majority of 30. The Unionist Liberals mustered 93 in the division lobby, and thus asserted a power which could no longer be denied, and which Mr. Gladstone has not been able, except in a few cases, to conciliate. The defeat was followed by a dissolution; and the majority of the Tories was increased to 113 in the new House of Commons.

The stormy career of the Conservative administration will not soon be forgotten. The early portion of it was marked by the dazzling career of Lord Randolph Churchill, as leader of the House and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and by his disastrous resignation a few months after, which gave the first sign of a mental deterioration which had its final issue in his melancholy death. Later on, after an interval of safe mediocrity in the leadership of Mr. W. H. Smith, Mr. Balfour came to the front as Irish Secretary, and has since maintained, by sheer intellectual power, a lead which must end in the Premiership. The startling events which led to the Parnell Commission, the agitations in Ireland, and the Bering Sea controversy, were the most memorable events of the Conservative administration. An Irish Local Government Bill was carried in the House to a second reading, but dropped at that stage in view of the general elections;

and an Agricultural Holdings Bill, intended to encourage the creation of small freeholders in England, became law. The majority of the Government having been reduced by defections and by elections, and Lord Salisbury having made fervent and even furious appeals to the Ulster vote, which was his already, Parliament was dissolved at the end of June, and polling began on July 5, 1892.

The first day's polling resulted in a Liberal gain; and at the end of the fight the Gladstonians had a majority of 40. The fact that England itself elected as many as 197 men pledged to Home Rule was very remarkable. There was indeed a majority of 71 against Home Rule in England; but the wonder was that out of 465 members the majority should have been so small. Lord Salisbury did not think the majority against him so conclusive as to demand an immediate resignation and he determined to meet Parliament in due course. A motion of want of confidence was moved by Mr. Asquith, and after three nights of memorable debate the Gladstonians carried it by their full majority, and Mr. Gladstone was again Prime Minister.

To have carried on the business of Parliament with so small a majority for three years shows great capacity and considerable luck; and the wonder is greater when we reflect on the exceptional character of some of the measures introduced. To have passed a Home Rule Bill through the House of Commons; to have inaugurated a dangerous agitation against the House of Lords; to have suffered the loss of Mr. Gladstone; to have borne up so long under the unpopularity arising from a decaying agriculture and an increasing want of employment among the operative classes even in the manufacturing towns; to have withstood the intrigues and aggressions of the Radicals during the whole period—these things show that there was a reserve of strength and skill and statesmanship among Mr. Gladstone's and Lord Rosebery's following. Lord Rosebery carries that reserve into opposition, and we may look forward to a short period of active parliamentary tactics followed by a fresh change in the Masters of the Empire. The days of long Administrations seem to have passed everywhere. In an empire so wide these changes do not seriously affect the interests of the people at large. To an inhabitant of the Roman Provinces it mattered very little whether one Emperor or another reigned in Rome. To a citizen of the British Empire it matters not much in Vancouver or Australia whether Salisbury or Rosebery holds the helm of state at Westminster.

MARTIN J. GRIFFIN.



## UNSANITARY SCHOOLS AND PUBLIC INDIFFERENCE.

THE public schools have always been a fascinating subject for me, and I was therefore much pleased when I was appointed secretary of Good Government Club C's Committee on Public Schools of New York. The province of this committee, as a body, was simply to investigate and report on educational matters in the Twenty-second Ward, but our individual explorations were carried into a more extensive territory. Thus most of the city schools have come under the personal observation of the committee. The best and the worst examples were visited, presenting a descending scale, from the excellently disciplined No. 45 in Twenty-fourth Street, and No. 67, a superb structure in Forty-sixth Street, to the wretched accommodations for 768 poor children who are instructed over the offensive live-chicken market in Essex Street, and the dark, unfurnished rooms in Allen Street where the pupils study on their knees. The chairman, Dr. Taylor, and I journeyed together, and considered the condition of affairs from the physician's standpoint, viewing the schools both externally and internally, and spending from two hours to an entire day upon each one visited.

Externally, most of the schools appear well enough; though it must be confessed that many windows are darker with dirt than an orderly housekeeper would permit; but, with the hundreds and hundreds of panes, it is almost impossible for the janitor to keep all constantly polished. Still this is an important matter, for any diminution of light causes more or less strain on the many eyes within. The front walks and approaches are fairly well kept. Architecturally the buildings are formed like the capital letter "I," single or duplicated. The disadvantages of this construction are plain when one enters the yards between the front and rear, finding oneself in something very similar to a large square well, with a urinal and water-closet at its bottom, and with its fourth side usually closed by a tall tenement running from wing to wing. In such courts the children take their runs in the "fresh air." The play-rooms are under the main building.

At present, the new annex to No. 58 in West Fifty-second Street

is being walled in by a row of tenements. No. 17, in West Forty-seventh Street, has its rear rooms so darkened by the proximity of such tall houses that, except on the brightest days, gas must be burned in the Primary department, adding its impurities to the atmosphere and exhausting the oxygen from an air-space already too meagre. No. 84 has for its neighbor a sausage-factory and smoking-establishment. Several others derive their ozone from winds which necessarily blow directly over abutting stables, and No. 58 raises serious objections to the noise and sights in the rear yard of a veterinary college. The law regulating the distance of liquor-stores from schools must be a dead letter, for in the Twenty-second Ward it suffices to mention that Nos. 69, 58, and 67 all have saloons just across the street,—the latter, in Forty-sixth Street near Sixth Avenue, having three within a very short distance.

The yards are paved with stone or concrete and are damp, because the sun is partially or totally excluded, and the chilly vault-like sensation that comes over one promises to make good the old Spanish proverb, "Where the sun never enters, the physician must." In out-of-the-way corners small mounds of ice and snow were found; these, gradually melting, caused small streams that trickled across the pavement to the cesspool-opening and evaporated on their course, thereby increasing the moisture in the air. At one side of each yard may be seen the closets, and, in boys' schools, the urinal. These are ventilated by skylights and by long galvanized pipes running to the roof of the main building. The west closet in No. 17 has a brick chimney-ventilator, built only a little higher than the next house instead of being continued above the school itself. It is quite evident that, with our prevalent west winds, the air emerging from its top must be blown directly across the yard and into the upper class-room windows. The floor of the urinals is made of stone or slate and is constantly wet. I have never seen any attempt made at swabbing the floor, and so I conclude that the usual practice is to let it alone until it dries, or at any rate until after school hours. The janitors assert that it is perfectly useless to try to prevent this evil. Every boy who passes into one of these places must return to his class-room with the soles of his shoes soaking, and must let them dry as they will. In the water-closet there is an automatic "Mott" affair, which is supposed to cleanse itself by flushing at intervals, varying according to the amount of water furnished. Often the troughs are dry, or are washed out imperfectly and infrequently. They are constructed of



enamelled iron; but the enamel is worn off in spots, leaving roughened and oxidized surfaces which produce a chronic state of filth. Inadequate water-supply I found very general, due, in some places, to the peculiarity of the closets themselves, and in others to the fact that the same pipe supplied both building and closet and was too small for the work demanded.

No. 17 possesses a closet over a tank which is filled by a faucet and emptied by the janitor every day. This is crude and old-fashioned, but it is less of an eyesore than the rusty, scaling, enamelled, and soiled conduits of the expensive "automatics." No. 67 is a new school, the closets of which have been recently completed. The troughs are dry and present patches of *feces*. In No. 58 the west yard closets have just been finished and do not clean themselves. To sum up, I have not found a single closet in good order. The general impression among sanitarians and plumbers is that the "automatics" are intrinsically wrong, and that they should be discarded. The sum of \$110,000 is asked this year for sanitary work in old buildings, but we found that the new ones required quite as much renovation. It would be good economy to establish these matters rightly in the first instance and cease the endless tinkering now going on. A first-class sanitary engineer, with a proper appropriation, would be a valuable addition to the Board of Education; but we must never lose sight of the idea that much of the present disgraceful condition is due to the fact that the public never sees and consequently makes no fuss about improper school sanitation.

The play-rooms are usually board-floored rooms running under the schools from the janitor's apartments in front to the rear wall. These rooms require ceaseless vigilance to maintain them in presentable condition. Scraps of paper, portions of lunches, and the dust from hundreds of shoes, are carried in and dropped. On seeing one of these floors swept, it is hard to believe that it has been carefully cleaned once or oftener within twenty-four hours. A few schools have galvanized cans standing in accessible places, and the children are drilled into such neat habits that nothing is thrown down haphazard. The cleaners say that the rooms are appreciably cleaner since the advent of the new Street Cleaning Department. Less mud is brought in, and less dust blown in. The difference is so great as to be marked in the dust-pans, but the cloud that rises from sweeping is still appalling; it escapes, rises, and enters the windows, diminished in volume, but deleterious to inhale and sufficient to make pupils cough. It

can be mitigated by sprinkling, but the sun only glances over a few square feet, and if the floor is sprinkled every day the dampness becomes equally mischievous.

The janitor's apartments are usually on the ground floor, and a disadvantage in having a family living in the school building is the necessity of closing the entire institution in case of contagious disease in their quarters. On the whole it is desirable to have the janitor live elsewhere and enter the school on business only. In the eyes of the Commissioners the janitor appears to be a more important personage than the teacher. A trustee can dismiss a teacher; but it requires both inspectors and trustees to turn away a janitor. I was told of instances where the janitor made it uncomfortable for painters, steam-fitters, and carpenters by refusing to open the door, by disturbing tools and utensils, and in many petty ways, until a *douceur* was tendered. In many schools the metal tops of steam radiators are missing. No. 17 has but few left. I had the curiosity to ask a helper where the tops were. He replied with a broad brogue and subtle wink, "Ask the two J's, the Janitor and the Joonkman." The janitor also has his troubles. He complains about the grain-scoops substituted for coal-scoops—and about the glued brushes (which fall apart with wetting) furnished by the "Supply Committee," instead of good wired articles.

The visitors' staircase is fireproof only in the newest schools, and our Committee was so struck with its insecurity and the general rattle-trap character of everything in No. 17, that we all felt that the building should be torn down and replaced by a modern structure before a holocaust startled the city with the number of its innocent victims.

I now come to the internal arrangements of the schools. We were usually ushered into the "assembly-room" and into the presence of the Principal. This assembly-room is either on the top or the third floor in the Grammar department, and on the second floor in the Primary department. It is occupied by four or more classes of from 50 to 70 pupils each, only partially separated by curtains. Aside from the unsatisfactory results of instruction when the scholar hears the voices of several teachers simultaneously, these curtains are veritable fomites. Many children in the early stages of scarlatina, diphtheria, tuberculosis, and other contagious and infectious diseases, have sat within these cloth enclosures. The screens should prove a mine of micro-organisms on bacteriological examination. With the great tenacity of life which scarlet-fever poison possesses, it would be



difficult to imagine better storehouses than these porous woollen walls. The furniture is only fair. Its position could be and should be changed in many rooms, where the cross-lights are very trying even to the casual visitor. Sometimes light is admitted from the left, sometimes from the right, and occasionally from the front. The consequence is that normal eyes are becoming the exception. Ample blackboard space, for good class drill, is seldom seen. Many boards, supplied for a room containing 50 or more pupils, do not exceed two or three square yards of total surface, though occasionally they are large enough to permit half a dozen to work at once. The pencils and paper are satisfactory only for part of the session, the principals and teachers complaining that supplies and stationery which are fair from September to January fall more and more below the standard of the samples furnished from January to July. The unclean slate and sponge are disappearing from the higher grades. The Primary scholars still expectorate to moisten sponges, lick their pencils, and go through other very unsanitary performances. The children's wraps in No. 17 are hung up in several class-rooms without covering. If wet, they remain so, as they are placed one over the other. There is always present a possibility of infection.

The children have pale faces. They are so anæmic that sunlight seems a crying need of city civilization. They leave the school at three o'clock, and it would be merciful in the short winter days to avoid lessons to be learned at home. Either abolish text-books and have the teaching wholly didactic, or have all study performed at the school. Most teachers will accept this suggestion, as they know by long experience that anything conned away from their supervision must often be unlearned with labor and pains. Give the children more fresh-air, and their bodies and brains will improve together. At present the appearance and health of the little ones are just what might be expected from growing children whose play-ground is a species of unsanitary cellar. They are overcrowded also. The allotted air-space is from 70 to 100 cubic feet for each individual according to size and grade. This is too limited and should be doubled, or even trebled in those rooms so dark as to require several gas-lights. It is no marvel that children are bleached, pinched, delicate, and bloodless, and in condition to yield to the onset of either pulmonary or osseous tuberculosis.

The overwhelming applications for admission to some of the schools have necessitated putting three scholars on two seats. Be-

tween the chairs is a separation of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and the child in the centre often acquires a *prolapsus ani* or a crop of hæmorrhoids. This was tried in No. 51 in West Forty-fourth Street, and in No. 46 in St. Nicholas Avenue. Orders have now been issued forbidding the practice because of its results. Owing to the shrinkage in accommodation the youngest applicants are forced to remain out; and No. 94, last session, refused 506, of whom only 28 were under six years of age. As a sample neighborhood consider Fifty-eighth to Sixty-eighth Street from Eighth Avenue to the Hudson River. The schools in this district are No. 41 in West Fifty-eighth Street, the parochial school of the Paulist Fathers in West Fifty-ninth Street, and No. 94 in West Sixty-eighth Street. All are overflowing, and the children of Eleventh and lower West End Avenues have no school whatever and are acquiring their education in the streets. A large Primary school somewhere on West End Avenue is urgently needed for the thousand or more little ones who cannot be taken into the other schools. The lots are still vacant, and the children are growing up in evil and ignorance because of that waiting policy of the Board of Education which caused it, in Fifty-fourth Street, finally to pay as much for one lot as it needed to have done for three a few years previous. It is not pleasant to think of the stables, sausage-factories and pie-bakeries, nor of the tall tenements that shut off light and air, when a very small outlay could have secured ample adjacent property; yet even in the light of past experience little or nothing is being done to prevent a repetition of the same nuisances.

As regards books, the curriculum appears to be changing, and teachers are looking forward to better things. New text-books are being prepared; but one on Physiology has caused a small tempest of opposition. It seems to deal finally with doubtful questions, as they all do. Articles on "Alcohol," "Opium," and "Tobacco" are written with a distinctness and plausible exactitude surprising to a physician who in his daily clinical experience has seen almost every extreme positive statement refuted. Abuse of any or all three is mentally or morally ruinous, sooner or later; but I should long hesitate before settling definitely for all people, under all circumstances, what constitutes use or what abuse, and I could never truthfully state that all are unqualifiedly bad. The plates in previous works adapted to common-school use have been very deceptive, so much so that a whole class once told me that the femoral artery was larger than the



biceps femoris. The teacher supposed it to be about the size of a "garden hose"! Let us hope that the work finally adopted will be accurate in text and illustration, and not teach facts which the child in a few years will discover to be false.

The schools are under the direct supervision of the Board of Trustees of the ward. This method of government originated when Manhattan Island was a series of small villages, but in this day of rapid transit and telephonic communication it appears out of date and needlessly cumbersome. At present there are only eleven schools in the first six wards of New York, yet twenty-eight trustees are appointed to watch over their interests. The Twelfth Ward alone has twenty-three schools, and five trustees are deemed adequate. The Third Ward has no schools at all, yet it has a board of four trustees who meet the last Thursday of every month at the address of its chairman. They are supposed to assemble in a school-building. In this case the building is lacking, but the Board is in evidence. They must have expenses. What can they find to do? Is it enough to warrant the city in purchasing one postal card for them? The Annual Report of the Board of Education gives the rather surprising information that a teacher's salary of \$145.83 was paid in this ward last year. The trustees all serve without pay, but that they receive no perquisites is at least open to doubt. Expenses are charged to the Committee on Supplies, and it is difficult to discover the actual cost of maintaining this antiquated system. The positions are sought by men with political influence who are not as a rule anxious to give time and services for nothing. In response to personal inquiry they have told me that "their office is an honorable one," and that "it is a stepping-stone to something higher." I soon learned that men feared their power and dared not openly corroborate assertions frankly made to me in confidence. Rumors came to me (with names) of money paid by teachers, painters, carpenters, plumbers, and especially steam-fitters, to secure appointments or work. Our committee found that when a school changed its trustee the various repairers were changed with him. Expenses for buildings, furnishings, heating-apparatus, rents, etc., for last year were \$1,500,000,— "sundries" amounting to \$30,000. The trustees have power to pay any bill of less than \$200 without a written report. They have also the distribution of patronage and the power of appointing and removing teachers. The arbitrary nature of their rule is shown by an instance, occurring under my own observation, from which I first learned that Civil Service

rules had nothing to do with our school system, and that merit, ability, and long and faithful service were easily discounted by plain "pull." The trustees of the Twenty-second Ward are composed of three Tammany men, one Democrat, and one Republican. On any important matter there is a 3 to 2 vote. One of the trio, to pay off a political debt, nominated a certain teacher for the Principalship in a Primary department. The nominee had no experience in Primary work, whereas the rightful claimant had devoted twenty-five years to conscientious labor in that field. The Democrat and Republican brought in a minority protest. The whole scheme seemed so unjust that the Commissioners refused to confirm the nomination. Then the three conspirators indorsed another candidate, apparently on religious grounds. This second unfair arrangement failed. As a last resort they resolved to make transfers and changes,—a political shuffle by which the apparent victor was to become a victim. Meanwhile some new Commissioners had been appointed, who, learning of the true state of affairs, caused the trustees a very unpleasant quarter of an hour.

How can all this be improved? A good corps of window-cleaners going from school to school could improve the illumination of the rooms if they were held strictly accountable for their work and its results. It would be wise to secure adjoining lots now, for every school, even if the buildings that deprive the yards of sunlight and purifying winds must be torn down. The automatic water-closet should be removed, and some clean, economical, sanitary apparatus supplied, and the defects in ventilation should be remedied. The needs of the schools are the result of twenty years of neglect, and are so numerous that it is difficult to select the most urgent. Perhaps the most obvious is an asphalt pavement before every building. Our chairman wrote to the Department of Public Works about this, and learned in reply that nothing could be done for one school at a time, but that when money was supplied for fixing all, then all could be done at once. I have seen one teacher made voiceless and many made hoarse by the constant shouting necessitated by the sounds reflected from opposite buildings into the open windows during warm weather. If one stands on the front sidewalk the noise is not so intense; but in the front class-rooms of No. 94 or No. 41 one cannot make oneself heard at a distance of ten feet during the passing of a laden truck or rattling grocer's wagon. Ordinarily one cannot find ten consecutive minutes during school hours when the



maddening hammer, crash, and bang are silent. As the normal eye is being dimmed by bad lighting, so the normal ear is being blunted and the normal voice ruined by harmful and unnecessary noises, to say nothing of the increase of nervous diseases from the same causes. The school yards should be paved with asphalt, less on account of sound than as a protection against dampness. Asphalt is much drier than stone or concrete,—that is, it is not such an accumulator of the water of condensation. Enough schools should be erected to do away with the necessity for any classes in the assembly-room, and its curtains. In every building there should be plenty of well-ventilated clothing-closets in the halls, enough to furnish each pupil with a separate peg or rack. The furniture should be arranged with due regard to light and to the size of the pupils. In a case reported by Dr. Taylor, a young girl was brought to him with a lateral spinal curvature. On questioning her he discovered that her classroom was furnished with small desks,—a whole grade of young women being seated and working at desks which made an upright position impossible. The Principal, acknowledging the justice and frequency of complaints, said that the matter could not be remedied, and the girl had to be removed from school. It would seem a small thing to ask for a change of furniture if the ruined health of growing women is the alternative.

More attention should be paid to the bodies of the pupils. The so-called "setting up" military exercises just being introduced are most excellent, and their widespread use is to be commended. Calisthenics for girls are excellent for the carriage and general development, and some system like the 'Turners' should be part of the daily routine. It would seem very natural to consult the teachers in regard to what books are best for their work, and to have them make written suggestions of improvement, without fear or favor. But how can the authorities have any regard for their opinion, when it is manifested every day that the parents are quite indifferent as to what is being taught? Principals are allowed three days in each year for the purpose of visiting other schools in the city to study methods of teaching. If this rule could be modified so as to permit visits to other cities, a shaking of dry bones might result.

To sum up, our Committee, after careful investigation, felt warranted in bringing in a report that "the educational standard of New York is not at all on the level sought, nor even on a par with the attainments achieved in other places." In this, as in our late Police Department, we have been too long deceived by the sooth-

ing thought of having the "best in the world." This deception has been possible only because of public ignorance and neglect. If one question should be of surpassing interest to every parent, that question should be the Public Schools; for two reasons: (1) because the children attending are the children of the people; (2) the schools are making the citizens of the future, and the influences of the building on the physique, and the teacher on the mind, are apt to be underestimated. We rely too much on home training. Important as this is, it must be borne in mind that many of our city children have no home life whatever, and others would be better without such as they have. Taken at its best, the home chiefly teaches the private conduct of the parents, but the school gives the young child's mind its first experience of the dealing of the individual with masses, which we adults call citizenship. The child may be monarch in some homes; but in the school he finds himself a subject with very serious responsibilities. Though this fundamental change may be going on all about us; though future characters are being made or marred by thousands every day; though the next generation of New Yorkers are being made near-sighted, deaf, crooked, and hysterical, and though they are compelled to inflate their lungs with a germ-laden atmosphere redolent with emanations from soiled clothing, stables, and unsanitary plumbing,—yet the absence of interested and protesting spectators is solemnly impressive. It would seem as if no father has sufficient forethought to personally inspect his offspring's surroundings and tuition; for I have examined the Principal's register in many schools over long periods, and found scarcely a single name recorded, excepting of course the trustee's signature, though sometimes not even this. Principals and teachers are uniformly cordial, and complain of the coldness and indifference of the public. It does seem as if many abuses are fostered by the secrecy possible when none of the multitude who daily pass the doors ever turns aside and enters. I am sure that if people would only examine for themselves, every man and woman would be honestly indignant to find that his or her children are compelled to pass six hours a day for six years in such wretched places for the body and under such dwarfing influences for the mind. One would think that any human being would be roused to a righteous and ungovernable resentment when he saw his own flesh and blood and his pocket-book both abused,—but verily the depth of patience possessed by New Yorkers is inscrutable.

DOUGLAS H. STEWART.



## METHODS AND DIFFICULTIES OF CHILD-STUDY.

THE possibility of utilizing the nursery as a laboratory was suggested by Preyer's record of the first three years of his boy's life. The chronological table of development which his American translator appended to the volume serves as a model by which the watchful mother may follow her own baby's mental progress in similar lines. Many of the little every-day incidents of the baby's life which Preyer recorded as worthy of note are those that universally furnish topics for conversation between youthful parents: the baby's first smile; its dawning recognition of the members of the household; the pleasure shown at its own image in the mirror; and its assertions of independent dignity. These, standing in their place in the time-order of the child's expression, serve as steps to indicate its daily widening mental horizon.

The facts to be revealed by a close study of child-life are assuming increasing importance in the belief of specialists in Psychology, Pedagogy, and Anthropology. It behooves intelligent mothers, whose opportunities are unrivalled for furnishing data to scientific inquiry, to acquaint themselves with the lines of research and the methods of experimentation now being carried on. To establish the existence of *laws* of development, immense numbers of observations must be secured; and it is only by the wide co-operation of competent observers in the nurseries that the boundaries of knowledge concerning the earliest manifestations of human emotions and intellect are to be enlarged. The witless, senseless little being who at birth has been fitly termed "a spinal-marrow phenomenon," is from the very outset of its career a subject for study and observation. Preyer writes: "Before methodical instruction begins, during the time which belongs to the child's mother, no tutor speaks a word; but precisely then the bud is unfolding. The child's brain grows as much in the first year as in the whole of its after life."

Before committing one's self to the task of recording observations on a child's development, there should be in mind a somewhat clear conception of the significance of the work and its probable value to

the recorder. To jot down a number of irrelevant facts one may from time to time observe in a growing child will be of little benefit to either the writer, the child, or the expert. In stating this proposition it is assumed that the work is to be carried on by one not prepared by special training. Obviously, the professional psychologist, pedagogue, or anthropologist will have his individual theories which he wishes to put to the test, and will formulate his own series of experiments. The remark is addressed to the conscientious mother, who, possessing a strong desire to fill to the full the rôle of motherhood, suspects, from the suggestive title, "Child-study," that there lurks within it some vantage-point of knowledge from which she might more intelligently direct the course of the mysterious potencies committed to her charge.

This surmise is to a certain extent true, for no one can closely watch the actions of a child's mind without coming to a clearer understanding of its limitations, at least, and thereby be better able to enter into the difficulties of the problems with which a child must grapple. Child-study must not be conceived of as a royal road to wiser discipline,—at least not as a lightning calculator of moral problems. It is as a science—building itself up, like other sciences, by the slow accumulation of innumerable facts—that child-study is to put forth its revelations. It is a research, from the very nature of the subject, more difficult and more complex than other studies in exact science. The infant specimen does not lend itself graciously to quiet manipulation; the very hubbub of the ordinary nursery is in itself disastrous to orderly scholastic habits. The hundred and one vital demands of babyhood obtrude themselves at inopportune moments and blur the details of some observed phenomenon before the time can be seized to record it. Particularly is this the case in making note of the child's growing vocabulary of sound. Unusual zeal and persistence are needed to meet the unusual conditions.

Again, as Professor Sully observes, "the very excellences of maternity are a hindrance," for the mother-mood is apt to be too prejudiced to state facts in their unvarnished simplicity. If maternal instinct is to be a bar to unbiased observations, surely our Eastern States can furnish a satisfactory number of substitutes in maiden aunts, who may invade the nursery with the consciousness of their superior qualifications.

The best record of an individual child made in this country has been by Miss Millicent Shinn, of San Francisco. Extracts from her



notes upon the growth of her niece's mind, which have been published by the University of California, are serving as text-books in the normal schools of Illinois and California. To one who begins a record of baby-life from the standpoint of a novice as regards psychological literature, Miss Shinn's books ("Notes on the Development of a Child"<sup>1</sup>) will be found full of suggestive experiments. Her own lack of professional training for the task makes her method intelligible and her generalizations readable to the average mother. Miss Shinn's surprise at the recognition her work has received at the hands of experts best expresses the simplicity of her motives and the value which a systematic, trustworthy record of child-development possesses for modern psychology. She wrote:

"I had no idea of doing anything of a serious value myself. I was absorbed in the baby and took notes for my own pleasure and instruction, and was much astonished when I learned that no set of notes as copious and complete was known of in this country."

Beyond a thorough reading of the two volumes of Preyer's "Mind of the Child,"<sup>2</sup> Miss Shinn began her work without other special preparation than a warm affection and deep interest in the particular subject of her study. To turn the pages of her note-books will be a revelation to many a mother whose nursery has bloomed with numerous specimens of budding humanity without her suspecting the significance of the thousand cunning and seemingly capricious ways of babyhood.

There are three methods of pursuing child-study which may be taken up with more or less beneficial results by one not specially prepared by previous training. The first, which should be classed as an anthropological study of childhood, would follow such a line of investigation as Galton has indicated in the "Life History Album."<sup>3</sup> It is presumed that the album will be started for each child at birth, and that until the close of school life the parents will register systematically the observations called for: by that time the owner will probably find his life history of such interest and value that he will continue the record himself. A brief summary of the headings given under the general directions for using the book will outline the character of the study. *Genealogical record*.—A carefully pre-

<sup>1</sup> University of California Studies, Vol. I., Nos. 1, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Appleton's International Educational Series.

<sup>3</sup> Published under the direction of the British Medical Association. London: Macmillan & Co.

pared family medical history should serve as an introduction to the life story of the individual, since most diseases are hereditary, some markedly so. A record of predispositions, it is claimed, makes it possible to guard against some illnesses and successfully treat others. *Description of the child at birth* calls for its weight, length, girth at the nipples, color of eyes and hair, etc. A similar anthropometric description is to be given at the close of every five years, adding to the list, after infancy, the strength of pull, and acuteness of hearing and vision; and, to secure a general standard of measurement of these latter, definite experiments are given. The importance of frequent observations on height and weight, it is stated, is much greater than is generally supposed; for the period of rapid growth is the period likewise of greatest danger to health, and it should be noted carefully in order that undue exposure or fatigue may be avoided. Weight has even greater significance as a health factor. A suddenly arrested increase of weight or a gradual loss often occurs before any other symptoms of disease can be detected, and may be the first to signal an alarm. Charts for mapping out the proportional gain in weight and height for every five years are given. Under the term *Life history* some eight or nine points are proposed for record—such as occupation, recreation, sleep, food, residence, etc. The *Medical history*, it is suggested, should be filled in by the family physician, who should be directed to note such important points in his dealing with the case as special physical signs and any idiosyncrasy in the action of the drugs administered. Two pages are left at the close of each successive five years for the insertion of *Photographs*. In this age of the household camera it would surely be possible to carry out minutely the suggestions as to pose and size which Galton considers requisite for scientific value.

The value of a systematic record of this kind will be increased by its continuity as a family habit; one generation adding its testimony to another, till the mass of evidence may prove sufficient to assist in tracking out the laws of heredity and environment. Sir Francis Galton says:

"If there be such a thing as a natural birth-right, I can conceive of none superior to the right of a child to be informed, at first by proxy through his guardians, and afterward personally, of the life history, medical and other, of his ancestry. The child comes into existence without any voice in the matter, and the smallest amend that can be made him is to furnish him with all the guidance possible, including the complete life histories of his progenitors."

The second method of taking up the study is to focus the atten-



tion upon one or two phases of development, either physical, emotional, or intellectual. A particular subject minutely watched cannot fail to yield fruitful results. At the very threshold of life, the special study of motor ability may begin by noting the baby's changing and growing power of muscular action. It will be with eager interest a mother will watch the aimless gropings of the impulsive stage, the reflex and instinctive responses to stimuli, till the day when the first intimations are given of self-directed volitional movements.

The gratification in a work of this character is purely intellectual, and one's results can have a value only as a contribution to a series of similar observations. To be sure that the material collected can be utilized, it is wise to accept the suggestion put forth by the National Association for the Study of Children,<sup>1</sup> which offers to place its members in correspondence with expert workers, or be guided by the syllabi which President Hall, of Clark University, has recently issued upon the topics Anger, Dolls, Toys, Crying and Laughing. Any one of these subjects can be followed up with the minuteness suggested in his plan of study by a mother who conscientiously jots down the daily drama of nursery life. Unless one believes that purely altruistic efforts in behalf of science bring their own reward, there is little tempting in this study. The factor of personal gain must be eliminated. Views as to corporal or non-corporal methods of discipline will not be in the least clarified, nor will there be a perceptible forward stride in ability to judge of the relative merits of educational systems. If the work has been carried on conscientiously, the observer will have the satisfaction of having contributed her quota to the building up of a conception of childhood based on actual knowledge of its laws of progress. The perplexities of this generation may, by the aid of the clearer light secured, be solved for future parents.

The biographical method, which can be suggested as a third, requires at least a slight acquaintance with recent psychological literature, enough knowledge of the technical nomenclature of metaphysics to classify the facts observed, and a careful reading of the work already published in this line by Preyer, Hall, Shinn, Tracy, Baldwin, Comparyé, and others. Every observed fact by this last method may become a subject for record if placed in its time order. It will materially assist the task of compilation if the record-book is

<sup>1</sup> The Association can be addressed through the Pedagogical Seminary, Clark University, Worcester, Mass.

broad-leaved enough to admit of a wide margin, so that the proper classification as well as the time-data of the fact observed can be written at once. Such a book readily admits of indexing, or one may follow up a specific topic chronologically without trouble. The dangers which beset those unused to scientific investigation by this last method are so many that it must be held accountable for the scanty results which have thus far accrued.

As long ago as 1881 the American Social Science Association, through its Committee on Education, undertook to promulgate the doctrine of universal child-study. The enthusiasm with which their suggestions were received promised a rich harvest, but, apart from the inspiration given to a few isolated observers, no effectual work was accomplished. Upon the supposition that college-bred women, especially, would find a congenial task in wringing an intellectual contribution out of the midst of daily duties, a series of suggestions were prepared by a committee of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae to serve them as a guide in note-taking. The points indicated on the first of the four schedules were physiological, and were intended for babies under six months. Sight was subdivided into Staring, Fixation, or Noticing, Perception of Approach, and Coördination of Eyes. Grasping was divided into the topics Reflex, Carrying to Mouth, Semi-Grasping and Grasping with Desire, Thumb-Position, etc. The second schedule, still physiological in its nature, followed the motions of the baby from its first efforts to hold up its head, on through the various stages of Sitting, Rolling, Creeping, Standing, and Running. Notes on Fear, Anger, Affection, and Compassion were suggested as possible clues by which to follow up the emotional nature, while Will, Attention, Memory, Imagination, and Language were proposed as topics for noting the intellectual development. The temptation to follow temporarily first one topic and then another, to the lack of thorough mastery of any, proved seductive even to those whose training had prepared them to grasp the significance of scientific methods. Two years' experience with the working of schedules of this character led those in charge to emphasize, in their recent circular addressed to college mothers, the fact that the biographical method was more particularly adapted to children under three, as the elemental racial characteristics of babyhood are more easily followed in their development than the more complex and subtle expressions of individuality shown when the child has mastered speech. In view of the fact that a cloud of mystery still veils the impulses to emo-



tional and moral expression in childhood, it is well not to speak discouragingly of random wanderings with note-book and pencil into any pathway; for by chance one might stumble upon some correlation of facts that would never have been laid down for investigation in a cut-and-dried programme of inquiry.

The possible stimulus to be gained by the association of workers into classes or sections for the study of child-life is counteracted by the equal danger that, unless in competent directive hands, the interested mother will find the contributions offered so alluring in their appeal to her personal reminiscences that the "study" hour will degenerate into an "experience meeting" of more or less hap-hazard a character. It is a severe strain upon maternal instinct to repress a comparison of the individual Jennie's and Johnnie's remarkable qualities.

The proper guides for the scientific study of childhood are the guardians of the spirit of research and investigation in all other departments of knowledge, our colleges and universities. Professor Chrisman was probably unaware, when his article appeared in the February (1894) number of *THE FORUM*, pleading for recognition of child-study (*Paidology*) in our colleges as an important branch of the family of "ologies," that the University of California had taken an initial step in this direction by assuming the general charge of the work carried on by members of the local Association of Collegiate Alumnae. It is by such affiliations that positive results will be gained. The investigators will have before them the incentive to scholastic efforts in the consciousness that their work counts as a recognized part of the college curriculum, while the material they may gather will shed its light upon the problems of the laboratory and lecture-room.

It is especially fitting that the colleges which reserve their privileges exclusively for women should be the first to introduce the study of *Paidology*, since statistics show that either as teachers or mothers two-thirds of all their graduates assume the guidance of young intellects as their life responsibility.

Under the broad term *Sociology*, Domestic Sanitation has crept into the class-room of the Chicago University, so there is hope that this recognition of special training for special functions may serve as an incentive to *Psychology* to lend the dignity of its name to this inquiry into child-life.

ANNIE HOWES BARUS.

## THE CIVIL SERVICE AS A CAREER.

ON January 16, 1883, President Arthur approved "an act to regulate and improve the civil service of the United States," which has become popularly known as the "civil service law," and thus gave to the ambitious young men and women of America their first official intimation of the opening of new opportunities in the public service for honorable and satisfactory careers. Prior to the passage of this law the civil service, particularly at Washington, had come to be considered as a haven for decrepitude and incompetence, as a means of tiding over a temporary period of misfortune, or as a secure and not uncomfortable retreat in which to wait for something to turn up. Though this impression, growing out of the traditions of the spoils system, was always unjust to the many competent and meritorious men and women who received public employment in those days, it was supported by far too many instances of the appointment and retention of persons grossly and notoriously unfit. As the friendly patronage of persons prominent in political life was the only available door to the public service, employment in it was naturally monopolized to a very large extent by those able to earn such friendship by political or personal service, or to whom a recommendation to office was accorded as the reluctant and charitable reward of persistent importunity. The same influences which controlled appointments also largely determined—though with honorable exceptions—the subsequent retention and advancement of appointees; and consequently even the most competent frequently found political influence—not rarely secured through pecuniary contributions—and personal necessity more powerful in securing promotion than diligence and capacity; while honest merit was too often forced to most humiliating importunity in order to obtain through favor what should have been the unsought reward of ability and industry.

There are two points of view from which the civil service may be considered, and from either such a system as has been described appears unsatisfactory in the extreme. The first and most obvious is that of the taxpayer, who is undoubtedly interested in seeing that



the amount expended for government is so used as to secure the greatest good at the lowest possible cost. Naturally the capable and self-reliant youth of the country, even when not excluded by lack of sufficiently powerful friends, were repelled from seeking entrance to the public service when to do so was to subject themselves to such humiliating and revolting conditions, and the necessity of accepting public employment came to be regarded as a calamity, and the civil service as the last resort of incompetence. Thus public money was wasted in the support of useless official parasites, or paid to "heelers" as the price of corrupting the government and politics of those they were supposed to serve. The other standpoint, from which the system must receive equal condemnation, is that of those who, under better conditions, might have found in the government service an adequate field for their talents and industry. To this class the evil of restricting to a few—and those seldom among the most worthy—the right to enter the civil service meant a distinct limitation of opportunity. The United States government employs 204,039 persons, or about one in every one hundred and ten engaged in gainful occupations, and it is obvious that if there is to be equal individual opportunity such employment must not be monopolized by a favored class.

It is unnecessary to seek to determine which of these considerations had greater weight in securing the passage of the civil service law, but it is sufficient to note the radical nature of the change involved in legislation which provided, among other things:

"That no recommendation of any person who shall apply for office . . . which may be given by any Senator or member of the House of Representatives, except as to the character or residence of the applicant, shall be received or considered by any person concerned in making any examination or appointment."

In order to further carry out the principle that the claims of every applicant should be treated as "meritorious and strong in proportion, not to the influence behind him, but to the good character and capacity he tenders in his own person," it was immediately provided that no discrimination should be made by the appointing power on account of politics or religion, and that positions should be filled from among the four (since reduced to three) highest in standing on competitive examination. The departure from established precedent indicated in these provisions is so great that it is not surprising that many were skeptical regarding the sincerity of the reform; nor that its actual beneficiaries—the young men and women to whom it opened a new

vocation—were slow in realizing its advantages. This is illustrated by the fact that although 13,924 places were immediately classified, and could be filled only by persons passing the examinations held by the Civil Service Commission, but 9,889, or 71 per cent, were examined during the first two years after the law took effect, while during the single year ending on June 30, 1894, 37,379 persons were examined, or about 85 per cent of the total number of places subject to the law.

The law was first applied to places in the departments at Washington paying from \$900 to \$1,800 per annum; places in the customs service having a compensation of \$900 per annum or over, at ports where fifty or more persons were employed; and places in the twenty-three post-offices employing not less than fifty persons, paying not more than \$1,800 per annum, with a minimum of about \$600, but excluding laborers. On June 28, 1888, President Cleveland extended the rules so as to include nearly all officers and employees in the executive departments at Washington, except those whose appointment is required to be confirmed by the Senate, and those employed merely as messengers, watchmen, workmen, and laborers. The railway mail service was classified on December 31, 1888, adding 5,320 places to those open to competition. Other additions brought the total number subject to the law at the close of President Cleveland's first administration up to 27,330. On January 5, 1893, President Harrison directed extensions which embraced all free-delivery post-offices not formerly included, with 7,610 places; and the Weather Bureau, with 314.

Under the present administration 2,939 employees of the Internal Revenue Bureau; 1,527 employees at custom-houses; 868 messengers and watchmen; 2,267 superintendents and custodians of money at post-offices; and many smaller groups of employees,—making a total of 8,184,—had been placed under the jurisdiction of the Civil Service Commission prior to May 24, 1895. On the latter date what is probably the most important extension of the law which has yet been made was announced. As its result all positions in the Department of Agriculture, with its nearly 2,000 employees, are now subject to examination under the civil service rules, except those of the Secretary and Assistant-Secretary of Agriculture, and a private secretary to each; the Chief of the Weather Bureau, and his private secretary; the Chief Clerk of the Department, and his private secretary; and laborers and charwomen. In order to appreciate the im-



portance of this change it is necessary to understand the scientific and technical character of the work performed in this department. Among the positions in which vacancies will hereafter be filled by promotion from the corps of expert subordinates, or rarely, when necessary, by special competitive examination, are those of statistician, botanist, entomologist, ornithologist, pomologist, vegetable pathologist, and chemist. The incumbents of these positions are naturally brought into relation with the best work of scientists in their special fields throughout the world; they have ample opportunity and money for research; and one who would as soon be remembered for adding to the world's store of knowledge as for acquiring private property might well consider such a position the reasonable goal of his ambition.

The great value of this change lies in the fact that it opens to the deserving the higher places which, in many instances, even since the adoption of the merit system, seem to have been reserved for the friends of those in power. It is understood that similar extensions are to be made in the other executive departments; and when this is accomplished, a young man entering at the lowest round,—say as a messenger at \$600 per annum,—if he have ability, industry, perseverance, and patience, may aspire to any position short of those which must always be filled by persons in political sympathy with the administration, whose incumbents in fact constitute the administration.

The point now reached is that at which entrance to the public service in the lower grades is open to all having the necessary qualifications upon equal terms. The total number of places which could be filled only by competitive examination on February 21, 1895, was 45,706; by non-competitive examination, which is allowed under the law in rare cases, 165; and the number of excepted places in the classified service, 2,081, consisting of confidential clerks, private secretaries, cashiers, etc., for whose conduct the appointing officer is personally or pecuniarily responsible. The number of excepted places has since been greatly reduced by the extension of classification in the Department of Agriculture previously referred to.

Since the civil service law took effect, 4,943 persons, of whom 1,322 were women, have been appointed under its rules to positions in the departmental service, 5,497 in the railway mail service, 317 in the Indian service, 3,092 in the customs service, 24,362 in the postal service, making a total of 38,211 appointments. Of those who have entered the departmental service about 20 per cent have

resigned, about 8 per cent have been removed, and 20 per cent have died, leaving on June 30, 1894, 3,457 persons, including 1,003 women, appointed under civil service rules. This constitutes about 29 per cent of the entire classified force of the executive departments, and the percentage is larger in the other branches of the government service.

Chances of appointment vary according to the branch of the service to which entrance is sought and the legal residence of the applicant, and are greatly increased for those who have some special qualification, such as stenography. Of those passing examinations for the departmental service since January 16, 1883, 22.6 per cent have received appointments; for the railway mail service, 34.6 per cent; Indian service, 47.4 per cent; customs service, 21.3, and postal service, 38.7 per cent. A trifle more than 38 per cent of those taking the examinations fail to pass. The law requiring appointments to be apportioned among the States and Territories and the District of Columbia according to population may, at times, constitute a bar to the appointment of persons residing in States which have temporarily exceeded their quota. It usually does not apply to special examinations, and the records show that every State and Territory except Arizona, Idaho, Indian Territory, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, and Wyoming received one or more appointments during the year ending on June 30, 1894. Practically, any one willing to make a special effort to acquire adequate qualifications for government service in any branch need not despair of finally securing appointment. Probably the effort required at the present time is less than it will be a few years hence, when the extension of the civil service rules to higher positions has increased the opportunities of those who enter it, and so intensified the competition.

Among the appointments by competitive examination during the twelve months ending with June, 1894, were 30 clerks at salaries from \$660 to \$900 per annum; 17 copyists, from \$600 to \$900; 28 typewriters, \$600 to \$1,000; 3 stenographers, and 29 stenographers and typewriters, \$720 to \$1,400; 34 special pension examiners, \$900 to \$1,300; 21 fourth assistant examiners of patents at \$1,200; 4 assistant observers for the Weather Bureau at \$720; 2 superintendents of stations for the Fish Commission at \$1,500; and in the Agricultural Department, an assistant vegetable pathologist at \$1,000; botanical editor, \$1,500; horticultural and entomological editor, \$1,400; indexer and scientific expert in soils and fertilizers,



\$1,600; and librarian, \$1,800. No examinations have as yet been held for messengers, assistant messengers, or watchmen, and consequently none has been appointed under the rules. These will soon be held, and will materially increase the number of appointments in the lower grades.

The rapidity of promotion varies greatly in the different executive departments, and also in other branches of the service. Clerks and copyists are appointed in the departmental service at salaries varying from \$600 to \$900 per annum. Promotion to the maximum should be rapid where the original appointment is at less than \$900. The grades above this are \$1,000, \$1,200, \$1,400, \$1,600 and \$1,800, and in some departments \$2,000. Still higher are the positions of chiefs of division, which pay from \$2,000 to \$3,500 according to their importance. There are numerous examples of clerks who have entered the departments since the civil service law went into effect and are now receiving \$1,800 and \$2,000 per annum. They are generally young men, and their advancement has been usually secured through merit alone. Special examinations are held to fill positions in the examining corps of the Patent Office. Original entrance is invariably at \$1,200 per annum, and examinations for promotion to the higher grades are held at regular intervals. Out of a total of 34 principal examiners receiving \$2,500 per annum, more than two-thirds originally entered the service under the civil service rules in the lowest grade. The proportion among first, second, and third assistant examiners, whose salaries are \$1,800, \$1,600, and \$1,400 respectively, is still higher.

The present Chief Clerk of the Department of State was appointed to a clerkship in the Treasury Department at \$1,200 per annum on February 11, 1884, and promoted in due course to \$1,800; transferred to the State Department, and made Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, April 17, 1893, and appointed Chief Clerk one year later. Another clerk who entered the service at \$1,200 per annum during July, 1886, was promoted to \$1,400 in 1887, to \$1,800 in 1889, and made Chief of the Consular Bureau on March 28, 1893. Perhaps no better example of the opportunities afforded young men in the Civil Service could be found than that of an employee of the Civil Service Commission, who in 1889 was employed in a railroad office at Wilmington, N. C., at a salary of \$35 per month. In common with most of his neighbors he believed the civil service law to be a humbug, and, as he was a Democrat, thought he had no chance of appoint-

ment under the then existing Republican administration. However, he finally determined to take the copyist examination at Goldsboro, N. C., as an experiment. He passed, and two months later received an appointment as messenger in the office of the Civil Service Commission at \$840 per annum. He has been successively promoted through the \$1,000, \$1,200, \$1,600 grades to \$1,800, which is his present compensation. It would be interesting to know how many persons in Wilson County, North Carolina, this man's home, earn as large an income as he does.

The opportunities for women are not as satisfactory as those for men, yet quite a number who have entered the service at from \$600 to \$1,000, under civil service rules, are now receiving \$1,200 and \$1,400 per annum. They are appointed generally as copyists, typewriters, or stenographers, and have usually found promotion within the lower grades sufficiently rapid. There has been an unfortunate prejudice against promoting them to the highest salaries, but this is believed to be fast dying out, as the appointment of a more efficient and meritorious class of women demonstrates their ability and fitness.

The educational advantages that Washington offers are not to be left out in any consideration of the opportunities in the civil service. Even under the spoils system, positions were sought and some times obtained for the express purpose of securing means of earning a livelihood while prosecuting professional or scientific studies at the Capital. The Law and Medical Departments of Columbia, Georgetown, National, and Howard Universities have had their courses and hours for instruction especially arranged so as to accommodate students employed during the day in the executive departments. The Corcoran Scientific School, of Columbia University, which offers courses to graduate as well as to under-graduate students, was started especially in order to supply the same demand. Several hundred young men and women graduate annually from these schools, and ex-department clerks successfully practising their professions in every State and Territory testify to the quality of instruction furnished. Unfortunately these advantages have seemed to be solely for the benefit of those who enter the government service merely as a temporary expedient, intending to seek more attractive fields of life-work. While this may be of personal advantage to those who are thus able to use the government service as a stepping-stone to something—to them—more desirable, it manifestly results in a shifting force of temporary employees whose consequent lack of interest in



their work is inevitably detrimental to the service. The best results, not only for the taxpayers, but for those who enter the service, will, however, be secured when sufficient inducements are offered to retain the services of competent and faithful employees, and the civil service of the government is thus made a profession in which men and women of intelligence will be willing to spend their lives. If this can be accomplished there will spring up throughout the country civil service schools, such as those in European countries; and the Universities at Washington will naturally turn their attention more and more to furnishing instruction to the employees of the lower grades in the executive departments who seek to qualify themselves for higher positions and better work.

This involves a revision of the salaries paid to the different classes of employees, so as to offer inducements sufficient to retain the services of the most capable, who, under existing conditions, notably since the civil service requirements introduced a more efficient class of employees, are constantly resigning to accept better-paid positions in private business. It is one of the baneful legacies of the spoils system that the Federal Government pays too much to employees whose duties are merely mechanical, and too little to those who are called upon to exercise wise discretion in important affairs. For example, the minimum salary paid to messengers is about the same as that paid to clerks, and the maximum not very much. This undoubtedly originated in the fact that places under the spoils system were frequently needed for "heelers" who could not perform the simplest clerical work, yet whose local political importance demanded higher pay than any services which they could perform were worth. It was also necessary to pay a higher price to induce men to enter the service when the tenure was uncertain than it should be under a reasonable guarantee of permanence as the reward of fidelity and capacity.

Comparisons between the quality of service required from employees of railroad and other corporations and from those in the government offices afford ample evidence that \$400, \$500, and \$600 per annum, secure tenure, and rapid promotion when deserved, would ensure as good service as that obtained at present in the lower grades, and would considerably improve that of the higher. Coupled with this revision should be provisions reserving the higher places for those who have demonstrated their ability in humbler capacities and guaranteeing permanence of employment to those who deserve it. This would require a system of transfers between the different branches of

service when circumstances reduce the work of one, and probably a transfer of the power of removal from those now exercising it to properly constituted boards. These changes, with the exception of those in the salaries, would do very little more than systematize the methods which now exist. The attention now attracted by occasional violations of the principles and spirit of civil service reform is itself evidence of the hold which the reform has obtained upon the public mind, and an ample guarantee of security to every capable and industrious young man or woman who enters the public service at the present time.

The requirements of success for those who seek it in the civil service, as in other professions, are hard to define, and their absence is frequently more readily apparent than their presence. They include capacity for hard work, ability to become interested in matters seemingly insignificant and monotonous, and breadth of view sufficient to grasp the larger relations of routine work, accompanied by an attentiveness to details that will ensure accuracy. In addition, there must be perseverance to conquer early disappointments, patience in waiting for advancement, self-reliance and esteem to protect against the occasional insolence of accidental greatness, and industry as an ever-present ally.

To those who possess these characteristics the civil service now offers an opportunity and a career. It has no great rewards, but they are yearly becoming greater, and, on the contrary, it is sure not to furnish any severe disappointments. Its pecuniary emoluments are small, but they are regular, and those who enjoy them suffer little from the stress of competition and do not fear destruction in the struggle for existence. In place of fame it offers to those who are careful to give a little more than they receive, the satisfying consciousness of having served humanity.

H. T. NEWCOMB.



# The Forum

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OCTOBER, 1895.

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## THE PRESENT ASPECT OF THE SILVER QUESTION.

THE present situation of the silver question in the United States is such as should encourage those who are known as "sound-money" men as distinguished from the advocates of the free coinage of silver by this Government at the ratio of sixteen ounces of silver to one of gold. Upon looking over the whole field it is apparent that there are no more advocates of the free-silver policy than there were a year ago; that those who are opposed to that policy are far more outspoken now than then; and that men who seek the favor of the public in many of the regions where free silver has been strong are finding courage to take the other side,—thus indicating in which direction the popular straws, which they see, are beginning to be blown.

A still better sign is the greater intelligence found in those regions where men have been in favor of sound money rather by association and instinct than because they were convinced of its truth through processes of reasoning. Where there was one man able and ready to give reasons for this faith there are now ten. Probably there were few men in New York or in the entire East who did not agree with Senator Sherman in 1890 that the Act of Congress of that year, which bore his name, was safe legislation: the Senator himself went even further and ventured the opinion that it was wise and beneficial. Many men were then to be found in New York who said that they thought it would bring high prices in the stock market,—possibly a veritable "boom." One, if not more, of the sound-money newspapers in New York city was quite strong in the commendation that it bestowed upon that Act,—surprisingly and unaccountably so, as it

seemed to some persons. Now there is no one who does not see that it was fraught with danger.

The fierce onslaught that the free-coinage interests made in the latter part of 1894 and in the early part of 1895 undoubtedly contributed to the better condition that now prevails, for it stirred men's minds and evolved much original research and thought upon the currency question, and this notably in the regions most affected by the free-coinage sentiment. Even that much-read, specious, and apparently dangerous publication, "Coin's Financial School," has contributed largely to the evident set-back that the doctrines it was intended to advance have received; for it contributed more than many—if not all other—things to the excitement of thought and activity of mind that have resulted in simultaneous publications in reply to it,—publications so numerous as to baffle the industry of the student who attempts to read all of them. Should the Republican National Convention of 1896 adopt such a declaration upon this subject as did the Convention of 1888—a declaration which excited the hopes of the free-coinage advocates, produced the menacing bills of 1890 resulting in the time-serving and cowardly legislation of that year, which was followed by the suffering and ruin from which our people are only now recovering—there is little danger that the party would receive the popular approval it did in 1888.

Of course this improvement in the condition of the public mind has been prompted by rising prices and by returning courage in the business world; investors at home and abroad again have confidence in our securities, which grows as confidence in our money grows. Side by side and step by step the two go on together. Let the latter, however, but halt once more, and the former will turn backward and desert us more completely than before. No one should omit every fit occasion to praise the course the Government took to restore faith last January: it was heroic as a remedy; but our sick country needed a heroic remedy, and the physicians, by the goodness of Providence, were at hand to give it. One gloomy day in January it seemed to be only a matter of hours when there would come an utter breakdown of the already enfeebled business world, with consequences to all classes of our people and to all parts of our country dreadful to contemplate. At the last moment, by the courage of a few men in public office and in private life, this danger was turned aside; and since, by the wise and altogether skilful management of those who made that January contract, and who then took upon them-



selves obligations which would have seemed too great to most men, confidence has been restored almost entirely, and our business interests—our whole country—have gained health and strength in a degree so great as to defy measurement. It is easy to exaggerate, however, the comparative influence of better times in changing sentiment: it is more true, as well as more agreeable and complimentary to the intelligence of our American people, to attribute this mainly to investigation, study, and awakened thought.

Rarely has any question been presented to a country more completely and with more ability than has the question of silver been presented to our people. It must be admitted that the free-silver advocates have exhausted every argument and appealed to every interest and passion to induce belief in the justice of their cause. On the other hand, the President, the Secretaries of the Treasury, of the Interior, and of Agriculture, Congressman Patterson and other statesmen, have filled the country with convincing arguments; scholars, statisticians, and publicists have added demonstration and proof; associations of citizens in Chicago, New York, and other places have helped to make a correct knowledge of the laws governing our financial problems accessible to every one. The Chamber of Commerce of New York city, and the Sound Currency Committee of the Reform Club, may be mentioned as among the most active agents in this diffusion of knowledge. A recent report of the Reform Club committee shows that it had distributed millions of documents, and that it had furnished sound-currency arguments every fortnight to weekly newspapers through plate and broadside matter, the aggregate circulation of which was over one million of copies. If truth be in a cause, the intelligence of our people is such that they will grasp it when thus presented. To doubt this is to despair of our Republic.

But over-confidence is unsafe. There are many indications that should warn the advocates of sound money that it will not do to assume that the free-silver cause is dead. We have seen Democratic political conventions in several States to be overwhelmingly under the control of free-silver men. Mr. Hardin and Mr. Blackburn in Kentucky deem it wise to defy the declaration of the Democratic Convention of that State,—an indication that they believe there is a sentiment upon which they can depend in thus disregarding the wishes of the Convention. The danger from all this is not so much that it will accomplish anything ultimately for the free-silver cause, as that it may at some

time appear so formidable as again to alarm the world about the future of our currency, and thus bring upon us again the business troubles from which we are now slowly recovering. Suppose, for instance, that the National Convention of either of the great political parties should declare for unsound money next year: until the result of the election were known, all business would be in constant peril,—the least evil to be expected being utter stagnation for several months. Thus from a business standpoint it is wisdom to keep up the educational effort until the Republican and Democratic National Conventions of 1895 shall have been held.

Almost all the sound-currency effort heretofore has been negative. Since the repeal of the Sherman Act of 1890, which repeal was itself only an Act of negation, little effort has been made, and little thought has been given to any phase of this question save opposition to the proposal to throw open our mints to the coinage of legal-tender silver dollars on a basis which would assume that sixteen ounces of silver were worth exactly one ounce of gold. Those who wish to see our people delivered from the perils which will ever be present so long as we have a currency issued under systems that are in violation of the laws of nature and of sound business principles, should not hold this negative attitude much longer: if they do, currency evils will surely return to our harm; for it cannot be gainsaid that our currency is not based upon sound business principles, and that it does violate the laws of nature. This affirmative work will be full of difficulties, for those who have been united in negation will surely be disunited when it is undertaken; and yet it must be undertaken, and that soon, not only to avert dangers that come from the inherent defects of present systems, but also to forestall proposals for legislation and governmental interference that will be still more pernicious. In my opinion, safety lies in one direction only, and that is to sever Government from currency to the utmost extent possible. All other effort will be but adding danger to danger and worse to bad.

CHARLES S. FAIRCHILD.



## WELL-MEANT BUT FUTILE ENDOWMENTS: THE REMEDY.

THE entire property of the colleges and universities of the United States is about two hundred millions of dollars, a value equally divided between funds which bear interest, and buildings, grounds, and apparatus. This property is the result either of gift or of an unearned increment. The part that belongs to the unearned increment is small, for American colleges, unlike English charities, have kept only a small share of their possessions in lands and buildings for the purpose of producing income. Two hundred millions of dollars is a very small amount as representing the entire material possessions of the colleges and universities of the United States more than two hundred and fifty years after the settlement of the country. It is a sum not largely in excess of certain private fortunes. It is certainly small in relation to the importance of the higher education to the best interests of American life. This meagreness of material result becomes the more significant when it is known that fully one-fourth of this sum belongs to only four universities. The result is not one to be exulted over; but it is rather one to cause us to turn toward the future with a firm resolve to atone by enlarged benevolence for the poverty or the penuriousness of the past.

Not for one instant can it be doubted that the cause of the higher education represents the best object for the bestowal of general benevolence. Mr. Courtney Stanhope Kenny, in his remarkable book entitled "Endowed Charities" (pp. 238-240), suggests six rules for benevolence:

1. "Of two ways of palliating an evil, we must choose the more powerful."
2. "Relief which removes the causes of the evil is better than that which palliates or increases it."
3. "If we must choose among forms of relief that only assuage the evil without removing its cause, those—if of equal potency—are to be preferred which produce least new evil."
4. "The graver the evil, the more desirable is the charity that relieves it."
5. "An inevitable evil is more deserving of relief than an avoidable one."
6. "An unexpected evil is more deserving of relief than one that could be foreseen."

These rules are wise, but it is to be said at once that they are largely of a negative character; they are rules rather than principles. It would seem that a principle of benevolence, as that principle may be applied to endowment, is that endowments should be given to those philanthropic works the demand for which we wish to increase. Although this principle has certain evident limitations or exceptions, yet its application is broad and generally sound. It applies to the ordinary stable conditions of life. One does not wish the demand for poor-houses to increase, and poor-houses should not be endowed; one does not wish the demand for institutions and agencies for relieving the poor to increase, and no one of these institutions and agencies are worthy objects for endowment. But one does wish the demand for education, higher and lower, and the demand for scientific research, to increase, and these causes are worthy objects of endowment. By endowing poor-houses one makes paupers; by endowing colleges one makes scholars: each endowment creates what it is ordained to create.

It is to be said that the famous arguments of Turgot and of Adam Smith against foundations have rather gained than diminished in force as the arguments are applied to causes other than the higher education. Turgot's argument in the article on "Foundations" in the "Encyclopédie" is still a masterpiece. He states that the intellectual difficulties are so great, and the social problems so complex, which one who wishes to be a founder must meet, that he must be the boldest man who would be willing to run such risks. It is difficult, too, for the philanthropist to diagnose the disease and to distinguish its essential nature beneath superficial appearances. He is in peril of mistaking effect for cause, and cause for effect. Even if he has reached the root of the disease, the difficulty of discovering a remedy is no less great. Many remedies which have been applied have increased the evil; as, for instance, the erection of foundling hospitals, which has tended to augment the evil out of which the need for such hospitals has grown. Furthermore, if a proper remedy be discovered for an evil for a short time, it is very much more difficult to apply this remedy through the long time in which a foundation is supposed to last. The difficulties, therefore, of making a worthy foundation are so great that Turgot believes that it is better not to attempt to lay foundations.

This argument is reinforced by Adam Smith. The great economist asks:



"Have these public endowments contributed in general to promote the end of their institutions? Have they contributed to encourage the diligence, and to improve the abilities of the teachers? Have they directed the course of education towards objects more useful, both to the individual and to the public, than those to which it would naturally have gone of its own accord? . . . In every profession the exertion of the greater part of those who exercise it is always in proportion to the necessity they are under of making that exertion. . . . The endowments of schools and colleges have necessarily diminished more or less the necessity of application in the teachers."<sup>1</sup>

But it is to be said that the argument of Turgot is directed toward the limitation of certain evils; it is not directed toward the augmentation of the good. It is evident that his argument does not apply to educational endowments with anything like the force with which it applies to charitable endowments. The pursuit of knowledge, the promotion of research, the offering of opportunities for culture, the establishment of facilities for learning, will represent the worthiest objects so long as humanity has a being at all like its present being. The evils which the great Frenchman alludes to, however alarming in the case of many charities of England, do not appear in the administrations of the two oldest and most illustrious universities of England. These evils, too, have never appeared in any appreciable degree in the life and work of American colleges.

In reference to the argument of Adam Smith, it is to be said, and briefly, that endowment is absolutely necessary to the carrying on of the higher education. The revenue derived from fees is far from being sufficient to support the college or the university. The general evil to which he alludes may attend the establishment of certain foundations, but without the foundations no university could maintain its existence for a year. The universities of England, of the United States, and of Germany, are alike in not being able to support themselves on the fees received from their students.

The proper province of endowment is represented in the spiritual and intellectual interests of man rather than in his physical and material interests. Voluntary benevolence need not concern itself with evils which the state can and will remedy. Those evils which are the most obvious are physical and material evils. Private and voluntary benevolence should therefore concern itself first with the intellectual and spiritual welfare of man. The individual need not attempt to do that which the community as a legal corporate body will

<sup>1</sup> "The Wealth of Nations," Book V, Chap. I, Part III, Article 2d "Of the Expense of the Institutions for the Education of Youth."

do. It is also to be said, and with gratitude, that organized society is constantly enlarging its field of beneficence; it is constantly taking up work and works which were formerly done through single persons. As the man who is by nature a pioneer retires into the forest at each advance of orderly and civilized society, so the pioneer in beneficence surrenders fields which he has formerly worked to the organized beneficence of the community. The kindergarten schools of certain cities have been established and maintained for years by private beneficence. Their usefulness in time became so evident that they have been incorporated into the public-school system. The relief of the poor was formerly a matter for private beneficence; it has now largely come to be a matter of public and legal action. The physical and material evils of humanity are more evident to the ordinary observer than the spiritual and intellectual needs, and these more evident needs are first taken up by the community, and afterward the less apparent ones,—the spiritual and intellectual. And therefore, until the organized community is able to perceive these spiritual and intellectual needs, and to fulfil them, they present the most promising field for voluntary and personal beneficence.

One cannot deny that the history of endowments other than educational is on the whole a rather sad one. Such history hardly belongs to the United States. This nation is altogether too young, and has been too poor, to have made much history of this character. Yet when one turns to the mother-country he finds that the time has been long enough and wealth has been sufficient to allow the making of a history of endowed charities. This history furnishes sufficient justification for keen and profound analysis and diagnosis. For the evils of the community have not been understood. Remedies have not been adjusted to the evils. Sums too large have been donated to remove small evils, and the result has been an increase of evils; sums too small have been donated to remove large evils, and the result has been unremunerative expenditure. Help has too often been given in such a way as to take away the power of self-help. Endowments have been rendered superfluous through change of conditions. The law of proportions has not been observed. Some instances of these propositions are furnished by Mr. Kenny in his book already referred to:

“Admiral B. M. Kelly, in 1867, left £90,000 to found a school for sons of officers in the navy. The lads were to have a first class education up to the age of eighteen. But the head-master’s salary was only to amount to ‘the value



of one hundred bushels of wheat,' which, as the Charity Commissioners said, was 'ludicrously inadequate.' Many further difficulties arose 'from the minuteness with which the testator, who was a sailor, and evidently knew little about schools,' had given directions."

"We have pointed out many important endowments where very large funds are producing at present little or even no result. Thus, Thame Grammar School had two masters and one boy; and those at Sutton Coldfield (endowed with £467 a year), Manceter (£288 a year), and Little Walsingham (£110 a year) were sometimes without any boys at all, whilst the evidence of the Assistant Commissioners included such testimony as the following: 'At Bath an income of £461 appears to hinder rather than promote the education of the citizens, and does nothing for the neighborhood.' 'The fine foundation at Market Bosworth, now £792 a year, is reported to be at present useless.' Gloucestershire and Herefordshire require special notice for the generally unsatisfactory condition of their endowed schools. 'Gloucestershire has seventeen foundations for secondary education, and none of these is reported to be at all efficient.' 'It is difficult to understand that Masham school serves any useful purpose.' 'A school of this kind (Easingwold) does great harm to the community.' 'This school (Bridlington) in its present state hinders rather than promotes the civilization of the place.' 'Much of the vitality of Doncaster school is owing to the fact that it possesses none of the wealth which in so many instances proves to be an encouragement to indolence.' "

"Mr. Cumin tells the story of an old lady who gave away £20 worth of flannel every Christmas. The Christmas after she died the poor people came to the rector and complained, 'If we had known she was going to die, we would have saved our harvest money and bought flannel.' "

"An instance of a very comprehensive and yet very futile foundation is afforded by that of Mr. Henry Smith, who in 1626 left large sums for four objects. Part was to go in redeeming captives from pirates; but since 1723 no captive has been found on whom it could be spent. Part, now producing £8,235 a year, was to go in doles, and is distributed with the usual results among 209 districts, in one of which it is given to one household out of every two, in another to two households out of every three, and in another—according to the vicar—"a charity was never worse applied, its effects are demoralizing." Part, again, was reserved for Mr. Smith's poor relations, and is still distributed among them to the extent of £6,797 a year, with the result of making it the interest of some hundreds of persons not to work and get on in life. The final part was to be devoted to buying impropriations for preachers, and its income is distributed among the poor clergy, though the resulting benefit is found to be more than counterbalanced by the disappointment caused to the unsuccessful applicants, the trouble of the canvassing, and the perilous habit which it too often inspires of begging with colorable tales of poverty."

These instances, which, though numerous, might be greatly increased, are more than sufficient to prove the downright, sheer, absolute foolishness of many benevolent men. On the whole, men's hearts are better than their heads, their wills than their intellects. Men often choose the highest objects known to them, and with the heartiest enthusiasm adopt schemes of benevolence which seem to them the wisest. But their knowledge is narrow, and their schemes for execut-

ing their benevolent intentions are not wise. The number of men and women who every day are devoting their fortunes, time, and labor to benevolence is constantly increasing. One cannot witness these abounding examples of sacrifice without feelings of the deepest gratitude. But one is too often saddened and chagrined on knowing that these benevolences, so generously conceived, are not the product of a comprehensive and reflective wisdom. Too often they represent wasted labor and fruitless self-sacrifice.

Such a condition, however, does not usually belong to endowments given to the higher education; for the cause of the higher education is so comprehensive, and its interests so diverse, that it is only with extreme and most complete foolishness that one can make a mistake in giving to the college or university. For the university is designed to make the best man; and it commands the services of the best men, as teachers of youth, as trustees of funds, and as administrators of serious undertakings. No corporations in the United States are able to command so great talent as the college corporations. One reason of this present condition is found in the exalted purposes which the college is ordained to secure. A further reason lies in the fact that the financial trusts reposed in these administrators are large. The great number of small endowments made in the cause of charity in England has in many cases resulted in waste, because the smallness of these sums could not command men of ability in their management. But the American college holding large sums of money has been able to secure the wisest legal talent and the most worthy moral ability. It is also not to be forgotten that the college stands for certain lasting needs of humanity. One can hardly conceive of changes occurring in the race so great as to render the need of a trained judgment and the usefulness of stores of knowledge superfluous. The changes in the condition of humanity have rendered many trusts absolutely worthless. Such changes cannot, in any degree of probability, occur in those conditions which education represents, as to render funds given to that cause worthless.

Furthermore, the higher education represents conditions which are the least obtrusive. The physical suffering of man appeals to every one; his intellectual wants do not. Those persons, therefore, to whom these wants do appeal as worthy should be especially solicitous to fill them. The college and the university also appeal to the benevolence of the individual through the fact that it is a question



how far the community should tax itself for the promotion of the higher intellectual welfare. But there is no question that the higher intellectual interests of men are vitally related to all the interests of humanity. It is therefore of supreme importance that these interests be conserved, and they therefore present themselves to one who has the welfare of the race at heart with peculiar persuasiveness. It is, moreover, never to be forgotten that the college represents the most comprehensive interest of humanity. This consideration is well exemplified in the fact that, in the revision of English charities by the Charity Commissioners, the cause of education was judged to be the best cause to receive endowments which had been created for purposes and objects now no longer possible of fulfilment. It was agreed that endowments which had been established for the following purposes: "Doles in money or kind; marriage portions; redemption of prisoners and captives; relief of poor prisoners for debt; loans; apprenticeship fees; advancement in life; or any purposes which have failed altogether or have become insignificant in comparison with the magnitude of the endowment, if originally given to charitable uses in or before the year of our Lord one thousand and eight hundred,"<sup>1</sup>—should be applied to the advancement of education.

Truths of this character, recognized throughout the history of this country and especially in the last seventy-five years, have resulted in the donation of large sums of money to American colleges and universities. In England the money that is given to public uses usually goes to the establishment of a charity. There poverty has become a disease; charity deals with it as a disease. In England, too, the interest of wealthy men is largely given to the establishment of a family. One cannot read the wills of Englishmen without seeing that money is usually retained in the family. Such a purpose or principle of founding a family has small value in a new country. One reason of this condition is found in the fact that in the newer country families are not permanent. They are like a wheel,—in constant revolution; the highest part soon becomes the lowest, and the lowest highest. There does not seem to be any strong desire to make them permanent. In England the domestic and the charitable demands for money are so great that Oxford and Cambridge are failing to receive their just proportion. In the United States, institutions are more permanent than families; and of all

<sup>1</sup> Kenny, "Endowed Charities," p. 198.

our institutions those of the higher education—the college, the university—are the most permanent. The colleges and the universities are therefore the objects of special benevolence.

In making an educational or other foundation a founder should bear in mind that his foundation is designed to last forever. He should therefore constantly have in sight the fact that the future is sure to bring fundamental changes, and he should not make the conditions attending his gift so exact that it may at some time become worthless through the impossibility of their fulfilment. It is said that there are more than two thousand endowments for primary education in England which are now rendered absolutely unnecessary through the establishment of schools aided by the government. A founder, therefore, should in general be content with a statement of his comprehensive purpose. He will find it far better to trust the men of the future than to try to perpetuate present methods.

This endeavor to make the standards and methods of the time of a founder the standards and methods of all time receives illustration in our own recent history. The endeavor to give an *exact* interpretation to certain terms in the fundamental instruments of the Theological Seminary at Andover resulted in serious loss to the Seminary; and the endeavor of certain members and friends of the official Board of the Seminary to interpret the ancient document in the light of general principles has seemed to some to result in a failure rightly to appreciate the importance of the specific trust that was committed to the Board. Harvard College, too, in the early part of the eighteenth century, received a gift to found a certain lectureship under certain conditions. By his last will Paul Dudley—

—"gave to Harvard College one hundred pounds sterling, to be applied as he should direct; and by an instrument under his hand and seal he afterwards ordered the yearly interest to be applied to supporting an anniversary sermon or lecture, to be preached at the College, on the following topics. The first lecture was to be for 'the proving, explaining, and proper use and improvement, of the principles of Natural Religion;' the second, 'for the confirmation, illustration, and improvement of the great articles of the Christian religion; the third, 'for the detecting, convicting, and exposing the idolatry, errors, and superstitions of the Romish Church;' the fourth, 'for maintaining, explaining, and proving the validity of the ordination of ministers or pastors of the churches, and of their administration of the sacraments or ordinances of religion, as the same hath been practised in New England from the first beginning of it, and so continued to this day.'"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Josiah Quincy, "History of Harvard University," Vol. II. p. 139.



In the college year of 1890-91 the Dudleian lecturer was the Right Rev. Bishop John J. Keene, Rector of the Catholic University of America. His subject, it should be added, was:

"For the confirmation, illustration, and improvement of the great articles of the Christian religion, properly so called, or the revelation which Jesus Christ, the Son of God, was pleased to make, first by Himself and afterwards by His Holy Apostles, to His Church and the world for their salvation."

It is not wise for a founder to say exactly what men shall believe, or in what terms they shall express their belief a hundred years, or two hundred years, or five thousand years, after he is dead. He would better entrust his general purpose, without specific conditions, to the men of the future. Yet it is to be presumed that certain founders will be short-sighted, and that the most generous will lack wisdom. It is therefore fitting that the state should take upon itself the duty of supervising, so far as it is able, all foundations and trusts, and also of reversing all those which fail to fill their purposes. The need is not so great in America as in England; but even in America it would be well for the state to have a Board to watch over foundations. As Mr. Kenny says:

"The periodical investigation of charity affairs by a central authority is requisite to stimulate the activity of the administrators and the economy of their administration. For the former purpose, the state must periodically inquire if the number of administrators is being kept up by new elections to its normal standard, and with what regularity each of them attends the meetings of the body. For the latter, it must periodically inquire into the receipts and expenditures of the charity. The returns of actual revenue must, of course, be checked by comparison with the amount of the revenue-producing capital. Of that amount the state must furnish itself with exact information by requiring the immediate registration of every charitable gift. In old countries, where philanthropy has run a long course before the national life has reached the stage of centralization at which such a register becomes possible, its contents (like the English enrolments under the Act of 1736) will cover only the later foundations. In such a case it must be supplemented by a general inquiry into the present wealth of the earlier ones."<sup>1</sup>

This need of the revision of foundations is clearly expressed by John Stuart Mill in one of his essays. He says:

"At the head of the foundations which existed in the time of Turgot was the Catholic hierarchy, then almost effete; which had become irreconcilably hostile to the progress of the human mind, because that progress was no longer compatible with belief in its tenets; and which, to stand its ground against the advance of incredulity, had been driven to knit itself closely with the temporal despotism, to which it had once been a substantial, and the only existing, im-

<sup>1</sup> Kenny, "Endowed Charities," p. 134.

pediment and control. After this came monastic bodies, constituted ostensibly for the purpose, which derived their value chiefly from superstition, and now not even fulfilling what they professed; bodies of most of which the very existence had become one vast and continued imposture. Next came universities and academical institutions, which had once taught all that was then known; but, having ever since indulged their ease by remaining stationary, found it for their interest that knowledge should do so too,—institutions for education, which kept a century behind the community they affected to educate; who, when Descartes appeared, publicly censured him for differing from Aristotle; and, when Newton appeared, anathematized him for differing from Descartes. There were hospitals which killed more of their unhappy patients than they cured; and charities of which the superintendents, like the licentiate in 'Gil Blas,' got rich by taking care of the affairs of the poor; or which at best made twenty beggars by giving or pretending to give a miserable and dependent pittance to one.

"The foundations, therefore, were among the grossest and most conspicuous of the familiar abuses of the time: and beneath their shade flourished and multiplied large classes of men by interest and habit the protectors of all abuses whatsoever. What wonder that a life spent in practical struggle against abuses should have strongly prepossessed Turgot against foundations in general! Yet the evils existed, not because there were foundations, but because those foundations were perpetuities, and because provision was not made for their continual modification to meet the wants of each successive age."<sup>1</sup>

Every college, like every bank, in the United States, should frequently submit to a Board constituted by legal authority a statement of its financial condition, of the various trusts under which it holds its funds, and of the use which it makes of the income thence derived. Every institution of charity should be constantly ready to give an account of its stewardship. The State should supervise trusts which are made under its authority. The need of this supervision is not at present urgent; for college funds are small, they are at present well managed, and the period of our national existence has not been long enough to introduce many fundamental changes in society. But the need of supervision will become urgent with enlarging collegiate wealth and with the increasing diversity of conditions.

This review brings us to certain rather important conclusions; for the number of people in the United States who desire to make the noblest and most lasting use of their wealth is already large and is constantly increasing. One conclusion is, that it is not the part of wisdom to surround a foundation with very specific conditions. A second conclusion is, that if a gift is surrounded with very specific conditions, a means of relief should be afforded in a general permission to use the gift in the promotion of a general purpose. A third

<sup>1</sup> Mill, "Dissertations and Discussions," Vol. I, p. 52.



conclusion is that a founder should trust the men of the future to carry out his general purpose. He should not lay down certain narrow methods or merely technical rules for their following. The good men of A.D. 3895 will have more wisdom for administering a trust made two thousand years before than any man living in 1895 can suggest to them. The fourth and last conclusion of this review, and one which English and American history confirms, is that the agency through which wealth—be it ten thousand dollars or ten millions—is most certain of doing the most good, to the most people, for the longest time, and in the widest realms, is the college and the university.

CHARLES F. THWING.

## A CRISIS IN ENGLISH HISTORY.

RETROSPECTIVE sagacity is such a common faculty that it has probably occurred to a good many people that the late Government lost an opportunity of a dignified descent from office. When Radicals are in opposition one hears plenty about the iniquity of septennial Parliaments. Democracy, we are told, must be consulted at shorter intervals; hence the place assigned to triennial elections in the Newcastle programme. But no sooner are Radicals in office than a discreet reticence is observed on the subject. *Beati possidentes*; far from any intention of dissolving at the close of their third year, Ministers announced that they would hold on so long as they had a majority of one in the House of Commons. Looking back over the events of this summer, does it not seem that the Cabinet would have secured more respect by carrying into effect that which their party had proclaimed as the right way?—by bringing in their promised resolution about the House of Lords and announcing that Parliament would be dissolved on completing its third year of existence in July. Of course the retrospective sage may be told that this would not be business, but the same may be whispered of a good deal else in the Newcastle programme.

There is no term with which one is more familiar in connection with politics than that of "crisis." In nine cases out of ten the phrase is misapplied. Electors are implored to act as men should do under such a contingency, when nothing is on hand but a phase in the normal process of growth and decay. Even a general election is often no more than a ministerial crisis in the technical parliamentary sense, and people constantly warned that they are passing through a crisis become as indifferent as those accustomed to hear the cry of "Wolf!" when no wolf is near. But there need be no mistake about the general election just passed. It formed a crisis in English history in the full and plain English meaning attached to the Greek word as defined by the dictionaries,—“a decisive point or moment.” There were enormous interests at stake. The preservation of a united kingdom; the maintenance of two of the principal pillars of the con-



stitution as we have inherited it,—the House of Lords and the national Church; the regulation of a vast branch of trade, involving one of the chief sources of revenue, as well as the security of an immense amount of private capital; the incidence of direct taxation,—all these were to be put in the balance and weighed by the will of the people. And the people have risen to the occasion. They have behaved as men conscious of a crisis; rightly or wrongly, they have registered an emphatic answer.

There was only one element in the situation which modified the intense apprehension of thoughtful men as to the result of the elections, and that was the prevailing presentiment that the Unionists were going to win. But for that, the anxiety of what may without presumption (for Lord Rosebery has given his sanction to the phrase) be called the educated classes would have been painful and without parallel since the Revolution of 1688. All who were acquainted with the historical outlines of the making of England—who were able to trace the agglutinative process whereby, one by one, the independent and hostile septs and principalities occupying the British Isles had become welded into one powerful kingdom with a single legislature—could foresee nothing but national disaster and discredit as the result of the success of a party whose dominant note was Home Rule for Ireland, with Home Rule all around as *obligato* accompaniment. Those who bore in mind Lord Salisbury's precise definition of the functions of the House of Lords, spoken twenty-seven years ago, must have been perfectly conscious that, if the constituencies returned the Home Rule party in a majority, the Peers could not refuse to pass a new Home Rule bill. Lord Salisbury's words on the occasion referred to were so forcible and clear, and prescribed so accurately the true limits of the functions of an Upper Chamber in a representative Constitution, that they will bear repetition here.

Mr. Gladstone's Suspensory Bill for the Established Church of Ireland had passed the House of Commons by a majority of 54 votes. When it came before the Lords, Lord Salisbury was among those who strenuously opposed it. But he did so on the grounds, not merely of what he regarded as the objectionable policy of the bill, but because the national will had not been clearly pronounced. He said:—

"I am not blind to the peculiar obligations which lie on the members of this House in consequence of the fixed and unalterable constitution of this House. I quite admit—every one must admit—that when the opinion of your countrymen

has declared itself, and you see that their convictions—their firm, deliberate, sustained convictions—are in favor of any course, I do not for a moment deny that it is your duty to yield. It may not be a pleasant process—, it may even make some of you wish that some other arrangement were possible ; but it is quite clear that, whereas a Minister or a Government, when asked to do that which is contrary to their convictions, may resign, and a member of the Commons, when asked to support any measure contrary to his convictions, may abandon his seat, no such course is open to your lordships. And therefore, on those rare and great occasions on which the national will has fully declared itself, I do not doubt that your lordships would yield to the opinion of the country ; otherwise the machinery of government could not be carried on.”<sup>1</sup>

The bill was rejected by the House of Lords by a majority of 95.

Then followed the dissolution of Parliament, and a general election which turned mainly, almost exclusively, on the question of disestablishing and disendowing the Protestant Church of Ireland. The voice of the polls was given decisively, unmistakably, in favor of disestablishment. Early in 1869 Mr. Gladstone brought in a bill to give effect to it,—not merely a Suspensory Bill this time, but a full measure of disestablishment and disendowment. It passed the House of Commons by sweeping majorities,—118 on the second reading. How would the peers deal with it? Mr. John Bright, President of the Board of Trade, took the course—unprecedented on the part of a Cabinet Minister in that more reticent age—of anticipating the decision of the House of Lords by threatening them, in a letter written to the Birmingham Liberal Association, with the consequences of resisting the national will. Most people expected that the Lords would stand firm and throw out a bill to which it was known the great majority of them were hostile. They did no such thing. Lord Salisbury once more reiterated the unimpeachable constitutional doctrine enunciated in his speech of the previous year, and the House of Lords passed the bill by 179 votes to 146.<sup>2</sup>

Who, then, could entertain any doubt, if, last July, a Separatist majority had been returned, that the author of the above-quoted pregnant paragraph was bound to lead the House of Lords to pass a bill conferring Home Rule on Ireland as soon as it should be sent up from the Lower Chamber? It would have been one of “those rare and great occasions on which the national will had fully declared itself.”

Behind this spectre of Home Rule stood the shadowy and ominous doom that awaited the House of Lords in the event of a Separatist

<sup>1</sup> Hansard's "Parliamentary Debates," June 26, 1868.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, June 17, 1869.



triumph at the polls. The fiery cross had been sent round after the peers' rejection of the Home Rule bill of 1893. It had been brandished, indeed, an ineffectual fire, before the eyes of apathetic audiences; but still it smouldered, and the House of Commons was told to expect a final grand display of pyrotechnics, in the autumn of the present year, to prepare the way for an appeal to the constituencies early in 1896. The prospect of the removal of all effective check on the House of Commons was not one to inspire confidence in the future of their country among those able to read the lesson of its past history.

But besides what may perhaps, without giving unnecessary offence, be called the patriotic party, the propertied classes had cause for the gravest apprehension in the event of the Separatists returning to power. A foretaste of what was in store for them had already been given in Sir William Harcourt's death duties. It is apparent beyond doubt that these, if allowed to remain unmodified, would bring about the irretrievable ruin of the owners of landed property. It had scarcely been concealed that this result was within the calculations of the author of them, and had been emphasized and commended from a thousand platforms. It was dinned into the ears of rural laborers that the squire and the parson were their hereditary oppressors: the death duties were to polish off one of these; disestablishment might be trusted to settle the other. Now, whatever degree of indifference English villagers might feel about Home Rule, however imperfectly they might be able to realize the iniquity of the House of Lords or to discern any benefit to themselves by its abolition or disablement, the squire and the parson were in their midst, tangible examples of a lot easier than their own. There is no handier weapon in the arsenal of the agitator than the envy of the poor toward the well-to-do: nothing easier than to convince the have-nots of the expediency of a rearrangement of incomes. It must be confessed that this weapon had not been allowed to rust from disuse on Separatist platforms and in Separatist journals. Purged of redundant rhetoric, the appeals to the electors remained, at core, neither more nor less than the old revolutionary war-cry,—*Le propriété c'est le vol!* The instinctive affection in the rural breast for familiar institutions had not been proof in 1892 against the gospel of envy; why should the villagers rally more briskly around the Church and the landlords in 1893? In an evil hour for the fortunes of their party, the Gladstonian leaders added another figure to those already

on the pillory. When the publicans appeared in company with the peers, the parsons, and the squires, many who had remained unmoved at the doom impending over these felt that the foundations of society were indeed shaken. The prominence given to the Local Option bill by the leader of the Separatists in the Commons brought home to the understanding of the humblest and most remote community an apprehension of change in familiar environment which, once aroused, is not easily allayed.

Thus it came to pass that alarm was spread, not only among those who, with greater or less clearness of understanding, perceived wherein lay the strength of the United Kingdom and the Empire of which she is the centre; not only among those whose legitimate self-interest was alarmed for the security of property; not only among those whose common sense warned them of the perils of an uncontrolled elective legislature; not only among those who conscientiously upheld the union of Church and State,—but also, and finally, among hard-working men, who discerned in the proposed temperance legislation a meddlesome and tyrannical interference with their liberty and means of moderate enjoyment. In this way the country had been so thickly sown with dragons' teeth that it hardly needed the notoriously treacherous indications of by-elections<sup>1</sup> to warn Ministers of the hostile host which was to spring into existence at the first breath of dissolution.

But there was more than this to nourish the general impression that the Rosebery Cabinet was on the eve of a reverse. There was the knowledge—for it was more than suspicion—that those in the inner ring of the Cabinet were at variance among themselves. Curiously enough, one has only to turn to Lord Rosebery's "Pitt," published in 1891, to read as in a mirror the true cause for the *impasse* to which affairs had been brought. Lord Rosebery is describing how, on the death of Rockingham in 1782, the King set aside Port-

<sup>1</sup> If anything were wanting to confirm the distrust of experienced parliamentarians in regard to by-elections, it has been afforded by the events of this year. Between the general elections of 1892 and 1895, there were thirteen by-elections (besides the Cirencester division of Gloucestershire, which changed sides twice). Nine of these were won by Unionists, of which six were recaptured by the Separatists at the general election, namely, Linlithgow, Brigg, Forfar, Huddersfield, Mid-Norfolk, and Grimsby; and four were taken by the Separatists, of which one, Walsall, has now returned a Unionist. A still more striking instance is given by Invernesshire, which in June last was won from the Separatists by a majority of over 600, but in July gave the Unionist a majority of only 100.



land, whom the Cabinet recommended as First Lord of the Treasury, and appointed Lord Shelburne, upon which Fox at once resigned.

"It was impossible for him . . . to remain; he could not have continued to serve with, much less under, Shelburne. It does not signify which of the two was to blame for this mutual mistrust; that it existed is sufficient. It would be too much to maintain that all the members of a Cabinet should feel an implicit confidence in each other; humanity—least of all political humanity—could not stand so severe a test. *But between a Prime Minister in the House of Lords and the leader of the House of Commons, such a confidence is indispensable.* Responsibility rests so largely with the one, and articulation with the other, that unity of sentiment is the one necessary link that makes a relation, in any case difficult, in any way possible. The voice of Jacob and the hands of Esau may effect a successful imposture, but can hardly constitute a durable administration."

Just so: the voice of Rosebery and the hands of Harcourt were not even a successful imposture. Lord Rosebery's frantic efforts to establish the necessary "unity of sentiment" between himself and his masterful colleague in the Commons were too transparent a trick to escape detection, and it was in the air that the performers were to be hissed off the stage.

When the day of battle dawned, the disunion of the Separatist leaders became more clearly seen. The Prime Minister, faithful to the pledge that the issue should be taken on the maintenance of the House of Lords, declared in Albert Hall, on the eve of the dissolution, that it should be so taken; that that question "was the very tap-root of all political questions." Hardly had the echoes of his voice died away when Sir William Harcourt was heard vociferating at Derby that "he believed from the bottom of his heart that, of all social reforms, Temperance was the most necessary, the most urgent, and the most beneficial." Simultaneously Mr. John Morley was passionately imploring the electors of Newcastle not to believe that there was a word of truth in the story that Home Rule was dead, and assuring them that the Liberal party would be the most deeply disgraced in English history if they failed to keep it in the foremost place of their programme; while Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman declared at Stirling that, so far as Scotland was concerned, by far the most important part of their policy was Disestablishment.

Now it requires no very deep insight into physics to understand that, if two men ride on a horse, one must ride behind. When four leaders of a single party are heard simultaneously proclaiming four separate "tap-roots,"—four different reforms, each of which is declared to be "the most necessary, the most urgent, and the most bene-

ficial,"—it is clear that three of them are destined to disappoint their followers. Sir Charles Dilke has not inaptly described the situation as a disputed succession. It is therefore no matter for surprise that the Separatist forces, bewildered among so many conflicting commands, lost their formation, and what was expected to be a defeat soon became a hopeless rout. The Irish wing were in even worse plight. No one had time to weep with Mr. William O'Brien over his bankruptcy, as strong men had once wept with him over his breeches. The fierceness of faction had shattered the party whose leader had once boasted, not without something to show for it, that he held the Imperial Parliament in the hollow of his hand. Mr. M'Carthy was busy rebuking Mr. William Redmond; Mr. William Redmond was retorting on Mr. M'Carthy; and Mr. Healy was reviling both. The prospect of Home Rule was not, at the moment, a very attractive frontispiece for the Separatist programme. In Scotland, the shade of that reproachful exile, Dr. Macgregor, threw a gloom across the scene once illumined by the constellation of Midlothian. The public made up their minds that there would be a Unionist majority, and the only question which seriously exercised them was what the size of it would be.

Now there are not wanting many thoughtful persons who strongly hold the opinion that it would be better for all parties concerned, and the public in general, that all elections should be held on the same day, as in the United States. The arguments in favor of this are certainly worthy of the consideration they have received; the most important, perhaps, being that the general business of the country would not suffer the same degree of interruption as under the present system. There is not as much weight in this as may appear on a casual view. It matters not whether the elections be held on a single day, or be spread over three weeks: the necessary preparation for them will absorb the attention of the public equally in either case and for as long a period. More plausible is the view that simultaneous election of all members would produce a truer reflection of the opinion of the constituencies. The tendency of successive elections to follow the impetus set in motion by notable triumphs on one side or the other is too well marked to be disregarded. It is not necessary to accept the explanation of the Unionist triumph in London, given by Mr. John Burns to his constituents, as being due to the fact that "25,000 wobbling voters, more or less drunk, had voted with beer," in order to recognize the existence of a percentage of "wob-



blers" who throw in their lot with the winning side. These prevail to decide many an election, and no doubt they contributed something to the result in the contest just brought to a close. There had been notable Unionist gains before Sir William Harcourt and Sir Thomas Roe were defeated at Derby, and it would be difficult to calculate how many subsequent gains were ensured by that memorable reverse. But this much is known, that the most sanguine estimate formed by instructed Unionists of the coming majority did not amount to three figures. Captain Middleton, the able and experienced head agent of the Conservative party, spoke with confidence of a "spanking majority" of about 80, but there were plenty of others who would gladly have compounded for 50. Admitting, therefore, that one-third of the majority of 152 may possibly be traced to the influence of early Unionist successes, including those at Derby, Newcastle, and London, it remains far from certain that this factor, however detrimental to the prospects of the losing party at the time, is adverse to the national interest. Few evils are more to be dreaded, under our parliamentary system, than government by a narrow majority, whether of Conservatives or of Liberals. This evil was accentuated under the late Administration by the fact that Ministers relied for their existence on the support of a third party—the Irish Nationalists—for whose support they had paid an extravagant price in principle and prestige. The grand sacrifice of principle was made in 1886, when they adopted a Home-Rule policy; the latest loss of prestige was incurred when, last June, their Irish allies forbade them at their peril to take a vote of £500 for a statue of Oliver Cromwell. No Administration can afford to "climb down." The strong Conservative Government of 1886–92 never recovered the ground lost by the withdrawal of the Licensing and Compensation clauses in their Local Government measure. This, too, came on the back of the double humiliation of Sir William Harcourt, who, deferring perforce to the Irish veto, had first excluded Ireland from "the most necessary, the most urgent, the most beneficial" of social reforms, and limited his temperance legislation to England and Scotland, and next, in his Budget resolutions, left the burden on British beer unlightened and took sixpence off Irish whiskey.

It was this cringing to the tyranny of Parliamentary groups, this sacrifice of Imperial to party interests, this clinging to office without wielding the power of office, that sent the Separatist party before the electors foredoomed not only to defeat, but to disgrace. Now, inas-

much as a narrow majority of one party over the other is much more likely to be the result of elections held simultaneously in every constituency, whereby the party returned to office must be exposed to the risk of finding itself without power, it seems to follow that the influence of earlier elections upon succeeding ones is practically an advantage to the commonwealth, however irrational it may appear in theory. Give us, above all things, a strong Government independent of faction. Whether Ministers call themselves Whig or Tory, Separatist or Unionist, is a matter of subsidiary moment. "Give us," cried Mr. Gladstone from the depths of his heart, in 1885, "such a majority as will make us independent of Irish votes!" He foresaw too clearly the temptation that would present itself if that were refused. It was refused, and the temptation proved too strong for him.

Before turning to consider the position now occupied relatively by the Government and the Opposition in the House of Commons, note may be taken of some of the most striking incidents of the struggle of which it is the result. The first thing that impresses one as remarkable is that the Unionist gains have not been achieved in one part of Great Britain as distinguished from another, but are generally distributed over the whole electoral area. In Ireland, of course, the Unionist cause has gained no ground,—has lost it, indeed, to the extent of two seats; but to what a plight must those who claim exclusive right to the title of "Liberal" be reduced before they can seek consolation in that. They know that the Nationalist party threw their weight into the Gladstonian Liberal scale because it was from that quarter alone that they expected to wring the minimum of their demands. That expectation must be at a low ebb now; it remains matter for speculation what future relations may be developed between these incongruous allies. Meanwhile, to use a homely expression, the Separatist can hardly expect either praise or pudding from the connection. That which will probably prove the last Parliament elected in the nineteenth century<sup>1</sup> has been returned to ratify the legislative union with Ireland which was established by the last Parliament of the eighteenth century. Home Rule will be in the background for several sessions to come, and it is notorious that the support

<sup>1</sup> People are slow to give up the belief that the demise of the monarch causes an immediate dissolution. That used to be the law, but it was altered by the Reform Act of 1867. In the event (which the whole nation trusts may not occur) of Queen Victoria dying within the statutory lifetime of the present Parliament, there would be no constitutional necessity for a dissolution.



given by Irish Nationalists to the other parts of the Newcastle programme was unmitigated log-rolling. That, at least, has received its quietus for some years to come. In England, the "predominant partner" speaks with no uncertain voice. Of the counties, seventeen have returned 74 Unionists to 17 Separatists, and five others have sent up 23 Unionists to 5 Separatists. In Lancashire, the miners' vote—the only strand in the Gladstonian rope which stood the strain in all other parts of the kingdom, except Stirlingshire—was not strong enough to pull through more than 4 Separatists against 22 Unionists. No doubt this result was contributed to by indignation against the policy which sanctioned the levy by the Indian Government of a duty upon British cotton; indeed few can have taken an active part in the elections of any part of the country without being made conscious of the growing dissatisfaction with our accepted system of free imports and heavily taxed exports.<sup>1</sup>

Comparing the votes in Metropolitan constituencies in 1895 with those in 1892, it is found that there was an increased Unionist vote in all but two of the sixty-three divisions, amounting in the aggregate to a gain of 21,437 votes. From this must be deducted an increase of 72 in the Separatist vote in Central Hackney, and of 152 in East St. Pancras, both of which seats, however, returned a Unionist, leaving a net increase of 21,213 votes on a total electorate of 609,320.<sup>2</sup> This is balanced by a decrease in the aggregate Separatist vote of 23,862.

The record of London since 1885 stands as follows:

1885	1886	1892	1895
Conservative... 37	Unionist... 51	Unionist... 37	Unionist... 54
Liberal... 25	Separatist... 11	Separatist... 25	Separatist... 8

To realize the full significance of these figures, the mind must be carried back to the general election of 1868, when the solid phalanx of London Liberalism was first broken by the Conservatives win-

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps candidates for London constituencies can tell their experience in this respect. Some have done so already, and what London thinks to-day England is very likely to insist on to-morrow. The ordinary elector, though he may comprehend rude diagrams of the big loaf and the little one, has no time to examine the truth of Mongredien's dogma that imports are paid for by exports. He is apt to ask whether Pharaoh received payment for his corn in the shape of Israelite manufactures.

<sup>2</sup> This total includes the voters in uncontested seats, in which, of course, there was no opportunity of testing the Unionist gain or loss. In these cases the figures of the last contested elections have been used.

ning one seat out of four in the City, and one out of two in Westminster.

The result in the great provincial towns is hardly less remarkable. Of these, the twenty-eight largest, with a total population of 4,672,104, have returned 60 Unionists and 22 Separatists. The borough representation of the United Kingdom since 1885 has been thus:

1885	1886	1892	1895
Conservative... 86	Unionist... 131	Unionist... 111	Unionist... 146
Liberal ..... 136	Separatist... 91	Separatist... 111	Separatist... 76

There were two regions in Great Britain where, if anywhere, the Separatists might have reasonably expected to hold their own, namely, in Scotland and in Wales. The solidarity imparted to the Gladstonian ranks in the North by their great eponymos, the member for Midlothian, could hardly, it was thought, have been dissolved during the short interval since his retirement from active politics, especially in view of the succession to the Premiership having devolved on a deservedly popular Scottish peer. For the first ten days of the elections it looked as if the Gladstonians were at least to hold their own in Scotland, so much so that Mr. Gladstone was tempted into an effusion of grateful recognition. Hitherto the old Parliamentary hand had been resolutely still; the veteran had coyly refused to be more than an onlooker. But when he witnessed his hard-pressed Caledonian legions yielding no ground, he could not refrain from a chivalrous note of sympathy, and he wrote to acknowledge that here, at least, were faithful found. Alas, it was premature! The letter was hardly sealed before three Scottish counties, Argyleshire, Stirlingshire, and Elgin, went over to the victorious party. So far from being less successful in Scotland than in England, the Unionist cause, as compared with the Conservative as it stood after the election of 1885 (the first on the extended franchise) shows a greater advance in North Britain than elsewhere. For whereas there were in 1885 only 10 Conservatives returned for 72 seats, there are now 33 Unionists,—a gain of 32 per cent; whereas in England the gain can be reckoned at only 28 per cent. Moreover, just as the policy of prohibition had been overthrown at Derby in the person of Sir William Harcourt, and Home Rule had got its *coup de grâce* at Newcastle in that of Mr. John Morley, so in Glasgow Sir Charles Cameron went down, the protagonist of Scottish Disestablishment. Sir John Stirling Maxwell, a young and inexperienced politician, succeeded



in turning a minority of nearly 1,200 into a majority of equal magnitude, thus ousting a member of five-and-twenty years' continuous experience. Here is "dear old Scotland's" position:

1885	1886	1892	1895
Conservative... 10	Unionist.... 29	Unionist.... 22	Unionist.... 33
Liberal..... 62	Separatist... 43	Separatist... 50	Separatist... 39

The turnover in Scotland was brought about by an increase of 9,450 in the Unionist vote, and a decrease of 12,138 in the Separatists.

Wales, which was supposed to be writhing for the disestablishment of an alien Church, gave no more genial response to her self-constituted champions. Represented in the last Parliament by 28 Separatists to 2 Unionists, the figures now stand 22 Separatists to 8 Unionists. Mr. Chamberlain, to whose vigorous exertions and well-defined personality may be attributed far more than the mere Unionist supremacy in the Midlands, has claimed for North Worcestershire the distinction of having passed more emphatic censure on the late Government than any other constituency in the United Kingdom. A Separatist majority of 2,158 in 1892 was there turned into a Unionist majority of 988 in 1895, a difference of 3,146 votes, representing a turnover of 1,573 electors. *Palman qui meruit*—the meed must be bestowed elsewhere; it has been won in Wales itself. In Merthyr Tydvil the Separatist majority of 9,644 in 1892 has melted away to 2,725 in 1895, a difference of 6,919 votes, representing the turnover of 3,459 electors. One remarkable feature of the Welsh elections is this, that whereas the aggregate Separatist vote has remained nearly stationary, showing a decrease of only 247 on the figures of 1892, the Unionist poll has grown by 9,450 votes.

The defeated party are bravely busy in trying to extract some consolation from political arithmetic. It has been said that the number of seats won by the Unionists is out of proportion to the total number of votes polled. There never was a general election yet when the losers have not applied this balm to their wounded feelings. It is a floating balance that usually turns elections: call them "wobblers" if they are against you,—“converts” if they are on your own side. But not since 1832 has there been an election where the “wobblers” had less influence on the result than they had last July. That the movement was one of masses, not of molecules, was well brought out in the analysis of the elections published in the “Times”

of July 31, where the aggregate votes on either side in Great Britain, exclusive of Ireland, were shown as compared with the figures of 1892.

	Unionist Votes	Unionist Members	Separatist Votes	Separatist Members
1892 ...	2,139,502	292	2,105,589	275
1895 ...	2,267,555	390	2,012,583	177
	128,053 increase		93,006 decrease	

—"a difference of 221,059 votes, equivalent to the conversion of 110,529 Separatist into Unionist voters, or about 5½ per cent on the Separatist poll: that is to say, out of every 19 who voted Separatist in 1892 one has been converted into a Unionist."

There can be no doubt that some part of the change was brought about by the vague fear stirred in the minds of quiet, well-to-do people by the Anarchist and Socialist movements. Life is too short, and for most people too busy, to admit of analysis and understanding of all the so-called advanced platforms. Anarchism and socialism are in theory opposed to one another, for the Anarchist wants to sweep away all authority, while the Socialist aims at government interference at every point where the citizen enjoys liberty under present conditions. But in confounding the two schemes and using "Anarchist" and "Socialist" as synonymous terms, the popular judgment is not far wrong in the conclusion to which it comes, for anarchism and socialism both aim at the destruction of that scheme of government under which this country—and every other country that has become great—has attained to security, prosperity, and internal tranquillity. Nothing has been more conspicuous in the general election than the insignificance of the Anarchist, Socialist, and Independent Labor vote. By a happy coincidence the Social-Democratic Federation held their annual conference at Birmingham immediately after the close of the polls. This organization—which, to quote the words of one of its officials (even the Social-Democratic Federation is conventional enough to have its president, deputy-presidents, and staff), is not national, but international—has been in existence in England for fifteen years. The president informed the conference that 5,000 propagandist meetings had been held during the last year. Inasmuch as the Federation was able to run only four unsuccessful candidates at the elections, who polled an aggregate of between 2,000 and 3,000 votes, it does not seem that their doctrines have taken deep root on British soil. Their kinship to anarchism may be traced



in the first business discussed on the second day of the conference, namely, the circulation of leaflets entitled "A Few Facts about John Burns." These facts, it may be assumed, were not complimentary to the only avowed Socialist returned to the new Parliament. But Mr. Burns seems quite ready for civil war in the Socialist ranks, for on Sunday, August 4, he regaled his constituents with his view of the causes for the capture of London by the Unionists. This, he said, was partly owing to the fact that "25,000 wobbling voters, more or less drunk, had voted with beer," and partly to "lies served up from the Social-Democratic well." We may leave Mr. Burns to justify his compliments to the democracy of London, and to settle accounts with his Social-Democratic critics, with the comfortable assurance that the social revolution, for which the conference cheered in separating, is not quite so imminent as it might be if its well-wishers could agree among themselves. But it may be observed in passing that Mr. Burns, in attributing the result of the elections to the influence of "beer, Bible, bribery, and blackguardism," was only uttering a coarse paraphrase of the explanation proceeding from other sources. The majority of 28 in the House of Commons last June was the mandate of the democracy to recast the constitution; the majority of 152 is the voice of the publican, the parson, and the Primrose dame. This, of course, is not the real opinion of the responsible leaders of the defeated party. They know what it all means, that they must bide their time and recast their policy. Their knowledge is shared by the more thoughtful of the rank and file. "Unfortunately," confessed the chairman of Mr. Causton's meeting in West Southwark on July 29, "the Liberal party has undertaken too much, and has succeeded in irritating every class by attempting legislation for which people are not quite ready."

But besides what the Separatist party has done, they have had to bear the odium of that for which they are only indirectly responsible. The Cabinet of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Rosebery cannot be justly accused of having actively encouraged the aims of anarchism and socialism. But when an Administration is at its wits' end to scrape together a majority, it draws to itself all the extreme groups on the lookout for Ministers to do their work. The Separatists had accepted Home Rule as the price of the Irish support; were the electors to blame if they believed them capable of paying a similar price for the Socialist vote? It is the vaunt of the Socialists to be reckoned as the Extreme Left, and the distaste of our people for socialism could be

expressed only in those constituencies where no Socialist candidates were run, by voting against candidates of the Left.

One value of a general election is found in that it is a kind of stock-taking, and it is a reassuring outcome of this one that Socialist and Anarchist propaganda, which have spread so widely among our German cousins and French neighbors, have been shown to have made little headway among our own people. There are Socialists among us, just as there are neo-Buddhists; there are Anarchists as there are pious Jacobites; but, thus far, they are a negligible quantity. Busy and comfortable people regard them as the same thing; an ugly bogey, indeed, but still a long way off.

It is probable that the direct influence of the trade unions upon the elections fell far short of what was expected. In all the strikes brought about by these organizations there has always been a considerable minority of members, anxious to continue at work, and only yielding to pressure in desisting. These men have felt themselves the victims of tyranny,—and tyranny of the many is as deeply resented as tyranny of the few. Therefore, though the officials of trade unions are generally Radical, and instruct members to vote that way, it is not possible to enforce obedience. Thus it came to pass that at Derby and Crewe, the headquarters respectively of the Midland and London & North Western railway men, the Unionists achieved signal victories. This is all the more remarkable because the chief act of the Separatist Government affecting the industrial classes was a measure promoted by the officials of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Workers, restricting the hours of labor. It may be supposed that the boon was not appreciated by those whom it was intended to conciliate, who were thereby deprived of earning overtime pay.

One other feature in the conduct of the late Administration contributed appreciably to its downfall. Their sincerity was, rightly or wrongly, the subject of suspicion. There were ugly stories afloat about the honors conferred on Lord Rosebery's recommendation, but it was not necessary to go so far as to believe that peerages and baronetcies were cynically exchanged for contributions to the election chest. It was quite enough to throw a doubt on the *bona fides* of the projected attack on the Lords to see the leaders who were to direct it distributing peerages among their followers. If hereditary lawgiving was the iniquity it was described, was there not guilt in creating more hereditary lawgivers? From one end of the country to the other this puzzled some and disgusted others.



There is some obscurity hanging over the future of a subject which, trivial as it may seem, has never yet been without its importance in Parliamentary warfare in Britain,—namely, the future nomenclature of the principal political parties. For the present, the terms “Unionist” and “Separatist” are convenient enough, but it is obvious that they are only serviceable *pro hac vice*. It is not likely that the Opposition, in preparing for the next appeal to the country, will be so blind as to put Home Rule in the front, or, indeed, in any part of their programme. If, then, the maintenance of the Union be not at stake at the next general election, wherein will the titles “Unionist” and “Separatist” be appropriate? “Nationalist”—a term which best expresses the patriotic confederation supporting the present Government—has been appropriated as the common designation of Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites. “Conservative” will not serve, because the Liberal-Unionists, who were threatened with annihilation, have returned 77 strong instead of 42, and their importance can hardly be overrated. “Constitutional” has far too many syllables,—in short, the name has not yet been minted which shall serve to distinguish the Unionist Party of the twentieth century.

Howbeit, we may rest content with the substance, and leave its future designation to be the spontaneous outcome of events. The empire has been delivered from the nightmare of the last ten years. Future historians shall describe how the nations of the world looked on, shrugging their shoulders, while England, alternately their model and their warning, was engaged during that space of time in the controversy whether she should loosen the girdle that held her robes of power together, and how her people finally declared that it should not be.

HERBERT MAXWELL.

## CAUSES OF THE LIBERAL DEFEAT.

THAT the "uses of adversity" are "sweet" is a dictum from which one is sometimes tempted to dissent. That they are salutary is beyond question; and no one will grudge a defeated party or an unsuccessful candidate the austere edification which can be drawn from a critical study of recent misfortune. Such a study I am invited to undertake in *THE FORUM*, and I willingly comply with the invitation.

I must begin my task by admitting the full severity of the blow which we have sustained. I have no sympathy with knock-kneed attempts to show that an overwhelming defeat, lightly regarded, is a moral victory. I have no interest in complicated statistics which only prove that, if every one had voted differently, different results would have ensued. My task is limited to answering the Editor's question, What causes, in my judgment, contributed most to our defeat? In estimating those causes I do not presume to speak for my colleagues in the late Government, for the Liberal party as a whole, or even for that Radical section of it with which I am especially associated. I rely on my experience in my own constituency, enlarged by what I have seen and heard in those many districts of the country which I have visited for electioneering or speech-making purposes during the last three years.

At the general election of 1892 I was returned for the Northern Division of Bedfordshire. Out of an electorate of 13,686, I polled 5,600 votes: my opponent 5,056. At the general election of 1895, out of an electorate of 13,744, I polled 5,376: my opponent 5,643. So far, therefore, as the figures go, it would seem that 5,000 electors stood firm on either side; that 224 went over from me to my opponent; and that my opponent procured 363 new supporters, who had not been on the register—or, at any rate, had not voted—at the former election. If this be so, it represents, of course, no very sweeping change of opinion—no very considerable turnover of votes; but it fairly represents the amount of change which, occurring all over the country, has given to Lord Salisbury his huge majority. In some cases, of course, the change was emphatic, and the turnover



enormous. Those cases, however, would not have produced the present result, if they had not been supplemented by the many where, as in my own, a small majority for the Liberals in 1892 was transformed into a still smaller majority for the Tories in 1895.

If any constituency was thus fairly typical in respect of the amount of change which it manifested, it was not less so in its character and history. North Bedfordshire is almost entirely rural. It contains no large town (for the borough of Bedford, though in the Northern Division geographically, is outside politically, having a member of its own): it has no considerable factories, no collieries, no mines. It contains three small towns, with the usual proportion of gentlefolks, tradespeople, and artisans. There are three or four great landowners, a large number of farmers, a sprinkling of professional men: of course in every parish an Established clergyman, and in most a Dissenting minister. But after all these deductions it remains true that the great bulk of the voters are agricultural laborers, and live by daily work on the land at an average wage of twelve shillings a week. In brief, North Bedfordshire is a fair sample of the rural constituencies of England. Its electoral history is that in 1885—the first year in which the agricultural laborers had the vote—it gave a Liberal majority of 1,615; in 1886 it gave a Unionist majority of 482; in 1892 it returned me, a Gladstonian Radical, by 540; and in 1895 it rejected me by 267.

Such being the nature of the constituency with which I had to deal, and the result a defeat for Liberalism, I proceed to answer the question as to the causes which chiefly operated against us. I take those which have seemed to me most potent; and I take them not according to their respective importance, but rather in the chronological order in which, one by one, they became apparent to me.

1. I put first what is described, in a variety of metaphors, as "the wave," "the turn of the tide," and "the swing of the pendulum,"—in other words, the tendency of democratic constituencies to change from side to side at successive elections. This tendency has been manifest in England ever since we have had a wide suffrage protected by the ballot. In the old days of open voting, the shame of tergiversation helped to keep the ordinary voter straight. But now that, under the ballot, each voter is, as Junius said, "the depository of his own secret," he votes whichever way his settled conviction or his passing fancy may suggest. "These men have been in long enough. Let's give the other side a turn,"—is an electoral for-

mula often heard, and still oftener acted on. The suffrage was first given to the artisans in towns in 1867; to the agricultural laborers in the country in 1884. The ballot was established in 1872. The general election of 1868 gave a majority to the Liberals; that of 1874, a majority to the Tories; that of 1880, a great majority to the Liberals. The election of 1885 made the Liberals equal to the Tories and the Irish combined. This equality was disturbed by the introduction of Home Rule under Mr. Gladstone, who was heavily beaten in the election of 1886, and restored to power, with a small majority of Liberals and Irish combined, in 1892. This year the Liberals have been defeated more heavily than ever in their previous history. In view of these electoral permutations, it is surely impossible to doubt the importance of "the wave" as a factor in all political calculations; and it was to "the wave" and its probable effect that I first turned my thoughts when, on the close of the election of 1892, we began to forecast the future. It has proved to be of Atlantic size and force, and some of the voyagers whom it has submerged ruefully remark that, in anticipation, they scarcely did justice to its powers.

2. It is difficult to overestimate the effect of the retirement of Mr. Gladstone. It is true that, in the elections of 1874 and 1886, Mr. Gladstone's leadership did not save his party from defeat; but it is to be borne in mind that in both those cases his recent policy had alienated great masses of his supporters, who deliberately abstained from the polls because they disapproved of his dealings, in the one case, with public education, and in the other, with Home Rule. Against a deliberate resolve of that kind, even Mr. Gladstone's personality could not prevail. But his supreme value as an electioneering force lay in this: that in those who followed him he inspired a personal devotion which was akin to religious fanaticism. His moral enthusiasm infected his disciples, and, led by him, they went into an election as into a crusade, and fought as only men can fight who are consumed by self-sacrificing fervor for a sacred cause. In a contest such as that through which we have just passed, this personal enthusiasm would have been of incalculable value. Our action had not, as in 1874 and 1886, given distinct offence to our own people; there was no determination among our former supporters to vote against us or to abstain. But there was a certain amount of indifference, listlessness, and languor, and against evils of that kind Mr. Gladstone was omnipotent. Himself inspired, he inspired his followers, and each follower transmitted the sacred



spark of enthusiasm to two or three languid or careless souls who might otherwise, through sheer indifference to political issues, have come over to the party of reaction.

“We that had loved him so, followed him, honored him,  
Lived in his mild and magnificent eye,  
Learned his great language, caught his clear accents,  
Made him our Master to live and to die.”

We knew the immensity of our loss when, on that dismal 1st of March, 1894, we realized that we had heard him for the last time in the House of Commons.

3. Next I must put bad times. I have neither the skill nor the space to discuss the causes and cure of commercial depression. The rural electors do not concern themselves with the theory, but they are keenly alive to the fact. Indeed it would be difficult to ignore an evil which makes itself felt pretty impartially by squires, farmers, clergymen, artisans, and laborers. Times are bad: there is little money about, not much work, and a chance of less. By some process of reasoning not easy to follow, these evils are traced to the Liberal Government, and those who ought to know better trade on the credulity and the sufferings of the least-instructed class by suggesting that, if the Tories get back into power, there will be an increase in work and wages. “Vote for Compton and better times” was my opponent’s placard: and in vain I replied that “Vote for Russell and more rain” would be quite as reasonable a cry. But the sufferers from bad times were not only led to expect benefit from a change of Government; they were also menaced with even greater distress if the Liberal candidate were returned. “If you vote for the Liberal, there will be no work this winter,” was an ambiguous but intelligible warning freely used; and the careful avoidance of any direct or personal threat made it impossible to proceed legally against the author of the suggestion. When we think how very little an agricultural laborer earns; what it means to him and to his family to lose a week’s work or a shilling of wages; and when we further remember that he is a tenant-at-will in his cottage, and can be evicted without appeal by an offended landlord,—the wonder is, not that a handful of voters yielded to pressure, but that the great bulk stand as firm as rocks in their simple loyalty to honest conviction.

4. I am not disposed to lay much stress on territorial influence. In my own case I believe that every squire except one—a notable exception certainly—was against me; and two peers of enormous wealth

were understood to be straining every nerve for my defeat. Yet we did not find that in the villages more immediately under these great men's domination we suffered any special loss, nor did we ever hear of a single voter who voted against us because the Duke of B. or Lord C. wished it. The influence was rather felt in an indirect fashion. The tenant-farmers were emboldened by their landlords' known wishes to put extra pressure on their laborers; and the very long purses on which my opponent was able to draw gave him unlimited funds for the expensive work of organization. It must be remarked in this connection that an English electoral law, while rigidly proportioning what a candidate himself may spend to the number of electors, in no way limits the amount of extraneous aid which friendly individuals or associations may send to his assistance. Under cover of this palpable anomaly there has recently sprung up a custom of importing into each constituency, at election-time, a host of mysterious strangers who profess to come from Ulster, and, spending money freely in the public-houses, and visiting from door to door, propagate blood-curdling stories of the religious persecution which Home Rule would entail. It can scarcely be doubted that these stories, preposterous as they are, produce some effect on earnest but timid Nonconformists.

5. This leads me, from general considerations, to a special question of pure politics. How did Home Rule affect the election of 1895? In 1886 Home Rule was a new policy. Great numbers of good Liberals were frightened and perplexed by it, and, as I said above, deliberately abstained from voting,—some even voted against us; and the result was a great Liberal defeat. But during the six years which elapsed between 1886 and the next election, a great change took place. I cannot say that, in my opinion, Home Rule ever excited great enthusiasm in England; but the Liberal electors were gradually led by Mr. Gladstone's impassioned advocacy, and by the more humdrum argumentation of his supporters, to recognize the reasonableness of the Irish claim to self-government, and its essential consonance with the fundamental idea of Liberalism. Fears of religious persecution, of separation between Ireland and England, and of danger to life and property under a system of Home Rule, gradually faded away from most of the minds which had harbored them. No doubt a certain percentage of Liberal voters had gone over to the Tory or "Unionist" camp, and remained there; but the great bulk of those who had been frightened away by Home Rule in 1886 had



returned to their Liberal allegiance by 1892. For my own part I saw no marked alteration in this respect between 1892 and 1895. The Liberal electors seemed to have made up their minds that the Irish claim to self-government was just and sound, and to have finally accepted the theory of Home Rule. I could not, however, fail to observe that two or three considerations tended to modify their zeal for the Irish policy, which still, as a matter of abstract reason, they accepted. In the first place, the shape in which our Home Rule bill left the House of Commons, retaining the Irish members in the Imperial Parliament for all purposes, English as well as Imperial, was not acceptable. Personally, I have always been a strong advocate for the retention of the Irish members, as the symbol and safeguard of Imperial Unity, and to that view I adhere. But it is obvious that, if they are to be retained, any plan which enables them to vote on purely English, as distinct from Imperial, questions, can be only a temporary arrangement, pending a complete system of all-round devolution under a central Parliament. The nature of this makeshift, and the necessity for it, were difficult to explain; and our opponents made great capital out of a plan which seemed to put England under the power of the Irish members, while they, in their local Legislature, would be exempt from our interference.

In the second place, I found that we had made a mistake in refusing to apply the word "subordinate" to the Irish legislature which we proposed to create. We had won the election of 1892 by reiterating, in Mr. Gladstone's words, that the Irish legislature was to be "subject in all things to the Imperial Parliament, and liable, if need be, to be corrected by it." We held that the fact of subordination was woven into the very substance and texture of our bill; and we held that there was no need to employ a distinctive word, which is not applied to our Colonial legislatures, when the thing which the word represents was abundantly secured. But it was not difficult for the enemies of Home Rule to make it appear as if, in rejecting the word, we had rejected the thing; and the effects which this misrepresentation produced led me to think that we had made a mistake in rejecting the word.

In the third place, the internal disputes of the Irish Party to some extent alienated English sympathy from their cause; and finally the bulk of our voters, even while they still adhered to Home Rule, were heartily tired of the whole subject. Ireland, Scotland, and Wales have repeatedly declared in favor of our Irish policy; but,

as Lord Rosebery rightly said, in a much-misrepresented phrase, "the predominant member of the partnership of the Three Kingdoms" must be much more thoroughly converted before that policy can be translated into fact.

6. The sixth cause was the influence of the Established Church. The parochial clergy of my Division were, as far as I know, universally opposed to me. Their opposition was, I am sure, thoroughly conscientious, and, as I am a stanch advocate of Disestablishment, was not to be wondered at. The influence of pastoral admonitions, appeals to religious sentiment, visits of Church workers, and the like, was probably great. All, however, was conducted so decently and discreetly that I am unable to estimate the precise amount of effort put forth, or to gauge its effect. I cannot believe that the simple villagers were told by the inhabitants of the vicarage that I wished to pull down the parish church, or that any one who voted for me would have to look elsewhere than to the vicarage for coals at Christmas or soup in illness. Scarcely more credible is the report that a great lady in the county announced that her country house would be closed, and all the material benefits which flow from it into the village suspended, if the Liberal candidate were returned. Scarcely credible, I say, are these stories; and yet I am afraid we must confess that here in England the women of the privileged classes have not yet learned to play the game of politics with strict regard for the rules of fair play; and that they cannot always resist the temptation to promote even a sacred cause by poisonous whispers and untraceable innuendoes directed against the character and private life of the candidate whom they oppose.

7. Our record of work during our three years of power did not powerfully affect the imagination of the voters. They look for results. They are never impressed by the plea of parliamentary obstruction. They expect a Government to govern, and a majority to prevail. They regarded the time spent in the House of Commons on bills which the Lords rejected as pure waste; and even our best handiwork did not serve us much. The poor did not feel the benefit of Sir William Harcourt's great Budget. Mr. Asquith's admirable Factory Act did not appeal to rural voters; and our Parish Councils Act did us positive and twofold harm. It disappointed the laborers, who have not so far derived as much advantage from it as we had led them to expect; and it disgusted the farmers who had been rejected when they stood for the Councils of their respective parishes.



8. The circumstances of the dissolution were unlucky. Country people could not understand why we should resign office because of a snatched vote on an administrative detail. The fact that we resigned instead of dissolving deprived us of the opportunity of appealing to the country on some clear and definite issue. We waited to take the position of the attacking party; and Lord Salisbury's sagacious plan of dissolving in silence, without pledge, promise, or programme, left us nothing to attack. Thus we had to go to the country, neither affirming nor denying, neither constructing nor destroying,—and the country seemed disposed to ask why we came to it at all.

9. I have taken out of its chronological order, and reserved for the last place in the list of our causes of defeat, that which was by far the most potent of all. Every cause which I have enumerated did us a greater or less degree of harm, but all of them together could not have ruined us without the assistance of the Local Veto Bill. I record this opinion with unfeigned regret. "Driven," in Mr. Gladstone's phrase, "by the slow and resistless forces of conviction," I have for twelve years advocated the establishment of local and popular control over the traffic in intoxicating liquors. I have done so both because I believed that it would tend to diminish drunkenness by lessening the temptation to drink, and because I regarded it as a natural and necessary part of any genuine system of local self-government. On those grounds I advocated it at the election of 1892, and ever since at the long series of meetings which I have addressed between that time and this. I have spoken in towns and villages of every size; to some hundred meetings of my own supporters; and in a dozen constituencies besides my own I have addressed crowded audiences of enthusiastic Liberals, who took up every point with ready apprehension, and signified their sympathy by the most emphatic tokens. Each successive point in our Liberal programme elicited louder cheers than the last,—until we came to Local Veto. Then a deathly gloom came down, like a thick cold fog, upon the meeting, and seemed to choke the speaker. Every man who has the faculty or the habit of public speech speaks, as it were, with his finger on the pulse of his audience; he feels, almost before the words are out of his mouth, whether or not the pulse vibrates sympathetically. In discoursing of Local Veto, the speaker felt in vain for that responsive vibration; nay, the pulse seemed to elude his touch; he and his hearers were for the moment separated

by an intervening cloud which no rhetoric could pierce. Where, five minutes before, all had been enthusiasm, approval, sympathy, and applause, there was now the silence of the tomb, or at the most a lonely cheer from a little knot of convinced teetotallers.

Now this marked and unmistakable disapprobation was not directed against the particular bill which Sir William Harcourt had lately introduced,—a much better one, let me hasten to add, than its predecessors, inasmuch as it provided for limitation as well as prohibition. That bill was vulnerable in several points, which its enemies were not slow to detect; but it is needless to indicate these now, because what the voters objected to, so far as I could see, was not this or that detail, but the very principle on which the bill was founded. “We don’t want to have our public-house shut up,”—was the cry of the rural voter; and everything which tended in the direction of veto he cordially mistrusted and disliked. Of course it was easy enough to correct misrepresentations of our bill; to point out that we were only giving to the community the power which the irresponsible magistrates now have; to show that, instead of “robbing a poor man of his beer,” we were giving him the key of his own cellar: it was all in vain,—nothing could make the idea of Local Veto go down. If the Act was not to be enforced, it was folly to pass it: if it was, the poor man would be the sufferer. That was, so far as I could see, the universal feeling; and when we remember that the agricultural laborer has practically no amusement except the public-house, and no physical enjoyments except beer and tobacco, can even the most rigid moralist among us blame him if he looks askance at legislation which would imperil those cherished alleviations of his daily toil?

For my own part, I remain a firm believer in the principle of Local Control, and I only wish I were not obliged to admit that the bulk of my countrymen seem blind to its merits. In this matter of the reform of the liquor laws, as in so many others, it is true that the Liberal Party has fallen by its own virtue. We have loved righteousness and hated iniquity. We have attacked abuses wherever we saw them; and all the powers of evil have been banded together to resist our onslaught.

In this enumeration of causes of defeat, it will be observed that I have said nothing about the action of the Independent Labor Party, or the attitude of the Roman Catholic voters toward Denominational Education. Other candidates might have much to say on



these topics, but they do not enter into my personal experience. Intimidation, lies, and bribery by means of free beer no doubt played a great part; but unhappily they are of too constant occurrence at our elections to call for special comment here.

I may be asked, if these causes ruined us, what would have helped us? I answer briefly:

(a) A reasonable system of old-age pensions, discriminating between the deserving and the undeserving.

(b) Electoral reform (one man, one vote; a shorter period of qualifying residence; all elections on one day).

(c) A combined, authorized, and resolute attack on the wrecking power of the House of Lords. In putting this in the forefront of his policy, my friend and leader, Lord Rosebery, showed, in my humble judgment, that he knew the temper of the Liberal party; and it is much to be regretted that our abrupt retirement from office interfered with a concerted movement of the whole Liberal army against the irresponsible power of hereditary lawmakers.

But I have already answered the Editor's question, and I must not go on supplementing my reply with unsolicited opinions.

GEORGE W. E. RUSSELL.

## “WHY, WHENCE, AND WHITHER?”

I HAVE taken the question which forms the title of this article from some words which Carlyle borrowed or translated from Goethe. Why did we have the general election just now?—Whence came the results that we all can see only too clearly?—and Whither is the change of government to bring us?

I may as well confess that I for one was surprised at the result of the election,—at the overwhelming victory it has given to the Tory party. Yet perhaps I ought not to have been surprised. Everybody—or almost everybody—on both sides of the House of Commons was saying that if the Liberal Government had to go out at such a time as the present, the Liberals would be defeated at a general election by a crushing majority. Possibly I am somewhat skeptical as to political prophecies, and I am inclined to believe that what everybody—or almost everybody—predicts is not likely to come true. Not many days before the dissolution I had some talk in the House of Commons with Sir Richard Temple, a strong Tory, but a very clear-headed observer of political affairs. He assured me that the Tories would come into power with a majority of a hundred. I scoffed at the idea. I was quite mistaken, as scoffers generally are. Sir Richard Temple's estimate was not beyond the truth. No such wave of reaction to Conservatism has drenched the country since the general election of 1874.

Then, as now, the dissolution of Parliament came upon the public as a surprise. It will not, perhaps, be without interest for American readers if I give a few lines of description of that catastrophe, which Mr. Gladstone himself said in the House of Commons, at the opening of the new Parliament, showed a larger transfer of seats from one party to another than had ever occurred since 1831. The dissolution in 1874 was brought about by Mr. Gladstone's own hand. He had had some five years of power. He had a giant's strength, and he had used it like a giant. At no former time were so many great measures of genuine reform forced through in the same administration as it was the success of Mr. Gladstone to accomplish between



the close of 1868 and the opening of 1874. But at the latter date he began to see that the reform movement was wearing itself out. The impulse which he had given had spent its strength. England proper is, on the whole, a country of Conservatives. It is kept up to its reform work by the voting power of Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. In England, the landlord class; the rich people; the well-to-do *bourgeoisie*; the folks who really belong to society, and the folks who try to pass off as belonging to it; the inhabitants of seaside villa residences; the shopkeepers and traders of all kinds who flourish on the patronage of the higher orders; and most of the professional classes,—these and many other sets are as a rule distinctly conservative. Mr. Gladstone, then, saw in 1874 that the tide was already turning against him and his great reforming projects. Two or three by-elections went to the advantage of the Tories, and he suddenly made up his mind to appeal to the country and have the whole question settled by a general election. The results of that election proved disastrous to the Liberal party, and Mr. Gladstone was out of office for six years. This later time the suddenness of the general election was nearly as great a surprise to the country as in 1874. It was brought about by what we call a "snap division" in the House of Commons, to which nobody at first seemed disposed to attach the slightest importance. Lord Rosebery's Government nevertheless took it to heart, and resolved to resign office, and the Queen without remonstrance accepted their resignation. Lord Salisbury formed a new Administration and straightway appealed to the country,—and we see how the country has made answer to the appeal.

What were the principal causes of this almost complete revolt against Liberalism? The causes were many; the influences were complex. In the first place there was the inevitable fading of popular enthusiasm which came when the magnificent figure of Mr. Gladstone was no longer to be seen in the front of the fight. The man does not live who could really take Mr. Gladstone's place. "Measures, not men," is a sound political axiom; and when political life is wholly made up of philosophers, then indeed people will doubtless only consider as to the value of a measure and not as to the inspiring genius of a man. But that time has not yet arrived, and it is therefore not surprising if the withdrawal of Mr. Gladstone from public life should have left a blank and a chill behind it. Then the condition of Lord Rosebery's health prevented him at a most critical time from being a fighting Prime Minister. He was compelled by

no fault of his own to be little more than a phantom statesman. All that had a depressing effect upon the public. Sir William Harcourt—a fighting statesman if ever such there were—did gladiatorial work in the House of Commons, but somehow he has never succeeded in obtaining a wide and genial personal popularity. What was of much more importance, however, was that Sir William Harcourt had given out that he was determined to attach the fortunes of himself and his party to the fate of the Local Veto bill. This bill is a scheme to give to localities in England the power, by means of a certain majority, of abolishing or reducing the number of public-houses.

As everybody knows, the liquor traffic in England is one of the mightiest of all vested interests. The influence of the advocates of temperance, who are led by Sir Wilfrid Lawson, is undoubtedly very strong, and has the almost universal support of the "Nonconformist conscience"; but as a rule men may be trusted to fight more stiffly for a personal interest than for a public principle. There are also in England large numbers of quiet persons who detest drunkenness as much as any of their neighbors can, but who do not see why a dozen moderate drinkers should be interfered with because one man drinks too much. Many people take the same general view of the subject that I take myself. I should probably have voted for the Local Veto bill as an honest attempt to deal with a terrible social evil, not only because I thought any reasonable experiment worth trying, but also because I like the principle which gives to localities a control over their own affairs. I should, however, have given my vote without any real faith in the success of such a measure. For many years I took a keen interest in watching the working of similar legislation in the United States and Canada, and I was not encouraged to hope for much from the operation of any such law. My impression is that, outside the professed teetotallers and some of the ministers of every denomination in England, nobody cared about the measure except those who thoroughly detested it, and who felt that their trade interests were seriously threatened. Two or three months ago I asked an eminent member of the Liberal party in the House of Commons whether he did not think that the Local Veto bill might very well be put off for another ten years, and received the emphatic answer: "It might very well be put off for another fifty years, and then we should probably find that we were not in need of it." Now I am not going to argue the question of repressive or suppressive legislation as regards the sale of intoxicating drinks, but I am trying



to describe the feelings of the various sections of the English people with regard to the Local Veto bill. Everybody knew that the bill had not for the present the remotest chance of being passed into law. The Irish Nationalists were naturally dissatisfied when they saw that Sir William Harcourt had tied the fortunes of his Administration to a measure which could not be carried, but the mere discussion of which would necessarily push the Home Rule question into the background. There thus grew up among many of the Liberals, and among most or all of the Nationalists, the disheartening thought that, as the vessel is certain to be wrecked, it matters little upon what rock she runs. I have never been able to understand why the steersman should at the very opening of the voyage have chosen a sort of Jaffa port with a ridge of rocks ahead. Let us see what was the ridge of rocks in front of that political port of Jaffa. My readers who have been to Jaffa will understand my metaphor.

The State Church of England is still a very strong corporation, and its members now make common cause with the State Church in Wales, as at one time they did with the State Church in Ireland,—that Church which Mr. Gladstone disestablished and disendowed. One of the measures taken up by the late Liberal Government was a bill for the disestablishment of the State Church in Wales, on the reasonable ground that the vast majority of the Welsh people do not recognize its teaching or attend its services. Of course the usual cry of what professes to be outraged religion was instantly raised in England, and the brewer and the publican soon found that in the work of overthrowing the Government they had a stalwart and an indomitable ally in the militant churchman. The cry of "the Church in danger" has always been a powerful battle-note in the politics of Great Britain since the days of the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel. It was never louder or stronger as a rallying-call than during the late struggle. Here, then, we have two tremendous influences arrayed against the cause of progressive Liberalism in England. The publican, and what Dean Swift or Sydney Smith would have called the parson, were fighting side by side, although not exactly hand in hand. Very likely the parson in his secret heart detested the publican, and I have no reason to believe that the publican had any particular affection for the parson. But when it came to a fight against a Liberal Government, the two could work together in unholy and unacknowledged alliance. Thus we have two of the very strongest influences in English social life acting in thorough unison

against the efforts of a reforming Government. The publican would have been strong by himself, but joined with the parson he bore down all his enemies. The same may be said of the parson. He would have had a certain strength as a fighting politician if left to himself, although not nearly so much as the publican. All the great efforts for reform in Church systems in these countries have been carried despite the opposition of the parson. Still he could have made a fight and given trouble, if left to his own fighting powers alone. But when his political enemies handed over to him the support of the publican he must have felt that one triumph at least was to be his.

I am assured by many of Sir William Harcourt's friends that he was positively convinced that the Local Veto bill was the one measure about which the English people really cared. I can quite understand his anxiety to bring in some measure which should really arouse the enthusiasm of the English people,—I mean personal and local enthusiasm. The English Liberals have been nobly loyal to Home Rule and to Welsh Disestablishment, but the interest which the English public take in such measures is impersonal, is reflected or refracted, and an English statesman would naturally feel anxious to give them something for themselves. This, no doubt, was the anxiety of Sir William Harcourt. But how he could ever have persuaded himself that a Local Veto bill was a measure to arouse such enthusiasm passes my understanding. I had many a talk with leading Liberal politicians, during recent days, about this measure and its chances of present success; but I never spoke with any one, except Sir Wilfrid Lawson and a few of his supporters, who did not shake their heads over it, and express, as their brightest hope, their doubt whether Sir William Harcourt would really press it after all.

He did not press it. It did not get a chance of being pressed. The snap division came, and the Government made up its mind to go out of office at once. But the Local Veto bill had a good deal to do with that making up of the Administration's mind. Many a member of the Cabinet doubtless said to himself: "We had better go out now than on the Local Veto bill. We are certain to be defeated on that measure, and it will make us so unpopular that it will really be to our advantage to throw up the sponge at once and get out of the whole responsibility." The trouble was that they could not evade the responsibility they had themselves undertaken. The vengeance of the liquor trade pursued them,—for had they not introduced the Local Veto bill, and had not Sir William Harcourt announced that



he was determined to press it? “*Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas immolat.*” In this battle, however, there were two Pallases,—Pallas publican and Pallas parson.

In this controversy about the Local Veto bill, the result of which was seen in the elections, there were many honorable and high-minded men who utterly refused to be bound by their trade interests. There were members of the Liberal party who held a place among the greatest brewers of the day, and who yet were determined to support the Liberal Government because on the whole it was a Government whose policy worked for the general benefit of the state. A friend and political colleague of my own, a man at the head of one of the largest distilling manufactories of Ireland, declared it to be his sturdy intention to vote for the Home Rule Ministry, come what would of the Local Veto. All the same the Liberal Government was turned out of office mainly because of that Local Veto. The mistake was one of perspective and proportion. The general public—the public that was not pledged in advance to glorify it or to detest it—had not made up its mind on the subject,—could not believe that any such measure was really coming on in good earnest. For a great many successive years we used to have Sir Wilfrid Lawson’s annual measure for the establishment of Local Option—the Permissive Bill, it was called. It was debated, many good speeches were made about it, and it used to get a considerable number of votes. More than one member of the House of Commons has told me in the frankest way that he voted for the bill because it could not possibly come to anything, and he did not like to seem as if he were discouraging the advocates of temperance. Once at least since I became a member of the House,—I think it was in 1880,—a resolution in favor of Local Veto was actually carried by Sir Wilfrid Lawson, by a majority of twenty-six. But every one who knows anything about the House of Commons knows what a vast difference there is between a resolution carried by a private member and a measure taken up by a Government. The passing of the resolution did not alarm the publican, but it became a serious business indeed to them when the principle of Local Veto was embodied in a measure by a Liberal Government, whose leader in the House of Commons announced his determination to press it forward as quickly as possible. Then the tug of war seemed sure to come. It would have come on that issue but for the snap resolution. But the actual fight occurred as if that resolution had never been carried. No publican in the kingdom cared a penny

about the snap resolution. He avenged himself and his interests on the Local Veto bill by his vote at the polling-booth.

Not Home Rule, then, but the Local Veto bill, has been the defeat of the Liberal Government. But it is hardly necessary to say that most of the Tories—and especially the country Tories—detested the idea of Home Rule, and were glad to have any opportunity of voting against the statesmen who had introduced it and actually carried it through the House of Commons. What I mean to say is, that if the fortune of war had allowed us to fight the elections on the simple and straightforward question of Home Rule, the probabilities are that the Liberals would have come back to office with a strong majority. It must also be remembered that among a large proportion of what I may call the inactive voters of England there is a strong and apparently inborn aversion to change of any kind. "Let us have no meandering," said the good old lady in "David Copperfield." She was opposed to all travelling from one's birthplace for any purpose whatever. She would not condescend to argue the question, but settled the whole matter by the repetition of her precept—"Let us have no meandering." "Let things remain as they are," is the precept and principle of a considerable proportion of every English constituency. A stout old Tory squire once turned to me in the House of Commons at a time when the Government—a Liberal Government—was bringing in some perfectly unexceptionable bill for the remedying of a merely technical defect in some rather unimportant measure, and said in a voice of genuine reproach and pain, "Can they never let anything remain as it was,—these Radicals?" He undoubtedly expressed the general feeling of a large number of English voters. Many years ago Richard Cobden declared that the English were the Chinese of Europe. Every Liberal Government has to reckon with these European Chinamen. They make excellent sand-bag fortifications for the defence of good old abuses. Such men as these would have objected to the Local Veto bill without the slightest reference to its merits or demerits. They would not have troubled themselves about the publican's interest or the publican's demand for compensation for disturbance. They would simply have said, "This is a new thing, and so we don't want it." Again, we must take into account another considerable section of Englishmen who, without any particular concern for the doings of this Government or that, always like a change at the end of three or four years. Add to this the palpable, visible operation of the law of action and reaction in English political life,



and it will be seen that the parson and the publican found many ready supporters at the general election who were tied to neither side by any feeling of principle or bond of common interest.

There were elements of dissension between the Liberal Administration and certain sections of the public which I may mention, but which do not call for any lengthy description. A cry was raised against the Liberals to the effect that they were favoring the introduction of cheap foreign goods to the injury of the British manufacturer. "Made in Germany" became a slang phrase of the day, and a slang phrase is often a barbed arrow at a great electoral crisis. Many of the Roman Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland believed that they had not had justice in the matter of Catholic education, and that they were put on terms of disadvantage as compared with their Protestant neighbors. The injustice certainly was and is there, so far as I can form any opinion; and I think that the late Government might have remedied it long ago. This made another subject of contention, and many Catholics abstained from voting at all, while a certain small proportion here and there probably gave their votes for the Tories, who had been quietly telling of the wonderful things they would do if they were only helped into office. I suppose we must also reckon in the unfortunate dispute which was forced upon the majority of the Irish Nationalist party, and the utterly absurd and unfounded charges which were made against the chairman and the committee of the party. I shall not say anything on this subject—seeing that I might not be considered a quite impartial authority—except that the controversy, coming in the very thick of a general election, naturally turned many an English voter against us. The charges were caught up and reëchoed for that purpose by all the Tory papers. No doubt many a well-meaning Englishman, who had neither time nor opportunity for going into the nature and validity of the accusations, said to his friends,—“Look at those Irish,—quarrelling among themselves again! Are they fit for Home Rule?”—and then went and voted against the Liberal party. Many another Englishman, animated by the same feeling, if he did not actually vote against the Liberals, stayed at home upon the polling-day and gave no vote at all, and thus let the Tories have it all their own way.

I must not omit from the list of those who consciously or unconsciously contributed to the fall of the Government, the members of the small section which calls itself the Independent Labor party. This very small party is a kind of trades' union, and its principles

and policy are to put their claims in advance of all other interests and without regard to any other interest. Their creed, so far as I can make it out, is a kind of vague and groping Socialism, which, however, they propose to work out by purely constitutional means. In pursuance of their one idea they ran candidates of their own at the late elections in constituencies where it was evident that if any votes could be drawn away from the Liberals the Tories must have the seat. Therefore they succeeded in getting in many a Tory who would otherwise have been certainly left out. The candidates of the Independent Labor party had in most instances no hope whatever of success for themselves. But they put themselves in evidence and showed what they could do in the way of thwarting the Liberals. Not a single member of the Independent Labor party, so far as I know, has been elected to the new Parliament, although in the last Parliament they had several representatives. Even their leader, the eccentric Mr. Keir Hardie, has been rejected this time. The American reader must always bear in mind that this party does not include such men as Mr. Burt, Mr. Broadhurst, and Mr. John Burns,—sterling and fearless representatives indeed of the laboring class to which they belong, but who are willing to admit that others have claims and rights as well as they; who will help a neighbor to-day in the hope that they may have his help to-morrow; and who are willing to accept the general principle of one thing at a time until it be finished. The Independent Labor party worked very hard at the late elections, and if they were anxious to help in throwing out the Liberals they must feel well satisfied with their share in the accomplishment of that result. If every small party were to act upon the same principle, there could be no legislative reform in England.

It will be seen that a good many of the stars in their courses fought against the Liberal statesmen; but when the stars thus do fight against some mortal they can hardly do it by any organized concert among themselves,—their distances from each other being rather too considerable to admit of any such plan of action. The forces which fought against the late Government were, in their own way, rather too remote from each other to make one combined scheme of attack possible. The parson did not deliberately combine with the publican, nor the publican with the "fair trade" advocate; nor the latter with the Roman Catholic who was dissatisfied with the manner of dealing with his schools; nor the Catholic with the Independent Labor man. But all the grievances found a common target.



and the Liberal Government, assailed with arrows from so many parts of the one battle-field, sank down defeated and lifeless, and the Tories held the ground.

I have no inclination whatever to dispute the greatness, the completeness, of the Liberal defeat. It was, as Mr. Ruskin once said on a very different subject, not a fall, but a catastrophe. Yet I am not particularly cast down by it. For the great reform measures in which I am chiefly interested it is a delay and nothing more. The Home-Rule cause, for example, will have to wait. But the man who thinks that Home Rule and its movement have been put out of the way by this Tory triumph must be utterly incapable of understanding the forces of a national principle. Amid all our difficulties and dissensions the cause of Home Rule carried off two seats from the Tories of Ulster. In that province, supposed to be the stronghold of Toryism, we have again a majority of the representation in the ranks of Home Rule. Therefore I feel not the slightest fear on that subject. I am sorry that the national cause should be delayed in its movement, but it will not have to wait long—its time will come.

Its time might come sooner than most people expect, if there were only a Disraeli in the Tory party. How did the cities and boroughs of these countries get their household suffrage? They got it because Mr. Disraeli saw clearly that the reform must come in time,—that nothing could long keep it off; and he asked himself, and he afterward asked his party, whether it would not be better, since the thing could not be avoided, that the Tory party should take it up, make the most of it, and live by it. This was immediately after he and the Tories had come back into office in consequence of the defeat of Mr. Gladstone in 1866 on a measure for the extension of the suffrage. Other Tories were simply exulting in the success of the moment; Mr. Disraeli was looking to the future and estimating the momentary success exactly at its worth. So in 1867 he introduced a rather vague sort of Reform bill; he allowed the Radicals to hammer it into an excellent Household Suffrage bill, and he held office until the Irish difficulty—which up to that time he had not much troubled himself to consider—proved too strong for him, and he was defeated on Mr. Gladstone's resolutions in favor of the disestablishment of the Irish State Church. Now, if there were a Disraeli in the present Tory Cabinet, he might well ask himself, and ask his party, whether there could be any serious chance of staying off for long the settlement of the Home Rule question, and, if somebody must settle it,

why not the Tories? But I doubt if there be any man in the present Cabinet bold enough and long-headed enough for such a venture.

The majority of the Cabinet will probably be quite content with the daily assurances of the Tory papers that Home Rule is dead and buried; that it does not even call for an epitaph; that it will never be heard of again; and that all is well. The same may be said or counted on for many other great reforms, political and social, which the Liberals are pledged to carry out. The Tory Government will get it into their heads that the overthrow of the Liberal Government means an end of all these things, and Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour will be troubled with them no more. Personally I wish they would pluck up courage and give us a taste of genuine old-fashioned Tory rule. There would be no abstentions of Liberal voters during the elections that came next after a period of that sort of administration. Perhaps they will try a little of it in Ireland, but they will hardly try it upon England or Scotland. If they should try it on Ireland they will, it may be, do us a great deal of good in the end, for they will rally us as one man to fight the common enemy. For myself, I would much rather risk coercion than risk disunion, and the first attempt at coercion will be the end of disunion. Defeat, too, will do the English Liberals good. They, as well as we Irish Nationalists, must learn to unite. They—the leaders especially—must get to understand more clearly and with a common recognition exactly what it is that they want to do, and then stick to each task until it is done. I have shown that their recent fall was mainly due to what I cannot help calling divided counsels. There was a want of grip among them; and where there is a want of grip among the leaders there will be a very general laxity of hold among the followers.

Meanwhile Mr. Chamberlain ought, according to the advice given in the famous story told by Herodotus, to sacrifice to the gods his dearest personal possession. For he is uplifted to that most dangerous eminence, the height of his ambition. He is a Secretary of State in a Tory Cabinet,—among the "English gentlemen," for whose society he has yearned so long. He would really do well to read the story of Polycrates and take warning. It can be easily done—there are many English translations of Herodotus.

JUSTIN M. CARTHY.



## THE RENASCENCE IN ENGLISH.

To say that the English language, especially in its literary uses, has within the second half of this century experienced a veritable renaissance, may seem to be making a stiff claim. Yet there is much to justify so strong a term and statement, to explain and illustrate which is the business of this paper. The original impulse has come from the specialists, who have devoted themselves to the study of Old English, to the language and literature lying back of the Norman Conquest. The past thirty years have witnessed a wide popularizing of the earlier native literary treasures through their efforts; the principal texts have been edited and translated and lectured about, and their use in schools and colleges encouraged, so that now the graduate from one of our leading and liberally endowed institutions may, if he choose, know his "Beowulf" as his father did his "Horace." These elder classics of the mother tongue have not only been taken into the curricula of instruction, but have been put forth for broader literary appreciation, with the idea of literary stimulation as well as linguistic drill. Then, too, the comparative study of the allied literatures—the output of the Germanic group of German, Dutch, and Scandinavian peoples, of which English is a kinsman—has done its share in shedding light upon our tongue as an organism governed by linguistic laws and possessing powers long unsuspected.

To this cultivation of Old English (at first the province of the few, but rapidly becoming the work and pleasure of the many) may be added the closer study and appreciation of later literary figures and epochs,—Chaucer and the Elizabethans, and Spenser, to say nothing of Shakespeare himself,—together with the marked attention, reaching almost to the dignity of a cult, directed toward the historical English ballad; and last, but by no means least, the increased sensitiveness to the literary quality of the Bible. To anticipate no effect, sooner or later, upon native modern literature, from all the exploitation of the older fields,—allowed, so many of them, to lie fallow for a long period,—is to overlook cause and effect in the developmental inter-relations of speech and letters. Nothing could be further from the

truth than to suppose this movement to be a matter of mere literary fashion: it goes far deeper than that. The return to Old English expression (always, of course, within limits of common sense and controlled by custom and convenience) is not a temporary fad, but will prove a permanent enrichment of the force and splendor of the speech. The preference for native words and idioms has grown so marked that it can be recognized plainly in some of our most effective and powerful writers, while signs of it crop out constantly in current literature. One who for the first time turns, for example, to the poetry of William Morris, will find it something not only rich, but strange,—and for this very reason.

One of the principal things taught by this restoration of English to much of its old-time valency is the tongue's Germanic structure: that primitive ability in word-forms and sentence-construction which the German, its historic cousin, has retained in larger measure. The student of English, in tracing back its line of development, becomes aware that it converges steadily toward this other tongue; so that when the Old English period is reached the investigator is astonished to see how close, compared with the present status of the two languages, is the affiliation with German, in words, forms, and idioms. So true is this, that the student is told that a first requisite for any fruitful pursuance of historic English is the learning of German. But the latter, owing to its different history, has kept its native powers in relative purity; while English, subjected to more disturbing influences in the Norman Conquest and the classic Renaissance, has diverged far wider from its normal physiognomy and its original tendencies. As a result of such divergence, where the German uses a native compound like *vorwort*, the English turns to the Latin and makes *preface*; where English domesticates such a repulsive foreign importation as *massacre*, the German uses *blutbad* (blood-bath), a native formation self-explanatory to the most illiterate of the race: and so on with hundreds—even thousands—of other words concerning which it is to be said that had our own tongue encountered a happier linguistic experience it would, quite as readily as its sister-language, have clung to its birthright and privilege in this respect,—word-forming from within, and so keeping the speech pure. And even to-day much (though not all) of this power can be reclaimed, and a realization thereof is bringing it about. Thus, it is not infrequent now that a book by a scholar bears the legend "foreword" instead of the customary "preface": here is plainly enough the effort to rein-



state, by analogy with the German, what might have been very properly the distinctive word from the beginning. To those who have not looked into the matter such a seeming neologism may appear a bit of pedantry, an affectation with no significance; but it is not so, for the great principle of English renaissance in accordance with its organic spirit lies behind such a case. As these older words creep into the diction of the scholar aware of the historical facts we have indicated, or are used by the literary worker keenly alive to the strength and fitness of these speech heirlooms, we may be sure that the tendency is wholesome, and one to gather force in the time to come. For it is a return to the simple and the indigenous, an eschewing of the foreign, which has been overlaid like a lacquer upon the native material. Of course many of our foreign-derived words have become so thoroughly anglicized as to make it impossible, no less than unadvisable, to eradicate them. But the method proposed is not the rooting up of what is firmly planted in the speech, but a re-introduction, a calling back of the germane, thereby ousting slowly, unviolently, what is less suitable. It will be, and should be, a case of the survival of the fittest.

The movement once started by the philologists and specialists in language has been, it may be repeated, carried on with vigor by those who make literature. It is in their efforts that the popular rehabilitation of the older and purer elements of English especially may be found. And in this welcome influence poetry rather than prose will always be dominant. It is of the nature and essence of poetical diction to be archaic, to show a large proportion of native words: and this because it is the language of the emotions, which always chooses the homespun and the familiar terms and forms natal in the speech. Words like *home*, *mother*, *father*, *love*, *heart*, and *hearth*—the category of the affections—will in all tongues be recognized as born within its body. And this contribution of poetry, the highest form of literature, to our linguistic treasure-trove, will be supplemented inevitably by the most imaginative prose-writing, since the same law is there at work: the indigenous element strong when the feelings are in considerable measure implicated, the imagination widest awake. A great service is being rendered by the present acceptability of dialect literature: through the attention in fiction to the local "speech-islands," as philologists dub them, the dialectical variations of the common stock of language are brought into notice, and a multitude of words, idioms, and phrases reinstated in the

parlance, or at least in the cognizance, of the more sophisticated centres of speech. And since the linguistic survivals of the countryside are more often than not the local persistence of what was once the best English for cultivated and literary usage, the result is a constant enrichment of the modern word-hoard. The counties or colonies of Great Britain, the manifold sections of the United States, have in this way yielded up rich treasures to the skilful hands of the poets and novelists. Never has the local speech been transcribed with a like faithfulness, skill, and attraction. From this cause the tongue will in time become an instrument of wider diapason, more varied in its harmonies, and vibrant with immemorial racial tones. The reader to-day gets a new sense of its possibilities, and is taught hospitably to throw open the doors to fresh material representing local survivals of the sturdy old speech which, by the good graces of literature, then become revivals of our current language.

With this outline sketch of principles, some illustrations, drawn from the various channels of contribution, will make the contention plainer and should prove not uninteresting. Let us take a passage from Dr. Hall's metrical version of "Beowulf," as an example of the sort of English used by a student who essays to present such a monument in a modern dress, yet preserves as much as may be its primitive tang:

"Fast the days fleeted ; the float was a-water,  
The craft by the cliff. Clomb to the prow then  
Well-equipped warriors ; the wave-currents twisted  
The sea on the sand ; soldiers then carried  
On the breast of the vessel bright-shining jewels,  
Handsome war-armor ; heroes out-shoved then,  
Warmen the wood-ship, on its wished-for adventure.  
The foamy-necked floater, fanned by the breeze,  
Likest a bird, glided the waters."

To bring such language into popular consideration is educative and may be counted upon for its influence: the archaic words or forms can readily be picked out: found in the vernacular, they are allowed to remain in the translation: and it is the test of the happy translator how close he clings to the original without growing obscure or offensively odd.

Dr. Furnival, the doughty president of the English Shakespeare Society, is a scholar whose studies might be expected to affect his diction, as indeed they have. In his introduction to an edition of William Harrison's "A Description of England," this wielder of



forthright English speaks of an "unthrift young gentleman," and his description of Harrison as a personality reads thus:

"A business-like, God-fearing, truth-seeking, learned, kind-hearted, and humorous fellow, he seems to me; a good gardener; an antiquarian and numismatist; a true lover of his country; a hater of shams, lazy lubbers, and evil-doers; a man that one likes to shake hands with, across the rift of two hundred years that separates us."

The effect of this upon the reader is of a style plain, familiar, and racy; but, the more it is studied *in extenso*, the clearer is it seen that its quality is due to a bias for the older words and constructions,—a characteristic of Dr. Furnival's manner of writing in general.

Among modern historians none is so remarkable for the Saxon simplicity of his style as Freeman: he carries his preference for the vernacular so far that at times he will repeat the same native word again and again within a few lines rather than use its classic or romance equivalent,—with an effect of baldness and sameness in his diction. It is not surprising that this great historian's burrowing in the past of England and English should have left its mark on his prose: the following passage, from the first lecture in "The English People in Its Three Homes," brings the fact home:

"Here on your soil I am not indeed in mine own home, but I am none the less among mine own folk. I am among men of mine own blood and mine own tongue, sharers in all that a man of either England deems it his pride and happiness to share in. How can we be strangers and foreigners to one another, how can we be other than kinsfolk and brethren of the same hearth, when we think that your forefathers and mine may have sailed together from the oldest England of all in the keels of Hengest or of Cerdic—that they may have lurked together with Ælfred in the marshes of Athelney—that they may have stood side by side in the thick shield-wall on the hill of Senlac—that they may have marched together as brethren to live and die for English freedom alike on the field of overthrow at Evesham and on the field of victory at Naseby?"

Here, again, I am aware, the general physiognomy of style is that of a homely, strong simplicity, having, however, an eloquence all its own: here, it might be said, is no revamping of the tongue, but only a straightforward manipulation of English unadorned. Yet such a style is an exceedingly rare phenomenon; it may be stated boldly that an example of it thirty years ago cannot be found in English. Only from one who had drunk deep draughts from the purest sources of our speech could such felicitous handling of its Germanic powers have come. Mr. Freeman, in the book quoted from, bears down on our close relationship to the Germans and Dutch, respectively second

and first cousins. Speaking of the "tie" which binds the English of the British isles to that ancient England of the continent whence they came, he acknowledges that it may not be at first evident, and "does not force itself upon the mind by the most obvious witness of language, of history, of all that makes divided brethren to be brethren still. But the tie is still real: it is still living." He is thinking here of other things than language, but his words apply thereto in full force.

Other modern historians, whose style is strong on the native side,—men like Green and Froude and Harrison,—furnish examples, though not in so striking a degree as Freeman, of the influence upon personal diction of delvings in the bygone life and language. A glance at some modern poets may be taken, to strengthen the impression; and no man may fitlier head the list than William Morris, whose verse, as already hinted, is notable in this matter of good old English. I draw on his great story-cycle, "The Earthly Paradise," a stanza from "The Man Born to Be King:"

"So long he rode he drew anigh  
A mill upon the river's brim,  
That seemed a goodly place to him,  
For o'er the oily smooth millhead  
There hung the apples growing red,  
And many an ancient apple-tree  
Within the orchard could he see,  
While the smooth millwalls white and black  
Shook to the great wheel's measured clack  
And grumble of the gear within;  
While o'er the roof that dulled that din  
The doves sat crooning half the day,  
And round the half-cut stack of hay  
The sparrows fluttered twittering."

We have chosen this earlier unobtrusive example of a happy use of the native English elements in verse rather than one from the later, more pronouncedly archaic, and to some artificially Germanic, work of Morris, though this richly illustrates the principle. This natural *trouvère* may be called a pioneer of the linguistic renaissance when it is remembered that the chief poem-group of his life dates from 1868-70. And with him may properly be set Swinburne: he too exhibits in his verse, in his diction and metres as well, the strong influence upon him of the root-flavors of speech: though in his case a softer, more voluptuous effect is gained by the intermingling of classic elements. Take these stanzas of his magnificent paean, "The



*Armada*," and see how well-nigh every word of it is home-born and monosyllabic,—a fact making its rhythmic flow all the more wonderful and its force the more potent:

"Greed and fraud, unabashed, unawed, may strive to sting thee at heel in vain :  
Craft and fear and mistrust may leer and mourn and murmur and plead and  
plain :

Thou art thou : and thy sunbright brow is hers that blasted the strength of Spain.

Mother, mother beloved, none other could claim in place of thee England's  
place :

Earth bears none that beholds the sun so pure of record, so clothed with grace :  
Dear our mother, nor son nor brother is thine as strong or as fair of face.

How shalt thou be abased ? or how shall fear take hold of thy heart ? of thine,  
England, maiden immortal, laden with charge of life and with hopes divine ?  
Earth shall wither, when eyes turned hither behold not light in her darkness  
shine.

England, none that is born thy son, and lives, by grace of thy glory, free.  
Lives and yearns not at heart and burns with hope to serve as he worships thee :  
None may sing thee : the sea-wind's wing beats down our songs as it hails the  
sea."

Mr. Stedman speaks of Morris as showing how well "our Saxon English is adapted for the transmission of the Homeric spirit:" a fair characterization also of much of Swinburne's lyric and dramatic writing.

Compared with these men in their typical manner, the poetry of the great earlier men—Wordsworth, Coleridge, Keats, and Shelley—shows a startling difference in regard to the relative prominence of native English words and formations. They had not the advantage of the popularization of younger literature which has since transpired. And the latter-day bards, the generation subsequent to the Morris-Swinburne time, reveal this influence more and more, just in proportion as they are virile and awake to larger possibilities for melody and harmony now open to English.

Of American singers Sidney Lanier is unique in his sensitiveness to Old English language and literature, coloring all his work and giving it a distinctive stamp. The fine couplet—

"By so many roots as the marsh-grass sends in the sod,  
I will heartily lay me a-hold on the greatness of God."

—is representative of his style; and this stanza of the "Ballad of Trees and the Master" stands, in its Saxon directness, for much more:

"Into the woods my Master went,  
 Clean forspent, forspent.  
 Into the woods my Master came,  
 Forspent with love and shame.  
 But the olives they were not blind to Him,  
 The little gray leaves were kind to Him;  
 The thorn-tree had a mind to Him  
 When into the woods He came."

Stevenson too, and Kipling, whether as poets or prosers, are of this goodly company; the very title of the former's "Underwoods" is eloquent of these older speech memories, while in that lyric repository is the perfect "Requiem," with its now renewed pathos, each several word of which is English unadulterated, with the one exception of the word *verse*:

#### REQUIEM.

Under the wide and starry sky,  
 Dig the grave and let me lie.  
 Glad did I live and gladly die,  
 And I laid me down with a will.

This be the verse you grave for me:  
*Here he lies where he longed to be;*  
*Home is the sailor, home from sea,*  
*And the hunter home from the hill.*

Kipling also, among those enchanting provocative interludes of rhyme which are to be found in his prose books, has this bit which clings to the native side of the mother tongue in a fashion typical of this virile young maker of measures and spinner of yarns:

"Oh, was I born of womankind, and did I play alone?  
 For I have dreamed of playmates twain that bit me to the bone.  
 And did I break the barley bread and steep it in the tyre?  
 For I have dreamed of a youngling kid new riven from the byre,  
 An hour it lacks and an hour it lacks to the rising of the moon;  
 But I can see the black roof-beams as plain as it were noon."

Nor is this bent for pure English confined to the "chiels" of the rising generation: it is symptomatic, and the open-eyed reader meets with it on all sides. In a poem by Graham R. Tomson occurs the line—

"And all her talk was of some *outland rare*"

—a direct parallelism with the German *ausland*. In Bliss Carman's fine Stevenson Threnody, "A Sea-mark," there are half-a-dozen signs of this desire or instinct—which comes to the same thing—for resus-



citating latent powers to the freshening and beautifying of latter-day vocabulary and construction. Thus:

"But I have *wander-biddings* now."

"You brethren of the *light-heart* guild,  
The *mystic fellowcraft* of joy."

"A *valiant earthling* stark and dumb."

"The *journey-wonder* on his face."

"Heart-high, *outbound for elsewhere*."

—the italics indicating phrasing which shows this promising American verseman to have learned the time's lesson in linguistics.

And prose literature, notably fiction, adds richly to the evidential material, dialect (as explained) being a main source of contribution. Again Stevenson and Kipling are in the van. In "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde," the story which first drew popular attention to one who had long before revealed to the judicious an artist's hand, may be found half-a-dozen places which illustrate the tendency to fall back upon the ancient privileges of a tongue of which he was past-master: as where "a sharp *intake* of the breath" is spoken of. Some of the matchless descriptive writing in "The Ebb-Tide" affords occasion for more or less in the same sort, as here:

"There was little or no morning bank. A brightening came in the east: then a wash of some ineffable, faint, nameless hue between crimson and silver: and then coals of fire. These glimmered awhile on the sea-line and seemed to brighten and darken and spread out; and still the night and the stars reigned undisturbed. It was as though a spark should catch and glow and creep along the foot of some heavy and almost incombustible wall-hanging, and the room itself be scarce menaced. Yet a little after, and the whole east glowed with gold and scarlet, *and the hollow of heaven was filled with the daylight.*"

Here there is the magic blending of native and imported elements to make a truly admirable style; but ever and anon (as in the italicized closing words) Stevenson places before the ravished observer a compound or turn of expression or sentence which has a relish of old time and the sanction of bygone generations.

Kipling, too, is cunning in the same fashion, allowing, of course, for the personal equation. Take the following from "A Matter of Fact," one of his most grossly imaginative tales:

"As he spoke the fog was blown into shreds, and we saw the sea, gray with mud, rolling on every side of us and empty of all life. Then in one spot it bubbled and became like the pot of ointment that the Bible speaks of. From that

wide-ringed trouble a Thing came up—a gray and red Thing with a neck,—a Thing that bellowed and writhed in pain.”

The illustrations from current fiction-makers who have turned dialect to literary uses is legion, and an embarrassment of riches the result: examples are hardly necessary, so obvious is this aspect of the movement. In Raymond's delightful Somersetshire idyl, “Tryphena in Love,” we find, “And *to-year* she was meeting with wonderful good luck,”—the remark being the author's own, not a part of the dialogue. *To-year* survives in dialectical service (like countless other words) and is common enough in the Elizabethan dramatists and further back: it may be seen that, by analogy with *to-day* and *to-morrow*, it is a capital formation, a regrettable loss to modern English. Mr. Raymond, in the preface to his volume of short stories, “Love and Quiet Life,” speaks of this locution, and adds: “And what is the distinguishing initial vowel of the past-participle of the rustic, but a heritage from our Saxon [he means Old English] ancestors,”—going on to point out the resemblance between the countryman's prefix, *a*, as in *a-want*, and the German *ge* in *gewandt*. Ever and again the German comparison forces itself on the student. In Justin H. McCarthy's pleasing novel, “A Woman of Impulse” (which may be read as the antidote to “Dodo”), I find him speaking of “a ballad with the *overword*,”—also a strictly Germanic compound.

It is hardly necessary to illustrate from the Scotch word-work of Barrie, Crockett, and their commensals, since, of all the dialect loosely grouped under the convenient name “Scotch,” it may be declared that it is strongly conservative northern English: that is a fair description, historically, of the variations in English to the north of the Firth. Scotch proper, it may be added, is Celtic,—quite another thing. But the more conventional speech of these two writers, as well as of others like Quiller Couch and Hardy and Blackmore, furnishes food for our thesis. Here, for example, are the very opening sentences of Barrie's “A Window in Thrums”:

“On the bump of green round which the brae twists, at the top of the brae and within cry of T'nowhead Farm, still stands a one-story house, whose white-washed walls, streaked with the discoloration that rain leaves, look yellow when the snow comes. In the old days the stiff ascent left Thrums behind, and where is now the making of a suburb was only a poor row of dwellings and a manse, with Hendry's cot to watch the brae.”

Quiet, unforced English, this; but when you come to compare it with that of an immediate earlier generation, it is not hard to notice the



change. Or read this from Nora Hopper's strangely poetic "Ballads in Prose," where the influence is Celtic of the Irish order, and the stylistic model Malory's "Morte d'Arthur":

"And when next Cuchullin woke from his dreams he found that Ineen still held him fast, though she was dead and cold: and with some difficulty he loosed her hands from him, and dug with his sword a grave for her in the sand, and there he laid her sorrowfully, praying Angus, the Master of Love, to keep her soul in his Golden House, and Manannan MacLir to hold his waves aloof from her sleeping-place. And when he visited the place with Eimer after a year and a day, they found that the sea had fallen back for half a league, and that the place where the sea-girl slept was a broad space of grass, and in the midst of the grass rose white spikes of meadow-sweet, the flower which for the sake of a forgotten love and a forgotten sacrifice is called of us to-day Crios Chuchlainn (Cuchullin's Belt)."

That in the movement here-above sketched certain influences have been long at work, has been conceded frankly, and those influences named. Nevertheless, that a strong added impulsion has come from the popularization of Old English language and literature, signs of which are easy to be seen, is a plain matter to the student and lover of his native speech. Sometimes it shows in the literary regeneration of a word which for centuries has lain *perdu*; sometimes through the introduction of an idiom out of strict analogy with the German; again, by the elevation of dialect to a more urbane place in the tongue; most often by a widespread tendency toward monosyllabic Anglo-Saxon. But, whatever the manifestations, all hark back to a common cause, stand for one phenomenon; and it may be affirmed of the younger writers, whether using the grand old mother-tongue in America, in England, or in any one of the great colonies where she is at home, those we are coming to look upon as torch-bearers are the best exemplars of this hopeful characteristic, it being, in sooth, one reason of their strength and place in the forefront. A point to be borne down upon is the difference between this movement and sundry fashions in the language of literature and life which have their little day from time to time in various countries. Such was the Elizabethan Euphuism, the Spanish Gongorism, the Marianism of Italy, the *Schmülzigkeit* of the Germans, the Parisian preciosity ridiculed by Molière. A common hall-mark of all these is affectation; they have a narrow aloofness, are superficial and temporary, averse from what is genuinely natural and national, whereas the return to the older in English is—allowing for the occasional posing and strained effects of those whose province it is to bring discredit on any tendency good in itself—a going back to what is simple, strong, direct, and vital to our speech instincts.

This renascence of English, then, silent but steady, for the most part unsensational, but none the less potent, is to be apperceived to-day, and in the twentieth century will be more apparent. And the very fact that our leading writers wish thus to turn back to native uses and things is, so far as it goes, proof of the race's health, of its solidarity and *esprit de corps*. We may take comfort in it when confronting an alarmist like Nordau: for a general degeneration of the speech would follow any general degeneration of literature; and the testimony of language, just now, directs us to opposite and more cheerful conclusions.

RICHARD BURTON.



## DEMAND AND SUPPLY UNDER SOCIALISM.

MANY people regard the roulette-table merely as a means of frivolous and iniquitous dissipation; and any one who is capable of the moral condescension of studying it, which he can best do by playing a system at Monte Carlo, will probably lose his money if he plays for any length of time; but he will find in the table a most vivid illustration of a truth which is connected with chance and gambling in only an accidental way.

Except for the zero, which we need not consider here, the player who stakes on any of the simple chances,—the red or black, the odds or evens, the *passe* or *manque*,—has a chance at any one *coup* which equals that of the table; and what he wins, if he wins, is the precise sum which he has staked. If, however, he loses, he can double; and if he wins the second time, the sum which he wins is the sum which he staked the first time. Thus, if a man sits down to play two *coups*, his chances of winning the amount of his first stake are double his chance of losing it: and this doubling process, at Monte Carlo, where the limit is six thousand francs, he can continue, if he starts with a single five-franc piece, for eleven *coups*. He may lose ten times in succession; but if he wins the eleventh, he gains a five-franc piece—namely the sum of his original stake. A man who sits down to play in this way has eleven chances of winning his original stake, as against the table's one chance.

It may seem, therefore, and it has seemed to countless persons, that a player who plays thus quite alters the original situation, and has successfully circumvented the persons who designed the game. Such theorists, however, overlook what is really the essence of the situation. The player who, beginning with five francs, has lost ten times in succession, may yet recover his losses, and win five francs by his eleventh stake; but this eleventh stake will be more than five thousand francs. He risks five thousand, and has already risked all his former stakes, for the sake of winning five francs. In fact, to gain, by the doubling system, an advantage of eleven to one against the table, the player must be prepared to risk something like ten

thousand francs for the chance of gaining five francs. In other words, a player for a certain number of *coups* can always alter in his own favor the evenness of the original chance; but he can secure this advantage in one way only—namely by paying for it. If he wishes to have eleven chances of winning five francs as against one of losing them, the lowest price at which he could possibly buy this privilege would be to allow the tables one chance in twelve of winning fifty-five francs. Thus, let the player merely play eleven times, and the original equality between the chances of gain and loss is restored. That is to say, in spite of all systems, the game remains, what it obviously is for any single *coup*—a game of hazard.

I have called attention to the roulette-table because it constitutes, in the respect just mentioned, a most vivid analogy to a fact in human life which social reformers either never realize or else constantly forget, just as the inventors of this or that infallible system forget, or have never realized, the corresponding fact at Monte Carlo. That fact is as follows: The fundamental difficulties, the fundamental imperfections of social life, are due to human nature, and inherent in human nature, just as in the game of roulette there inheres the character of hazard; and the different social systems which have been designed by Utopian reformers would—supposing such systems to be put in practice—change the form of these difficulties and imperfections and disguise them; but their essence would remain, and the reformers would still be confronted by them, and confronted by them in an aggravated and far more unmanageable shape.

Of this great truth there is no more important and no clearer example than one supplied by a case in which the socialistic dreamer foolishly imagines himself to have discovered a triumphant contradiction of it. This is the case of supply and demand, and the effect which the relation between these two factors necessarily has on values, on prices, and on wages,—or, in other words, on the subsistence of the manual laborer. Socialists imagine that were all private capital appropriated by the state, and all the products of Ability confiscated,—either to supplement the wages of labor, or to be used for some public purpose,—the laws of supply and demand would suddenly cease to operate; and that the wages of the men who produced any one kind of article could be adjusted so as to meet what might be considered their reasonable needs, without any reference to the men who produced the other kinds of articles required by the community as a whole, and without any chance



being involved of injuring these last, and of rousing their hostility. Thus, when Socialists are pressed with arguments which relate to demand prices, and when it is argued that the maximum limit of wages for the producers of any given article is fixed, not by how much the men want who produce it, but by how much the article itself is wanted by the men who, it is assumed, will purchase it,—the Socialists, when these arguments are pressed on them, invariably take refuge in saying of them that, if they are true at all, they are true only of society under the existing system; that they are true only—here is one of their favorite phrases—under the “*régime* of cut-throat competition”; or, in a phrase more frequent still, that “there is all the difference in the world between the production of articles for use and consumption, as they would be produced under Socialism, and the production of articles as commodities or for the purpose of exchange, as they are produced now.”

Idler and more foolish language than this was never used. I propose to show that, in a socialistic society,—supposing such to be possible,—a society in which the socialistic principles were developed to the very uttermost, the law of supply and demand would make itself felt, not with less force than at present, but with a great deal more; and that were every private capitalist and private employer abolished, all those difficulties and all those conflicts of interest which now manifest themselves in agitations, in lock-outs and in strikes, would manifest themselves afresh in different and yet more destructive forms. The personal disappearance of the private capitalist and employer would merely leave more apparent the enduring and inexpugnable nature of the facts and forces represented by him.

Let us begin by examining the socialistic fallacy in that bald and crude form to which I have just referred. Stated categorically, this fallacy, so often repeated, is as follows:—that the community under the *régime* of Socialism—as the word is now generally understood—*would no longer produce for exchange in the way in which it does now*; or, to put the matter in other words, *it would produce for consumption in some way radically different from the way in which it now produces*. I propose first to point out to the reader that this statement is so absolutely and transparently false, that it could hardly have imposed on any human being, if it were not that it were used to mark two other propositions, equally false, but at first sight more plausible, which propositions I shall proceed then to

examine. But, before even mentioning these, let us get the original fallacy quite out of our way. Let us make ourselves quite clear that whatever Socialism might do or might not do, it would do nothing to alter the *rationale* of production in this respect; but would leave the producers producing for exchange, just as they are doing at the present moment, and producing for consumption in no other sense than the very real sense in which at the present moment they are producing and necessarily must produce.

In order to understand clearly these two limits of production, let us begin by considering production in its rudest and simplest stages.

An isolated individual, such as Robinson Crusoe, or an isolated family living in a very remote district, may no doubt afford us examples of what the Socialists talk about,—namely, genuine production for consumption, as opposed to production for exchange. The isolated individual will practise every craft for himself. He will be his own husbandman, his own potter, his own clothier, and his own mason. The isolated family will do the same things between them. Each individual will practise several crafts, the result of which will be enjoyed round a single hearth. But the result in each case will be rude and simple in the extreme. This is by no means the state of things which the socialistic reformers contemplate. They do not propose to lose any one of the advantages which communities as a whole have gained by modern industrial progress. They only propose to alter the existing system of production so as to redistribute its results, not to alter its methods; and there is not a single scientific Socialist who does not understand, as fully as Adam Smith did, that of all civilization, of all industrial progress, the great underlying condition is a minute division of labor. Now, if division of labor means anything, it means, before all things, this: that, of the products needed by the very poorest man in the community, of the very necessities of life which he cannot live without consuming, he shall himself make only a very small part,—perhaps no part at all; but shall make instead something which shall be exchanged for what he consumes. Take, for instance, the case of a sorter at the post-office. He may accidentally sort one letter of his own out of a million; but if he does so this is a mere unimportant accident. His wages do not come to him in the form of any service he thus renders to himself, as they would were he a savage building his own hovel. Or, again, take one of the girls who roll cigarettes in the state tobacco-factories in France. She very probably does not smoke at all; and



at all events no appreciable part of her livelihood comes to her in the form of cigarettes which she herself rolls. And these two examples are all the more to the point, in that they are taken from industries which are always pointed to by the Socialists as examples and instalments of Socialism.

The statement, then, of the Socialists that production under Socialism will be production for exchange any less than it is now, is, if we take it as it stands, merely an ignorant or dishonest formula, which will not stand a single moment's examination. We shall find, however, that under the surface this statement covers two meanings, which, though really equally false, and, moreover, mutually exclusive, are not, when taken separately, by any means so palpably absurd. Indeed, before they are closely analyzed, they can both be expressed in one general proposition: namely the proposition, not that under Socialism production would not be production for exchange; but that the proportion in which each class of products exchanged for others—or, in other words, the remuneration of each producer—would somehow or other be regulated on different principles. This proposition, however, when we come to analyze it closely, will be found to mean one or the other, and sometimes both, of the following contradictory things. It will be found to mean either (a) that, as regards the individual producer, *the true exchange-value of his products will be estimated according to a new and truer standard*; so that each man, whatever commodities he produces, will receive a full equivalent for them; or else (b) it may mean that *what he receives will have no necessary connection with the amount of these commodities at all*, but will be apportioned to him, as the Socialists put it, "not according to his deeds, but according to his needs."<sup>1</sup>

The essential difference and antagonism between these two ideas or theories can be illustrated very simply. Let us take the case of two men, neither of whom smokes, but whose occupation is to roll cigars: and we will suppose that one man, who is very energetic, rolls a thousand cigars a day; the other, who is more indolent, six hundred. It is obvious that these men do not roll them for their own consumption. Directly or indirectly they will somehow be exchanged for something. The only question is, for how much shall

<sup>1</sup> This idea has been expressed more fully in the formula, "every man is to work according to his capacity and be remunerated according to his requirements": and in England of late the public has become very familiar with it, through the doctrine of "the living wage," preached during the great coal-strike.

they be exchanged. According to the first theory (*a*) the amount which each man receives will depend upon the number of the cigars that he rolls; according to the second theory (*b*) it will depend on the amount of food, clothing, and accommodation requisite to keep him in some preconceived state of comfort. We will consider these two theories in order.

The first theory—namely, that according to which the position of the laborer will be bettered by Socialism, because Socialism will secure for him the true exchange-value of what he produces—is the theory of Karl Marx; and, according to many Socialists, it contains the very *idée mère* of Socialism. Now this theory coincides up to a certain point with the doctrines of the ordinary economists, and assumes a certain part of the economic process of the present as something which is permanent and would endure under any system. Indeed, what Karl Marx considered to be his great discovery purports to be simply an analysis of something that is happening round us every day and always will happen. This can be explained simply thus. Let us take any kind of finished product and consider the price which the consumer pays for it. This price, according to Marx, naturally and necessarily represents its true value. Let us suppose, for instance, all the bread in a community to be made and sold by some single corporation of persons; all the coats made and sold by another; and all the coal produced and sold by a third. Each of those three products being necessary to life, each corporation would of necessity retain as much of its own product as was necessary for its own consumption. The question of the value, or exchange-value, of each product, affects only the portions of it that are exchanged, not consumed, by the producers. How many loaves shall the corporation of coat-makers receive for each coat supplied by them to the corporation of bread-makers? How many hundred-weight of coal shall the corporation of bread-makers receive for each hundred loaves they supply to the providers of coal? According to Marx these questions are answered by the actual facts of life. If we regard the producers of commodities, not as individuals, but as corporations, which both produce them and supply them to the consumer, commodities do, on the whole, exchange at their true value; and this value is, according to him, determined by the amount of average labor, measured by time, which is required on the average to produce each commodity. Some men, no doubt, may be exceptionally apt and diligent, others exceptionally idle: but in spite of



this there is an average standard of efficiency which makes an hour of the labor of any one man in any industry practically equal to an hour of the labor of any other man: and thus every coat out of a thousand similar coats will be practically the embodiment of an equal number of labor-hours; and the same will hold good of each loaf and each hundredweight of coal also. Hence each of these three commodities can be expressed in terms of a common denominator, namely, the labor-hour; and, according to Marx, commodities will, must, and actually do exchange in proportion to the number of labor-hours embodied in them. If the various kinds of labor that go to make a coat, and place it in the hands of the wearer, amount to eighty hours, the coat-makers, as a corporation, will, must, and actually do receive as many loaves as are produced and brought to the consumer by eighty hours of ploughing, sowing, reaping, baking, transport, and so forth.

It may seem that, thus far, the theory of this terrible revolutionist is a justification of the existing system rather than an attack upon it. It assumes, however, a very different character when we consider the producers no longer as corporations, but as individuals. In each corporation, according to Marx, there exists, under the present system, a minority of individuals who practically rob the others. These men are the employers and the capitalists; and, according to Marx, the essence of their position is this: they are the monopolists of the means of production—raw materials, workshops, machinery, and so forth; and the others—the great majority—are unable to exercise their labor, or produce anything at all, except with the permission of this small possessing minority, which accordingly sells its permission at the highest price possible,—that is to say, by exacting from the majority all the values produced by them except such as are sufficient to exchange for the barest necessities of subsistence. Suppose, for instance, the coats produced in a given time by a thousand men (including all who contribute to the result, from the sheep-shearer to the retail shop-keeper) to cost the consumer a thousand pounds in the aggregate, this thousand pounds would be the true value of the coats; and if all the producers worked the same number of hours, the amount due to each man would be properly one pound. Let us then suppose the labor-time contributed by each man to be two days, of eight labor-hours each, the amount properly due to each man would be ten shillings a day. But the arts of production being in their present advanced condition, while the absolute neces-

saries for keeping a man alive remain unchanged, each man produces more than three times the amount of these necessities. He can be kept alive on three shillings, while he actually produces ten. Such being the case, the monopolists of the means of production are able to take—and do take—from each man the entire surplus over and above this three shillings. That is to say, out of each ten shillings they mulct or rob the producer of seven shillings as the price of allowing him to produce anything at all. The aim of Socialism, therefore, so far as the remuneration of labor is concerned, is essentially, according to Marx, neither more nor less than this: to expropriate the monopolists, to place the means of production practically in the hands of the producers, and thus to enable each of them to receive the entire value of his products, which, if we adhere to the foregoing suppositions, will be ten shillings instead of three.

Now with regard to the theory of Marx, taken as a whole, what I desire to show is that it contains virtually the three following distinct propositions, of which two are perfectly true, and of which one is false. (a) If we take Marx's theory that labor-time is the measure of value, and qualify it with certain arbitrary suppositions, or apply it to societies in their earliest, their crudest, and least civilized stages, we get a proposition that is undoubtedly true. (b) If we apply the same theory to society as it exists now, we get a proposition that is not only false, but false to a grotesque degree. (c) If, turning from that part of Marx's theory which relates to the measure of value, to the part which asserts that the remuneration of each producer is determined by the value (however measured) of his products, and that the amount of this value must always be measured, and is measured at the present moment, by certain laws (whatever these laws may be) which inhere in the structure of all society, then, and so far, the theory of Marx is true.

Let us take these three points, (a), (b), and (c) in the order in which they have just been given.

(a) Let us suppose a community of three men, all equally strong and working an equal number of hours, each of whom produces some one of three necessary commodities, such as bread, clothes, and fuel, and just manages to produce enough of each to satisfy the requirements of three men. It is evident that, as all the men work equally hard, each will demand the produce of a third of the labor-hours of the two others. Goods will perforce exchange exactly as Marx says they do. They will exchange in proportion to the number of labor-



hours embodied in them. And what is true of a community of three such men as we imagined may be approximately true of any very rude societies whose requirements are limited to necessities, and whose methods of production are very simple.

(b) But in what we call advanced or progressive societies, and emphatically in society as we know it now and as Marx criticised it,—a society in which the natural powers of labor are indefinitely and progressively increased by machinery and industrial organization,—the case is absolutely different, and for two distinct reasons. One reason is that in this increased production of commodities there is no longer involved one kind of exertion only,—namely, what Marx means by average labor,—but labor of various qualities and of various degrees of importance; and, more important still than these, those kinds of exertion by which labor is directed, whether they be those of the inventor or those of the industrial manager. The other reason is that as man's powers of production increase, they are used not mainly to multiply those few and simple commodities which are needed by all alike, and without which life is impossible; but rather to multiply the kinds of commodities produced,—not to multiply, for example, beyond a certain point, the number of loaves and boots and cheeses, but to supplement those necessities by an indefinite number of superfluities, such as neckties, gloves, lace curtains, china ornaments, carpets, musical instruments, tobacco, books.

We will consider these two reasons separately.

The first criticism that will suggest itself to any ordinary student of Marx's theory of value as applied to existing circumstances is, that by making value a mere matter of average labor-hours, he entirely ignores the most obvious function of machinery and invention, to say nothing of industrial management. The answer which Marx and his school make to this obvious objection, though not wanting in ingenuity, will enable us to see at once the flaw in their whole position, and the curious nature of the mistake by which they have deceived and bewildered themselves. They maintain that machinery and invention (and indeed by parity of reasoning every rare talent that increases the volume of production) though they multiply the number of commodities (or as they call them "values in use"), have no effect whatever on the exchange-values produced in the same number of labor-hours. Mr. Hyndman, one of Marx's most vociferous disciples in England, has explained this doctrine for the benefit of the English working classes by the following simple illus-

tration. He takes two common commodities, such as a pair of boots and a box,—both, as he says, useful things, and satisfying some social need,—and assumes that the one takes longer to make than the others. While one man, we will say, makes one pair of boots, another man, or either of the men, is able to make two boxes. Accordingly the value of two boxes is one pair of boots. Suppose, however, that box-making becomes so much easier that a man can make four boxes instead of two in the same space of time, he will have to give four boxes instead of two for one pair of boots. Thus, though the box-maker produces more values in use, the exchange-values which he produces remain what they were before. His four boxes, just like his two, have an exchange-value of one pair of boots only.

Now it is quite possible to imagine a state of things to which this reasoning would apply. The box-maker might accidentally discover that a wood which he had hitherto neglected was twice as easy to work as that which he had used hitherto; and if his products were doubled by a pure accident such as this, Mr. Hyndman's reasoning would be no doubt true. But if two such workers as he supposes represent any reality at all, they certainly do not represent the realities of any civilized community: and they fail to do so for the two following reasons. Firstly, production, as a fact, has not been increased by accident; but by the action of exceptional abilities which are a close natural monopoly. Secondly, Mr. Hyndman's illustration, if it represented anything at all, would represent a community in which one trade only was progressive; and such a community does not exist anywhere, nor is it worth our while to talk about it. In all progressive communities the progress is practically general. If the boot-maker, therefore, and the box-maker, are to illustrate the realities of civilization, we must imagine boot-making to become easier in the same proportion as box-making; and then we shall see that the position is completely changed. We shall see that the four boxes have an exchange-value not of one pair of boots, but two. Thus, though the exchange-value of each separate article would remain unchanged, the number of these articles, and their aggregate values in exchange, would increase in the precise ratio of the increase in each worker's productivity. And this is the only point that is worth attention. All that Marx and Mr. Hyndman can prove from their theory is, that the exchange-value of the individual article is not increased by its multiplication, whether through machinery or any other means; that is to say, individual articles do



not become dearer. But who ever maintained that they did? What man in his senses has not always maintained the precise contrary? If one pair of boots cost two boxes a hundred years ago, because the boxes and boots then each took a man a day to make them; and to-day, owing to machinery and invention, two pairs of boots and four boxes can be made in the same time,—the value of boots in terms of boxes, and the value of boxes in terms of boots will remain unchanged; but, labor-day for labor-day, each producer will be the producer of twice as many such values.

Now, supposing for a moment that, for each kind of commodity thus multiplied, the demand is still undiminished,—or, in other words, supposing demand to be a constant quantity,—and supposing also that at each stage of production, no matter how many or how few commodities are produced during the average labor-day, the average amount of Ability devoted to each trade remains unaltered, it is no doubt true that at each of these stages labor-time will remain the measure of value. But the astonishing thing about Marx and his disciples is, that they confuse the true proposition that labor-time, with certain strict reservations, is the measure of value, with the insane proposition that it is the cause of the multiplication of values,<sup>1</sup> and that consequently the gross value of the output of any factory, for instance, is altogether due to the labor of the operatives,

<sup>1</sup> Let us express the natural productivity of a craftsman in each trade by the number 1. We shall then get the values of the products in each trade, during a given time, by merely multiplying this number by the number of craftsmen who produce them. Thus, if there are fifty craftsmen producing each kind of commodity, a day's product in each trade will have an exchange-value of 50. But if in certain of these trades, or in all of them to unequal degrees, some few men of genius contrive, by directing the craftsmen, to increase the unit of production per man from 1 to 3 in one trade, from 1 to 7 in another, and from 1 to 8 in another, and if, on these men of genius ceasing thus to exert themselves, the productivity of labor should drop again to 1, the labor embodied in each set of commodities would still be an element in the value; but it would no longer be the sole or even the chief element. The chief element to consider would be the augmented unit of productivity. It would be impossible any longer to tell the relative value of boots and boxes merely by reference to the fact that fifty men had produced so many of each in a day. We should have to know also the exact degree to which the unit of productivity had been in each case raised by the man of genius; and the result of our calculation would depend not only on the fact that we had in each case to multiply something by 50; but on whether the something to be multiplied were 3, 7, 8, or any other number. As a matter of fact, among the various employers in each trade at any given time there is an average power of ability by which the power of labor is multiplied; but exceptional ability always secures profits or exchange-values greater, in proportion to the amount of labor employed by it, than are secured by inferior ability.

and not to the machinery by which it is assisted, and the intelligence by which it is economized and controlled.<sup>1</sup>

I need not, however, insist on this special point farther; for large numbers of thinkers among the Socialists themselves are beginning to admit the error of Marx in this particular; though naturally they are chary of showing, even if they themselves see, the error of their idol in all its true absurdity. I will therefore pass on to the second error of the great Socialist leader.

His first error, as we have just seen, consists in his imperfect analysis of the relations of machinery, and of supply generally, to value. His second error consists in his completely ignoring the effect of demand on value. And the source of his error in this second respect is precisely the same as in the first. It consists in his failure to realize the profound difference between a rude society, whose products were so few and so necessary that the demand for each was obviously a constant quantity, and the modern civilization which he was specially concerned to analyze. The vital difference, so far as demand is concerned, between an advancing civilization such as our own, and savagery, or civilization in its infancy, depends on the fact that whereas in a savage state all production is production of the primary necessities of life, or the commodities for which the demand is constant, these commodities in a civilized state are produced by a fewer and ever fewer number of men; and the productive powers that are released from the production of necessities are devoted to the production of superfluities. Economically, in short, civilization is a superstructure of superfluities raised on a foundation of necessities, and progressively dwarfing in bulk, like all other rising structures, the foundation on which it rests. In other words, a community of a given size grows in material civilization, not in proportion to a decrease in the number of necessities produced by it, but in proportion to the decrease in the number of the men required to produce them, and the consequent increase in the number of men who produce superfluities. Thus, in a civilized state, not only is the bulk of superfluities incomparably greater than the bulk of necessities, but the number of men whose claim to a livelihood depends on the exchange-values embodied in superfluities is incomparably greater than the number of men whose similar

<sup>1</sup> According to the theory of Marx, machinery adds to the value of products only in so far as it is worn out in producing them, and thus incorporates in the products the previous labor-time of the persons who made it.



claims depend on the exchange-value embodied in necessities. Thus the problem of value in a civilized community is almost entirely a question of the exchange-value of superfluities.

Now the main difference between the demand for bare necessities and the demand for superfluities is that, while the first is practically fixed, the second is elastic and variable. Let us take instances. A certain amount of bread, or some equivalent food, is a daily necessary for every human being. Tobacco, wine, and theatrical entertainments are superfluities. Some men drink wine, and neither smoke nor care for the play; others do both of these last things but drink no wine at all; and the practice of men with regard to each varies at different times in their lives. At one time a man likes a cigar better than Burgundy; at another Burgundy better than a cigar; and at another he likes the play better than either; and his expenditure on these matters will vary according to his taste. To say this, however, is to state but half the truth. To the statement that his expenditure will vary according to his taste, we must add that it will vary according to the relations between the intensity of his taste—that is to say his desire for cigars, Burgundy, or the play,—and the sacrifice he will have to make in order to gratify this desire. Let us suppose a community of four men, each of whom, in their original condition, manages to produce just enough of one of four necessities to enable them all to live. Here, as has been said already, the demand, like the supply, is a constant quantity, and, this being so, labor is the measure of value. But now let us suppose that the community has become civilized, and that one man, owing to improved methods, can produce all the necessities, and that, of the other three, one produces wine, another cigars, while the third amuses the rest by performances of Punch and Judy. So long as all three others are amused by these performances of the fourth, they may be willing each to give him a fourth part of what they produce—say a loaf of bread, a bottle of Burgundy, and three cigars daily. But suppose that the three grew somewhat tired of his performances, and decided between themselves that for two days out of three they would sooner smoke these three cigars and drink this bottle of Burgundy themselves. The utmost the performer could do would be to refuse to perform unless he received for his performances their original exchange-value: and the others would answer every two days out of three, “We have no wish that you should do so.” The performer, who, *ex hypothesi*, would think a cigar and a bottle of wine

every third day better than none at all, would inevitably have to accommodate himself to the terms offered by the others. In other words, the exchange-value of his performances would have fallen, not because they represented less labor, but because for this labor there was less demand.

And now for these four kinds of labor let us substitute an indefinite number; and for individuals performing each let us substitute groups of individuals; and we shall have before us civilized society as it is: but the essence of the situation as above described will be absolutely unchanged. In any civilized society, from the very fact of its being civilized, there will always be a demand for superfluities of some sort, and to an indefinite extent; but the demand for superfluities of any given kind is liable to constant variation. As a fact, any civilized public may be relied on to demand plays; but the demand for the individual plays offered to it varies indefinitely alike in intensity and in duration, and has no calculable relation to the amount of labor involved in their production. A still more luminous example is that of a book or a newspaper. The labor involved in setting the type will be the same whether one copy is sold or a million; but the exchange-value of an edition will differ, since whatever part may be unsold will be merely so much waste paper.

Now all this, so far as it relates to the existing system, is becoming gradually understood even by many Socialists; and the error committed by Marx in ignoring the operation of demand is becoming as plain to them as the error which vitiates his analysis of supply. But one and all of these theorists imagine that, in some unexplained way, the operation of demand would be changed if the dream of Marx were realized, and if the exchange-values that, in each industry, go at present to the manager, the inventor, and the capitalist, were taken by the state and made over to the manual laborers. The great point on which to insist is as follows,—and, as soon as it is once understood, it becomes the merest truism,—that such a change, could it be accomplished even without any injury to the industries in question, would not alter the question of values in any way whatever.

Let us suppose that, at any given moment, the community as a whole pays for its cigars to the cigar-makers a million pounds annually; and that half a million of this goes to the employers and the capitalists. Were the dream of Marx realized, the same gross sum



would still be paid; only this second half of it would be added to the wages of the operatives. That is to say, their wages would be doubled. But now let us suppose that, after this result is accomplished, opium-smoking comes into fashion, and the demand for cigars is so weakened that the public will continue to buy the same number only on condition that they are sold at a reduced price. The million pounds formerly expended will infallibly and necessarily shrink—let us say, for example's sake—to seven hundred and fifty thousand. That is to say the wages of the operatives are reduced by 25 per cent. So long as the employer takes a portion of the gross value, any reduction in that gross value may perhaps fall only upon him. Instead of wages being reduced by 25 per cent the profits of the employer may be reduced by 50. Thus the workmen are blinded to the real nature of the situation. So far as they are concerned, the employer acts as a buffer. But if once the Socialist could take the employer's profits and make them over to the manual laborers, the laborers would feel instantly, and with unmitigated severity, every decline in the demand for whatever commodity they might be producing.<sup>1</sup>

The more completely we eliminate, in imagination, the figure of the employer and capitalist from society, the more completely does the inevitable, the imperious bearing of demand on values, and consequently on the receipts of the laborers, show itself. Let us divide a community into as many groups of laborers as there are commodities or services demanded by the community as a whole at any given time. Let us say that there are ten groups, and ten kinds of commodities. Let us start with supposing that the amount of values which goes to each laborer is equal, because the demand for each commodity is in a certain given condition: and next let us take each commodity in succession, and suppose that the desire for it on the

<sup>1</sup> During the last great coal-strike in England the ridiculous doctrine was taught that wages could be made to rule prices, instead of prices ruling wages. Were all, or even most of the coal-consumption in England, consumption for absolute necessity, were it an irreducible minimum, and were all coal-production a monopoly in the hands of English workmen,—this would have been true in this case. But more than half the coal-consumption in the country is, directly or indirectly, consumption for superfluities; and these the public will have either at its own price or not at all. Further, with regard to monopolies, it is amusing to observe that while no men have more loudly denounced landlords and coal owners as monopolists than the trade-union leaders, yet their main object during the great coal strike was to place the colliers in the very position they denounced—*i. e.* of monopolists, not indeed of the mines themselves, but of the right to work in them.

part of the producers of the other nine commodities decreases. This means that the producers of these other nine commodities, who have hitherto been giving a tenth part of them to the producers of the tenth, would prefer either to consume a half of this tenth part themselves, or else to remain idle during the time required for its production, rather than give it, as hitherto, to the producers of the tenth commodity. Now it is evident that in such a case this tenth group of producers would find that their wages or receipts had fallen by exactly one-half; but if they resented this calamity, what remedy would be open to them? Could they strike? A leader of strikes in a socialistic state would indeed see strikes with eyes from which scales had fallen. He would see that a strike among such a group of workers as we have supposed would be one-tenth of the laborers striking against nine-tenths; and endeavoring to extract from them by force commodities which they desired to retain. From the point of view of nine-tenths of the community such a strike would be simply an attempt at robbery. The fact that the tenth group offered something in exchange for what it demanded would not alter this fact. This group, from the point of view of the other groups, would be attempting to get a pound in exchange for every ten shillings, which is merely a disguised form of stealing ten shillings. It is easy to see that in such a case force would be useless: and the mere refusal of the strikers to supply their commodity except on such terms as would yield them what they considered "a living wage" is a weapon that would be broken by the reply of all the other laborers, which would be, "Then in that case we do not want your commodity at all." In short we have only to follow the invitation of the Socialists so far as to imagine a state in which the laborers received everything, to realize that any attempt to make wages, instead of demand, regulate prices, would, on the part of whatever group of laborers might be concerned in it, be an attack on the interests of every other laborer in the community.

Socialists, and others besides Socialists, have failed to grasp this point, because in the socialistic state, as at present conceived of by its advocates, the exchange of commodities would not be a direct transaction, but would be accomplished by the state as an intermediary: and it is supposed that, as the state would in the first case receive all the commodities, and then superintend their distribution, any conflict of interests between the various groups of workers would be avoided. But the state, though it might disguise for a time the



nature of such a conflict, could alter the situation in one way only, and that is by tampering with values,—by robbing nine-tenths of the community for the benefit of one-tenth. Let us suppose that the general taste for theatrical performances declines; and that the theatres, which once were filled, are only half full now; and that the gross receipts (which we will suppose take the form of the Socialist's favorite labor-checks, and which will form the total divisible among the actors) yield them only half of what they consider a "living wage." The situation could be altered only by the actors being paid a living wage by the state, and the performances being made free. But the sum required for the adequate remuneration of the actors would have to be extracted from the remainder of the public through taxation. Of some of the commodities which they had themselves produced, and which they prefer either to consume or not to be at the trouble of producing, the majority would be forcibly mulcted, in order to support men who gave them no adequate equivalent. The only difference would be that the immediate object of their hostility would not be actors, but the state; and as the state under Socialism would theoretically respond to the will of the majority, it is evident that very soon the claims of the actors would be disallowed.

One thing only could prevent this,—and that would be the development of an unselfishness so great that it would entirely overbear all personal interests. Whether human nature as a whole is ever likely to exhibit such a development, need not be discussed here. All that I am here attempting to point out is, that so far as the interests of individuals are concerned, as embodied in demand and supply, there would be the same conflict between them under Socialism that there is at the present moment; and that so long as the majority of human beings were motivated by these interests, so long as they were pleased when their interests were subserved, and irritated when their interests were thwarted, those conflicts of interest which now show themselves in the form of strikes would be changed by Socialism only by being given a different form, and being changed from an attack on the capitalists, which has something of the character of a rebellion, into an attack upon all laborers other than the aggrieved section, which would partake of the character—ininitely more cruel and bitter—of a civil war.

We thus come to the third point (*c*), with regard to which, as I have said, the theory of Marx is true. The great claim of Marx to

be considered a man of practical sagacity lies in the fact that he realized that all exchange, and all remuneration of the producers, does depend on the interest of the consumer,—does depend, that is to say, *on the commodities which the producer offers*, and not on what, as a private man, the producer happens to want. In so far as the theory of Marx rests on his analysis of exchange-value, faulty as that analysis is, it is a tribute to the great truth that we can understand what society will be, only by analyzing these great underlying facts, which make it what it is: and we have only to correct the errors which his analysis of values contains, to see that, were the socialistic system, as he conceived it, established, and did every laborer get what Marx thought was the full value of his products, not one of the elements of existing social discord would be abolished or even modified. We shall see in fact that so far are the effects of supply and demand from having been overstated by the orthodox economists, or from being transitory in their operation, that they would operate in a socialistic state even more rigidly, more unpitifully, and more openly than they do now; supposing only that the socialistic state be a civilized state,—not a collection of mere savages laboriously producing bare necessities, but a community of men with multitudes of tastes, wants, imaginations, and aspirations, and the means of approximately satisfying them. We shall see, by considering such an imaginary state, that Demand and Supply are merely the two economic sides of all civilization whatsoever; that Demand is merely the economic side of man's mental civilization; and that Supply is merely the economic aspect of the means which he has devised for ministering to it.

W. H. MALLOCK.



## THE RESUSCITATION OF BLUE LAWS.

THE municipal authorities of New York city have recently begun the systematic enforcement of a law requiring saloons to be closed on Sunday. Public opinion being greatly exercised, I propose to discuss the social and political aspects of the liquor question from the standpoint of a man who drinks with moderation whenever he is so disposed, and who would like everybody else to enjoy the like privilege.

The population of large cities consists of elements whose tastes and education differ with their nationality and religious beliefs; their inclinations respecting the observance of a holiday vary accordingly. Their principal guide, however, must be necessity. The wealthy and middle classes can enjoy life according to their desires,—they may devote Sundays or any other days to rest and religion; but to persons who work for a livelihood, the first day of the week alone offers opportunity for that recreation which is so essential to continued health of mind and body. These toilers constitute a large majority of our populace; to their industry we owe many of the comforts of life, and their wishes deserve our serious consideration. A ruthless interference with the enjoyment of the short hours of their leisure, therefore, is neither charitable nor wise.

England has a reputation for well-regulated Sundays. There the mechanic can find in the outskirts of every town, a good inn whose license compels the keeper to serve his customers after church hours. On bright Sundays I have seen Hampton Court, Richmond, and Kew filled with crowds of men, women, and children who behaved fully as well as our "four hundred" do at Delmonico's. Similar scenes present themselves on every holiday at the Bois de Boulogne in Paris, the Thiergarten in Berlin, and the Prater in Vienna: music adds charm to good cheer on the Continent. In all these places the sale of liquor is prohibited during the time reserved for worship.

Our Sunday laws originated with the Puritans of New England, who observed it like the orthodox Jews; but in their religious

zeal they went farther than the laws of Moses warrant. Doctor Johann David Michaelis, a celebrated expounder of the Mosaic laws, says "the day was set apart in order to combine recreation with rest and devotion." He translates Exodus xxiii. 12: "object of the Sabbath is to give rest to ox and ass, refreshment to servant and stranger." A strict observance was not countenanced by Jesus; for, according to St. Mark (ii. 27), "the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath." In speaking on this subject Dr. Martin Luther says, "Let us eat, drink, and be merry." The perverted minds of exalted ascetics would fain turn a day which had been chiefly intended for rest and pleasure into one of fasting and prayer. Such narrow-minded individuals sit in judgment over their neighbors and disregard St. Paul's lesson (Colossians, ii. 16): "Let no man therefore judge you in meat, *or in drink*, or in respect of an holyday, or of the new moon, *or of the Sabbath days*."

No form of religion being recognized by our constitutions, the cause of temperance has been the ostensible object of Sunday and other prohibitory laws. Wine belongs to the class of drinks the sale of which is restricted because, with the rest of alcoholic beverages, Prohibitionists consider it deleterious, although its praise has been sung in a thousand melodies since Anacreon's time. In writing of its effect, Jonathan Pereira, an English medical authority, says: "Wine used in moderate quantity is an almost indispensable stimulant. It quickens the action of the heart, augments the muscular force, and excites the mental powers." I can speak from experience; for, although I have used wine daily for thirty-five years, my faculties have never been impaired, nor have I ever been ill. When I travel in this country, the pleasure with which I take claret with my dinner has often been an object of curiosity. The few persons who partake of their food with ease, drinking and conversing alternately, will soon be recognized in our country hotels as Americans who have been abroad, or as foreigners. The average American hurriedly consumes the contents of numerous dishes in silence, assisted only by draughts of cold water and hot coffee. More frequently he looks rather as if he were doing penance than taking refreshment; for when he arises his face wears an expression of sorrow, as if he had been murdering his stomach. The historian Gervinus says:

"Wine sharpens the sting of wit, stimulates spirited conversation, and brightens the atmosphere. Whoever has any cause to turn away from the real world, and longs for the freedom of living in an ideal one, is fond of wine."



I attribute the prevalence of dyspepsia, our national disease, to the haste with which Americans generally take their meals without any stimulant other than a desire to return as quickly as possible to the routine of daily life. Elsewhere an hour or two is agreeably spent in discourse while the chief meal of the day is partaken of, in families as well as in hotels. At the *table d'hôte* of a Continental hotel you will always find congenial spirits among your neighbors, whose chat enlivens the meal, while enjoying a glass of home-made wine,—“*Vin ordinaire*” in France, “*Mosel*” in Germany, “*Vöslauer*” in Austria, and “*Chianti*” in Italy. Thus to drink is an intellectual as well as a physical pleasure.

The alcoholic strength of table wines is about 10 per cent.<sup>1</sup> Beer is much weaker, the percentage of alcohol in several good brands being as follows:

	Percentage of Alcohol
München Spatenbräu, Bock.....	5.23
“ Salvator.....	4.49
Kulmbacher, dark.....	5.29
“ light.....	4.47
Pilsener export.....	3.39
London Porter (Barclay & Perkins).....	6.90
Scotch Ale.....	8.50

The average strength of our own lager beer is about 4 per cent. Doctor de Vaucheroy, a delegate from Brussels to the International Temperance Congress at Zurich, says of fermented liquors whose alcoholic properties are small, that “they may be consumed in moderate quantities without evil effect; they possess a nutritive value, and are considered a necessary auxiliary of social life.” Beer has been called “the liquid bread of the poor.” When enemies joined

<sup>1</sup> The following list gives the alcoholic strength of some of the wines commonly used in the United States:

	Percentage of Alcohol
Port and Madeira.....	20 to 23 per cent
Sherry and Marsala.....	12 to 20 “ “
French white wines:	
Sauterne.....	15 “ “
Champagne.....	10 to 12 “ “
French red wines:	
Burgundy.....	15 “ “
Margaux and St. Estéphe.....	10 “ “
Lafite.....	8 to 9 “ “
German white wines:	
Rudesheimer and Geisenheimer.....	12 “ “
Hochheimer and Foster Riesling.....	10 “ “
Zeltinger and other light Mosel.....	7 to 8 “ “

and drank it, it was a sign of reconciliation, while casual acquaintance ripened into friendship after drinking "Brüderschaft" in the foaming mug.

The man who buys his beer on Saturday to provide against Sunday thirst must procure it in bottles; which is neither so wholesome nor so palatable as when drawn fresh from the barrel. By compelling one, whose usual consumption is only an occasional glass, to buy a bottle of whiskey our Sunday laws encourage him to become intemperate and to render others so. With a flask by his side in the solitude of his rooms he will drink more than is good for him, or at least more than he would take in a public place. Our prohibitory laws have generally had such results; and drunkenness is comparatively more prevalent in the Prohibition States than elsewhere. John Parker Hale said that "there were never so many places where liquor is openly sold as under the operation of our prohibitory laws in New Hampshire." I drank more than usual when I happened to be in Boston while liquor was for a short time prohibited in Massachusetts; every friend I called upon invited me to drink at his "club." I soon found that saloons had been turned into private clubs to which customers had latch-keys. When I spent a night with a friend in Brookline, I found on the shelves of his library rows of sham books, under the covers of which bottles of rye and bourbon were hidden instead of the verses of Homer and Virgil. Means will be found in New York to evade our ridiculous Sunday law: forbidden fruit always tastes sweetest. I understand that Sunday clubs for poor men have already been organized in this city.

We consider Liberty and Equality our greatest privileges; but men are not equal who may on the same day become "as drunk as lords" at the Golden Gate and in the Rue Royale of New Orleans, gambling away their fortunes with impunity, while they would be arrested as criminals if they were to partake of a bottle of claret with their meals in Bangor, Maine. The statutes which forbid drinking on Sunday apply to different parts of this and other States, but are enforced only in New York city. The Constitution says that the privileges of citizens shall not be abridged; but the local enforcement of the Sunday law does abridge the privileges of the venders of beer and liquor, because it drives their customers from the city to other places, where they may drink without fear of molestation. This is an encroachment on the personal rights of these citizens. The in-



equality between men who can afford the luxuries and privileges of club-life, and those who cannot, is more glaring still.

This liquor law was passed by Republicans in 1857, before the use of lager beer had become general; it was reenacted by Democrats in 1892 for the purpose, as some Republicans claim, of strengthening the corrupt power of Tammany Hall. Several legislators then shamelessly admitted that they voted for the measure only in the expectation that it would *never* be enforced. It is not immoral to drink; nor is the sale of liquor on Sunday, unless carried on so openly as to cause public scandal, of itself an evil. Drinks have usually been furnished to orderly persons who wanted to satisfy an innocent natural craving. In stopping this sale the ostensible object of the Police Commissioners was to hinder policemen from levying blackmail on the venders. I am constrained to think that a part of the hue and cry raised against this practice must be an exaggeration; and it is certain that patrolmen would not have made a practice of interfering with the human, if not legal rights of saloonkeepers, if their superiors had not encouraged them to do so. As the cure is often more fatal than the disease, so may the means now being taken to abate this nuisance degenerate the morals of the police more than the nuisance itself did. The police force was created to prevent crime, not to instigate it. Mr. Roosevelt has revived a system of espionage which his predecessors had discontinued; he permits policemen and volunteer detectives in disguise to enter side doors of saloons on Sunday, to persuade their keepers to furnish drink, and then to arrest them. If it be the duty of Mayor Strong to cause such action to be taken, it must have been the duty of his predecessors for nearly forty years past,—including such men as Opdyke, Gunther, Havemeyer, and Grace. The only Reform mayor who made an attempt to enforce the odious law was Abram S. Hewitt, and he gave it up in despair after the trial of a few weeks. In Brooklyn Mr. Seth Low refused to interfere; the cautious Republican Mayor Schieren takes no action.

The success of the Reform movement was largely due to German voters; and as they were given to understand that their Sunday recreation would not be interfered with they are now naturally irritated. They realize the difficulty of getting this law repealed, although it is unequal and has been used as an instrument for blackmail in the past. Temperance men from the rural districts and cities, who form a large majority among the Assemblymen at Albany, are not likely to listen to reasonable argument. While Germans are loyal

citizens, and will obey the law to the letter so long as it remains on the statute-books, they will probably inaugurate a campaign of education to convince the community that even the poor man who drinks beer on Sunday may be a respectable member of society. I think that a good substitute for present legislation would be local option for large cities, a majority deciding for each municipality how the liquor traffic should be regulated.

I advocate the creation of a responsible Excise Board with ample power, consisting of merchants, chemists, physicians, and lawyers of high standing; their duties to be:

1. To adjust the amounts to be paid for licenses, and to decide to whom and on what terms they ought to be issued. Only a reasonable charge, not over \$50 per annum, should be made for the privilege of selling fermented liquors, inclusive of wine, containing less than 14 per cent of alcohol;<sup>1</sup> such license to be granted to every reliable applicant. Ardent spirits animate the blood; when taken in moderation they act like medicine; they become poisonous when taken to excess. A thousand dollars a year may be a proper charge for the privilege of selling distilled liquors in New York: this amount was advocated by Howard Crosby. Whatever charge be made, the privilege ought to be granted only to men of good morals; they should be placed under bonds, and made responsible for the orderly conduct of their customers and the lawful behavior of their employees. The license of any establishment furnishing ardent liquor to a minor or other irresponsible person should be revoked.

2. To make, from time to time, a chemical analysis of liquors sold to the public. According to the English and Bavarian laws, beer must consist solely of barley-malt and hops: here drugs are

<sup>1</sup> I quote from the Tenth Annual Report (1879) of the Health Board of Massachusetts: "Light German beer is used more each year, to the exclusion of stronger liquors,—a change which should be hastened by legislative encouragement of the sale of mild liquors."

The production and consumption of beer in 1890 was :

		Total Annual Consumption	Proportion for Each Inhabitant
1. Belgium	about	290,592,500 gallons.	46.76 gallons.
2. Great Britain	"	1,373,710,000 "	39.98 "
3. Germany	"	1,400,127,500 "	27.94 "
4. Denmark	"	59,439,375 "	27.18 "
5. United States	"	977,447,500 "	15.32 "
6. Switzerland	"	26,417,500 "	10.57 "
7. Netherlands	"	39,626,250 "	8.98 "
8. France	"	224,548,750 "	5.81 "



used in the preparation of lager beer, some as substitutes for hops, others in order to ripen it prematurely, a process which sometimes takes only as many weeks as it does months in Bavaria. There are wines in the market which do not contain a vestige of grape-juice. Among the adulterations of whiskey is coloring to give it the appearance of age. Whenever adulterated liquor is discovered, the entire stock should be spilled in the public highway (as is done in Bavaria), and the license of the dealer in whose possession it is found should be revoked forever. We should probably then have wholesome beer and wine without importing it from England, France, and Germany, and could procure a drink of whiskey without fear of being poisoned. I do not apprehend that such laws would be found unconstitutional.

When a drunken man becomes offensive or disorderly, he ought to be punished; but aside from such wholesome restriction I favor the free sale of liquor at all times except during the hours of service on Sundays; and I see no reason why the liberty of one person should be restrained because another person cannot control himself.

LOUIS WINDMÜLLER.

## POLITICAL LEADERS OF THE RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD.

THERE were men of great and varied ability among the political leaders of the Reconstruction period, in the events of which, as a Federal Senator, it fell to my lot to play a part; but looking back upon it now, when the lapse of nearly thirty years has made possible a calm, dispassionate survey of the men and measures of that era, I am more than ever persuaded that it was a heavy, almost fatal misfortune that the Republican party, then dominant in every branch of the Government, was wholly unfitted as a political organization for the work in hand. The reason for this is plain now if it was not then. Brought into being in 1856 for the avowed and practically sole purpose of destroying the institution of slavery, and engaged until the close of the war in attaining that end, the party had been born and bred to the work of destruction. But the work of rebuilding fallen States and reorganizing social and economic conditions had now come, and a Congress elected on the issues of the war and elated by recent victory, in no sense equipped for so great and delicate a task, was forced to undertake the restoration of a fallen civilization.

Amid the confusion of the proposed schemes for reconstruction, Abraham Lincoln was perhaps the one man who saw clearly what was most needed and the best means of securing it. As the end of the struggle came in view his mind instinctively turned to the question he saw must soon arise as to how the revolted States were to be restored to their proper relations to the Union. Mr. Lincoln had no sympathy with the doctrine that the States of the South had committed suicide and were dead, clearing the ground for the erection of such political structures as the victors might determine upon, but held rather that they were dormant, awaiting the authority of the General Government to set them again in motion on lines consistent with the new order of things, including the abolition of slavery. On this basis he projected a scheme of reorganization by the appointment of provisional governors and other necessary officials, and providing for their immediate resumption of the Federal positions in the several



States that had become vacant by force of the rebellion. This was a very natural process of reconstruction. It was as far as Mr. Lincoln then proposed to go. It was only a beginning, but it reestablished government in those States, demonstrated that they were still members of the Union, and proved that as American citizens the people of the Southern States were as much citizens of the United States as ever they were, and that as such it was the duty of the Federal Government to protect them in all their rights. So, as one of the leaders of the Reconstruction period, Mr. Lincoln stands vastly above and far in advance of all the others who took up the work after him.

Andrew Johnson, however, while indorsing and accepting the Lincoln plan of reconstruction, lacked his predecessor's fine sagacity and unequalled ability to mould and direct public opinion, and, unprepared as he was for his sudden and unlooked-for elevation to the Presidency, it is not a matter for surprise that he failed to satisfy public expectation, or that he has passed into history as the most generally and perversely hated man by his political opponents that ever sat in the Presidential chair. The people expected impossibilities from Mr. Johnson, as they would have expected from any other successor of Mr. Lincoln, and, of course, they were disappointed. The jealousies that even before Mr. Lincoln's death had begun to crop out in the chance utterances of public men found expression in critical and unsought advice to Mr. Johnson as to the policies he should pursue. But to all he answered plainly that he proposed to carry out Mr. Lincoln's plans of administration and restoration; and the more firmly he adhered to that purpose, the more open and vicious became the assaults of his accusers. Following this, a hostile Congress sought to hamper him on every side and in every conceivable way. Had he possessed Mr. Lincoln's rare tact in such controversies, and rarer ability to bend the wills of strong men to act in unison with his own, and to enlist the masses of the people in his support despite the opposition of their local leaders, the results would perhaps have been different. But, lacking these qualities, the odds were against the President, and the struggle went on until it culminated in the futile effort to remove him from office. Despite his often brusque exterior Mr. Johnson was at heart just and considerate, a sincere lover of his country, and a true and pure patriot.

Edwin M. Stanton, who was Secretary of War during a large part of the Lincoln and Johnson administrations, and who began as Johnson's friend, but soon became one of his bitterest enemies,

was in many respects a most extraordinary man. His was a contradictory and often puzzling personality, and one to which it is difficult to do justice, for he was seldom just to himself. Gifted with marked administrative ability, his conduct of his great office was marked by wonderful energy, and he was often of great and inestimable service to the country. On the other hand, his official career was marred by unreasoning personal hatreds and grievous personal injustices, and Mr. Lincoln was often compelled to countermand his orders, to prevent private injury and public wrong. He had supreme confidence in himself, and little or none in any other than himself; but it is to be said in his behalf that there was nothing venal about him, and that fact places a long mark to his credit, serving as he did at a time when venality was rampant in public places.

In the early 'forties I had been an ardent admirer of Salmon P. Chase, then coming into prominence in Ohio as a champion of the anti-slavery cause, and when I came to know him in Washington thirty years later my early admiration ripened into profound respect. Mr. Chase was a politician of a high type in the best sense of that much-abused term; a man of distinctive and superior personality and of rare natural dignity; possessed of a fine and delicate consideration for others, broad, liberal, and just in his views of public affairs; and intuitively correct in his estimates of public men. His personal appearance was most impressive. Mr. Chase was Mr. Lincoln's first Secretary of the Treasury, and to him the country was indebted for the financial system that carried it successfully through the war. Later, as Chief Justice, presiding in the Senate on the trial of Mr. Johnson, he was the ideal of a just and impartial judge, and his part therein was one of the most honorable passages in an illustrious career.

Benjamin F. Wade, of Ohio, who was President *pro tem.* of the Senate when I entered that body in 1866, was long a unique and striking figure in American politics. Entering the Senate at the height of the anti-slavery struggle, late in the 'fifties, his lack of education was more than compensated by his force of character and native resources; and these, coupled with his bold and always aggressive discussion of the great topics then uppermost in the public mind, soon gave him high rank with his party associates. Events, however, proved him a poor commander. As presiding officer of the Senate he was not a success, and the fact that he permitted himself to be forced to vote for the deposition of Mr. Johnson under conditions



that made him that gentleman's successor as President, was a blemish on his career that can never be effaced. But the glitter of the bauble had for the moment turned his head. Later, his failure to secure the coveted prize of the Presidency seemed to have soured his naturally genial, buoyant temperament, and those who had previously enjoyed his friendship came to be regarded by him as his personal enemies. In the end, however, he became reconciled, and just before his death I received the verbal message from him, "Tell Ross it was all right,"—referring, of course, to my vote against impeachment, and his consequent exclusion from the Presidency. In March, 1869, Mr. Wade was succeeded in the Senate by Allan G. Thurman, who at once took high rank in the Senate. Though handicapped by an overwhelming Republican majority against him, no man in the Senate had more completely the unquestioning confidence of all in his honor and fidelity to his convictions. To his followers the historic red bandanna was a gonfalon, and, to his opponents, in turn a flag of truce or of defiance.

John Sherman was the other Senator from Ohio during the Reconstruction period. He had entered Congress as a Free-Soiler in 1852, and at the time of which I write had developed into an active, forceful, and very influential Republican leader. The most remarkable feature of Mr. Sherman's long public career has been his singular ability successfully to champion at different times opposite sides of important questions, and yet retain his influence in the councils of his party. His attitude on the impeachment was a memorable case in point. It was he who first developed the weakness of the case against the President by demonstrating that Stanton's dismissal from the office of Secretary of War was not an infraction of the Tenure-of-Office Act, and therefore not an impeachable offence, since Mr. Stanton, as Mr. Lincoln's and not Mr. Johnson's appointee, was not protected by that act. However, Mr. Sherman preserved his hold upon his party by declaring his purpose of voting for the President's impeachment on the second and third articles, which were based on the first and had no force save in connection therewith. His pro-impeachment colleagues were satisfied with this seeming and tardy repentance; but from the moment he avowed his opposition to the first article, the impeachment enterprise was doomed, and Mr. Sherman is too shrewd a man not to have known it. Many doubted whether Mr. Sherman was in reality an honest supporter of the impeachment movement, and his course in this regard affords some grounds for that

doubt, but it is a fair illustration of his ability to trim his sails to every varying breeze. Cool, calculating, and austere, Mr. Sherman has been able to retain his hold upon public life continuously for more than forty years,—a record almost without a parallel in our history.

Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, was in some respects the most conspicuous figure in the Senate during the Reconstruction period. A man of ripe scholarship and extreme polish, of commanding physique and stately pose, and skilled in all the arts of the orator, his assumption of the floor in debate was, as a rule, a promise of an hour's intellectual feast. During his long service in that body he had come—perhaps unconsciously—to regard himself as the intellectual premier of the Senate, and to consider it a personal indignity for a younger member to criticise his acts or dispute the correctness of his conclusions. This peculiarity early led to an unpleasantness between Mr. Sumner and myself which continued until after my retirement from the Senate. Afterwards, however, he was great enough to see, and generous enough to acknowledge, that he had made a mistake. His course in the impeachment trial, in marked contrast to that of the majority of his party associates, showed a desire to deal fairly with the President, he voting to hear all that was offered in his behalf, though also declaring for his conviction and removal at its close.

Henry Wilson, Mr. Sumner's colleague, was a broad-brained, large-hearted man who cared little for the petty and merely partisan considerations which governed so many of his associates in the impeachment trial, and his subsequent declarations showed that he deeply regretted many things that marked and marred the proceedings of the Senate in that affair. A kindly, genial man, thoroughly self-poised and independent, he was a typical American Senator of the highest type. The Republic has had few better servants than Henry Wilson.

The same is true of William Pitt Fessenden, of Maine, who entered the Senate before the war and quickly took high rank for his ability, splendid fitness for his new duties, and thorough comprehension of the questions upon which he was called to act. He was long the chairman of the Reconstruction Committee, and, in a very complete sense, a leader of the Senate in that great and critical work. In the Senate caucus on the impeachment question he delivered a strong argument against the conviction of the President, and every effort was made to induce him to change his position, but in vain. Though a political opponent of Mr. Johnson's, the logical conclusions he had reached outweighed all considerations personal to himself, and his



was the first Republican vote against conviction. A sensitive and not physically vigorous man, the intense hostility of his Republican associates, engendered by this act, affected him most keenly, and, it is not too much to say, drove him, a few months later, to his grave. In his death the country lost one of its greatest, bravest, and truest men.

When I entered the Senate, Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland, was its oldest member both in age and length of service, and no man in that body stood higher in the affectionate regard of his colleagues of both parties. I shall never forget the kindly consideration shown by him to younger members whenever they approached him for information relating to any topic of legislation under discussion. He appreciated the fact that his career in the Senate was about to end, and his constant desire seemed to be to close it with the pleasing consciousness that he had knowingly omitted no proper opportunity to impart to others a measure of the vast and valuable knowledge of public affairs with which his great brain was stored.

At the opening of the Reconstruction period Lyman Trumbull, of Illinois, had been for many years an honored leader in the Senate, enjoying the confidence of his party and the respect of his political opponents. His age and experience, but more especially his matured and discriminating judgment, gave great weight to his opinions and purposes. He was the compeer of Lincoln and Douglas, and had shared with them many of the political campaigns that had given renown to his State. Personally of a gentle and affable nature, the younger members of the Senate at all times and on all questions found Mr. Trumbull an ever willing and safe adviser. But he disagreed with his party on the impeachment scheme, and all his years of splendid service to his country in its most critical hours went for naught.

No State was more ably represented in the Senate during the Reconstruction period than was Indiana by Oliver P. Morton and Thomas A. Hendricks. Mr. Morton, from the date of his entry into the Senate in 1867, took high rank in the leadership of his party. Unlike most of his partisans he showed generous tolerance of the differences of opinion and judgment which led a portion of his Republican colleagues to oppose the conviction of Mr. Johnson, and a courageous disregard for the dictum of banishment from the party councils which the majority had entered up against these dissenting members. On more than one occasion he rendered the latter valuable aid in the procurement of needed legislation for their States. It was a public misfortune that Mr. Morton's physical disabilities

made impossible on his part a longer participation in public affairs; but while he remained in the Senate he was seldom absent from his seat, and as rarely failed to take an active and beneficial interest in the disposal of the business of legislation. Mr. Hendricks, his colleague, was then the undisputed leader of the Democratic party in the Senate. Able, shrewd, and tactful, a good parliamentarian, and with few equals in running debate, Mr. Hendricks commanded the respect, and in a signal degree the confidence, of the entire Senate.

James W. Grimes, then the senior Senator from Iowa, was eminently a product of American conditions and life. Emigrating to Iowa while yet a young man, he became by turns stage-driver, hotel-keeper, merchant, and politician, till middle age found him a Senator of the United States. Added to exceptional native ability, the vicissitudes of Western life, and an education secured by close application to his books after the laborious occupations of the day, gave him a strenuous but fitting equipment for the discharge of public duty, and when I entered the Senate he had come to be regarded as one of the wisest and most trusted leaders of his party. At the conclusion of the impeachment trial Mr. Grimes was a marked figure. A few days before he had been stricken with a fatal illness, and as he arose to his feet on that fateful day, supported by friends on either side, the scene became at once pathetic and heroic. In his then physical condition, and in view of the personal and political enmities his vote would provoke, it was apparent that he was about to perform the last important public act of his life. But, though enfeebled by the illness that was upon him, he gave no signs of hesitancy or weakness, and his vote was "not guilty." He died shortly after, and no man ever departed from the Senate leaving behind more sincere friends or more ardent admirers for his courage and his manly, companionable qualities. James Harlan, the colleague of Mr. Grimes, was a unique figure in the Senate. In earlier days a frontier Methodist preacher, he had much of the habit of that fraternity in his style of address and method of argument. Yet, of large frame and powerful physique, he was forceful and at times singularly impressive in language and manner, and by no means without influence in giving direction to the decisions of the Senate. Mr. Harlan represented the then controlling ideas and characteristics of his State, but belonged to a class of frontier politicians that is now practically extinct.

Zachariah Chandler, the senior Senator from Michigan, was in many respects a typical Westerner. Entering the Senate at the open-



ing of the war, his native tact, personal force, and extreme radicalism, soon made him a prominent and influential figure. During the impeachment trial he was one of the most relentless and vicious of Mr. Johnson's persecutors, and had no patience and little association with those of less radical views. Huge-framed and loud-voiced, his noisy oratory was impressive, but not convincing; and it was quite as impossible for him to convert his hearers to his own ways of thinking as it was for others to impress him with the correctness of views contrary to his own. He was an obtrusive figure of a type that has passed, with slight cause for regret, and probably forever, from the Senatorial stage. Jacob M. Howard, the other Senator from Michigan, offered a sharp contrast to his colleague. They were alike bitter partisans and unrelenting in their hostility to the President, but there the resemblance ended. Mr. Howard was a man of ability and culture, had had a distinguished career at the bar, and proved an industrious and useful Senator. Though intensely radical in his political convictions he was capable of doing justice to an opponent, and this was a quality not possessed by Mr. Chandler.

James R. Doolittle, of Wisconsin, was an influential factor in the work of the Senate during the Reconstruction period. From its formation and until the close of the war he was a conspicuous leader in the Republican party and contributed in generous measure to its great work for the preservation of the Union. Justly regardful of the rights of all, when the armies of the rebellion laid down their arms he believed the war at an end, and that the time had arrived for the assertion of the doctrines of peace and of a united nationality. For this he was driven from the Senate, but no man ever held a seat in that body who was more thoroughly imbued with a sense of public or private justice, or animated with a firmer purpose to fill it acceptably and to the greatest good of his country. His colleague, Timothy O. Howe, was a wiry, active, and more or less influential participant in the legislation of the period. He had many excellent qualities and was a man of more than average ability. He was one of the two Republican Senators who contributed so effectually to the defeat of the Johnson impeachment by announcing in the Senatorial conference that he could not vote to sustain the first article of the indictment, which set out the head and front, the basic facts, of the President's offending. To offset this defection, however, and apparently to save himself from ostracism by his party, Mr. Howe was all the more pronounced and eager for conviction on certain other articles.

Edgar Cowan, of Pennsylvania, left the Senate soon after I entered that body. A wise counsellor and a true friend, Mr. Cowan's sturdy independence, which would not permit him to work easily in party grooves, no less than his vigorous and well-trained intellect, made him a power in the Senate at a time when men of his stamp were most needed there. It would be difficult to imagine two men more dissimilar than Mr. Cowan and Simon Cameron,—who succeeded him in 1867. Possessed of the proverbial thrift and shrewdness of his Scotch ancestors, and never over-scrupulous in aims or methods, Mr. Cameron was of that class of men who never forgive an injury, real or fancied, and never forget a favor. Though a man of companionable instincts and generous impulses, his public career was not a success in the correct purview of that term. Like Mr. Cowan, Charles R. Buckalew, the other Senator from Pennsylvania, was the reverse of Mr. Cameron in almost every particular. An educated and scholarly man, Mr. Buckalew, in his association with his fellow members, was always courteous, respectful, and considerate. Mr. Buckalew retired from the Senate in 1869, but still lives to take a lively interest in political affairs.

George F. Edmunds, of Vermont, was an interesting figure in the Senate during the Reconstruction period. Angular mentally and physically, of deep research and studious habits, a ready and adroit debater, and a keen, critical lawyer, he was dubbed "St. Jerome" by his more intimate friends. Having previously served for some time in the House, he came to the Senate in 1866 already equipped for active participation in its proceedings, and early in his membership took eminent rank in that body. The close intimacy speedily established between Mr. Edmunds and Mr. Thurman—members of radically opposite and wholly irreconcilable political schools—was one of the interesting and unexplainable anomalies of the Senatorial intercourse of the time. It was quite a David-and-Jonathan affair. Sitting on opposite sides of the Chamber, they seemed to have quietly established a signal-code, and it was not uncommon to see them passing out at opposite doors during a lull in the proceedings, and, after a brief absence, spent together in committee-room or at the refectory below, return together with indications that something more than state affairs had been the occasion of their tryst. Luke P. Poland, who, as the successor of Jacob Collamer, was Mr. Edmunds's colleague until 1867, was a unique personality in the Senate as he was later in the House. His strong features, keen eyes, and angular figure,



emphasized by his peculiar dress,—he always wore a blue broadcloth full dress coat, set off with flaring brass buttons,—would have attracted attention in any assemblage.

Roscoe Conkling, of New York, entered the Senate in 1867 at the age of thirty-eight, and at once took first rank as a leader on the Republican side. Though in most respects a stubborn and extreme partisan, Mr. Conkling always awarded to others the same right to their opinions that he claimed for himself. At the close of the Johnson trial a project to expel me from the Senate on the charge of corruptly voting against the impeachment was set on foot by the leaders of the prosecution in the House. Hearing of this, Mr. Conkling came to me and said that if such a proposition reached the Senate, or was likely to do so, I should let him know, and he would “take care of it.” That was sufficient. The leaders of the impeachment crusade, with Ben Butler at their head, were moving heaven and earth to find something tangible upon which to base a pretext for my expulsion, but they were soon obliged to abandon their futile efforts. Mr. Conkling possessed many of the elements of true greatness, and, in the consideration of the problems which confronted the country during the Reconstruction period, no man took a weightier or more authoritative part than he; but the quality that most impressed his fellow Senators was his extraordinary will-power. Few men in recent American history have been endowed with greater force of character. In the face of apparently insurmountable obstacles Mr. Conkling bore down all opposition, and this quality was as noticeable in adversity as in success; for, after he had been defeated in his subsequent contest with the Garfield Administration, nothing could induce him to alter his resolve to refrain from all participation in political contests. Mr. Conkling’s career was a signal example of what can be accomplished through unalterable purpose and unfaltering zeal.

Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware, took his seat in the Senate two years after Mr. Conkling’s entrance, succeeding his father James A. Bayard. The elder Bayard had been chosen by the legislature in 1867 to fill the unexpired term of George Riddle, and the son had been named at the same time for the succeeding full term,—an election without a parallel in the history of this country. The younger Bayard soon won recognition in the Senate as an effective and scholarly debater and an industrious and careful legislator. Under the peculiar conditions at that time prevailing in the Senate, there was little that a Democratic Senator—especially one of recent entry into the body—

could do to identify himself with or to influence legislation, but, ever a safe and sagacious counsellor, Mr. Bayard was able to overcome these conditions, and in later years the dignity and wisdom of American senatorship was illustrated in his career—a career still rich in promise for the future—in a degree far greater than he was honored by it.

John B. Henderson, of Missouri, was another of the bright, ever alert young men of the Senate. Mr. Henderson was one of the seven Republican Senators who deliberately ended their political careers by opposing the impeachment of Mr. Johnson. While he had the seeming advantage in that controversy of representing a State whose people were largely opposed to the conviction of the President, that fact did not save him from the unsparing anathemas of his partisan constituents and associates. Independent and fearless, and actuated by a strong sense of justice and patriotic devotion to his convictions, he voted "not guilty," and at the end of his term cheerfully retired from the Senate, conscious of a duty well and unselfishly performed. Than Carl Schurz, who succeeded Mr. Henderson in 1869, few men have had a more varied career. Mr. Schurz came to the United States in 1848, a political exile from Prussia, whence he had been driven for his part in the revolution of that year. Here he drifted about from one place to another, and from one occupation to another, by turns editor, orator, soldier, and politician, until in 1869 he brought up in the Senate from Missouri. The tendency to shift and change that has characterized him all his life marked his career in the Senate, and rendered it, despite his brilliant intellectual powers, a comparative failure. His subsequent record is familiar to all.

Garrett Davis, then Senator from Kentucky, was a kindly and pleasing reminder of the *ante-bellum* era. Somewhat prolix and over-ornate in his style of oratory, and wedded to the customs and conditions of his younger days, he sometimes tried the patience of the Senate with his labored essays. He could not adapt himself to the new and to him anomalous and disastrous phases the affairs of the country had taken on, and throughout his term in the Senate these things seemed to him to be in the nature of a personal affliction.

Joseph S. Fowler, of Tennessee, entered the Senate in July, 1866. He had been an active business man before engaging in politics, and during the war an ardent and potential supporter of the Union cause. Manly, modest, and clear-headed, he soon won the kindly regard and respect of his associates, but, as in the case of all Republican Senators



who failed to support the impeachment of Mr. Johnson, his public career ended with the term he was then serving in the Senate.

Peter G. Van Winkle, of West Virginia, was in some ways a unique figure in the Senate. He was one of the first Senators from the new State of West Virginia—a quiet, grave man externally, but ever ready for a bout of pleasantry with his friends. Though a silent man he always had the courage of his convictions, and he, too, “went to the stake” cheerfully with his six Republican colleagues for refusing to vote for the impeachment. Mr. Van Winkle died at his home in West Virginia soon after the close of the Johnson trial.

William M. Stewart, of Nevada,—returned not long since to the Senate after an absence therefrom of a considerable number of years,—was for two terms covering the Reconstruction period, as he is now, a conspicuous figure in that body. Large of mould both in body and brain, thoroughly equipped in knowledge of the world and its ways, of a genial, generous, but fearless temper, he early took rank in the Senate as a liberal-minded, useful, and capable member. Deeply imbued with practical Western ideas of progress and development, broadly national in all his instincts, and confident of the mighty part that the West is to play in the development of our national industries, and, through that development, also in the politics of the world, Mr. Stewart is likely, before he again leaves the Senate, to exercise a more or less radical influence upon our national industries. Mr. Stewart's colleague during a portion of the Reconstruction period was James W. Nye, a violent partisan, but a man of sterling common sense and homely yet caustic and delightful wit. In earlier life he had been an extremely popular stump orator, and in the Senate he was often able, with a telling anecdote or a laugh-provoking illustration, to demolish at a blow the labored arguments of an opponent. On one occasion a bill to admit the Chinese to equal privileges of citizenship was under discussion in the Senate, and Mr. Sumner had the floor. His speech—as usual elaborate, studied, and classical—was an earnest appeal for the children of the Flowery Kingdom, and at its conclusion it was evident that he had made a deep impression. But, as soon as Mr. Sumner had taken his seat, Mr. Nye sprang to his feet, and spoke somewhat as follows:

“Mr. President: I was born in the grand old county of Steuben, New York State, and raised upon a farm. My parents were hard-working, God-fearing people, and we had morning and evening prayers in which appeals were always offered for the freedom of the slaves. My good mother—green be her memory—was a careful housewife, and among other standard delicacies doughnuts were

always provided. We all loved doughnuts, and I often watched my mother when she made the dough, and kneaded and shortened it until it was in fit condition. The result of my observation was that she always took a small piece of dough and fried it in the fat before she risked the whole batch. She tried it first, and awaited results. I live on the Pacific coast and know a good deal about the Chinese. They have nothing in common with us. They save their money, and then return, pigtail and all, to China. You cannot make a citizen of a man who will not sacrifice his pigtail! We have enfranchised the blacks—they are now free and citizens, and I am content. My friend from Massachusetts has made an able and exhaustive argument, but I suggest to him that it is far better and safer to follow my good mother's example, and fry a little piece of this suffrage dough before we risk the whole Chinese batch."

The effect of this speech was marvellous. Mr. Sumner seldom had a ready appreciation of humor, but on this occasion he leaned back in his chair and laughed until the tears ran down his cheeks. He did not attempt to reply, and the bill failed through the homespun argument adduced by Senator Nye.

Among other notable Senators of the Reconstruction period were Justin S. Morrill, of Vermont, counted a sound and safe authority on all questions of revenue and finance; William Windom, of Minnesota, a genial, modest, retiring man, who came to the Senate in 1870, after having served several terms in the House, and left it in 1880 to enter the Cabinet of President Garfield; George H. Williams, of Oregon, an admirable type of the men representing the West in the Senate, of impressive personal appearance, and a forceful though not ready or entertaining speaker; William Sprague, of Rhode Island, whose brilliant early promise had melancholy fruition in later years; and Henry B. Anthony, also of Rhode Island,—but of none do I retain more pleasing recollections than of the Senator last named. Mr. Anthony was a quiet, scholarly man whose voice was seldom heard on the floor, but who exerted great influence in the partisan affairs of the Senate. Moderate in his own views, and always considerate of those of others, he was beloved by his friends and commanded the profound respect of all. Mr. Anthony was elected to the Senate in 1859, and four times re-elected, his period of consecutive service in the body, with the single exception of Thomas H. Benton, being longer than that of any other man in our history.

The House during the Reconstruction period contained not less than a score of men of tried and preëminent ability, but among the Republican leaders the seven gentlemen selected to manage, on behalf of the House, the impeachment of Mr. Johnson before the Senate, claimed for a time the largest share of public attention. Of these,



Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, was really the leader and the most conspicuous in the prosecution, and it would be difficult to fittingly characterize the ferocity and unfairness, in determination to convict at all hazards, shown by him from the beginning to the end of the trial. He opened the case with what amounted to a declaration that the fullest latitude in the examination of witnesses should be had, but, immediately upon the beginning of the examination of witnesses for the defence, objected to almost everything offered that would tend to relieve the President of the offences charged. The most abandoned criminal ever before a court of justice was never pursued more relentlessly or viciously than was the President by Mr. Butler. He possessed ability that fell little short of genius, but selfishness, unscrupulousness, malevolence, insolent arrogance, and a consuming egotism marked his career from first to last. Some may accuse me of personal prejudice in this estimate, but I am sure that it will be the sober verdict of history on his life and character.

In the selection, by the House, of the managers of the impeachment, a large number of candidates was nominated, and it was resolved that the seven having the highest vote therefor should be selected. John A. Bingham, of Ohio, received the most votes, and was therefore named as the head of the board. Mr. Bingham had served for many years in the House, and had reached a position of great influence. He was a member of the committee of thirteen on Reconstruction, which, with Thaddeus Stevens at its head, ruled the House with an iron hand, being not inaptly called by the Democratic members the "Central Directory." He was a well-equipped lawyer, and as a fluent and effective debater had no superior in the House.

George S. Boutwell was the second member of the board of managers. He had been governor of his State, and was a scholarly man and a strong debater, but of extreme views and lacking in the liberality and breadth of thought essential to judicious legislation.

James F. Wilson, of Iowa, was the third on the roll, and a conspicuous figure in the House during the Reconstruction period. He at first supported the Ashley impeachment enterprise of 1867, but, discovering that it had no basis, abandoned it, and it was largely due to his personal influence that it was killed in the House. However, in 1868, he espoused the impeachment project of that year and was more or less active in its prosecution down to its defeat in the Senate. Mr. Wilson voluntarily retired from the House in 1869, and thereafter was offered three Cabinet positions, each of which he de-

clined, but entered the Senate in 1883 and served in that body until a short time before his death in the present year. He was a profound lawyer, a vigorous speaker, and a man of great force of character.

John A. Logan, of Illinois, was the fourth in order of selection of the board of managers. Though originally an active and influential Democrat, he had been a gallant soldier during the war, and came into the Congress of the Reconstruction era a virulent and aggressive Republican. Bigoted, hot-headed, and imperious, he was sadly lacking in the capacity for leadership, and, especially in the trial of the impeachment, soon found himself at the rear instead of the front. His subsequent career in the House and Senate was in no way a notable one, and his fame will rest mainly on his military achievements.

Thomas F. Williams, of Pennsylvania, was the fifth, and Thaddeus Stevens, of the same State, the seventh, member of the board of managers. The last named, though foremost in the anti-slavery cause in his earlier years, had at the close of the impeachment crusade reached an age and a condition of physical decadence that rendered him ineffective in its active prosecution as well as in the proceedings of the House. He had outlived his usefulness as a legislator.

Prominent among the other Republican members of the House during the Reconstruction period were Samuel Shellabarger and James A. Garfield, of Ohio; William D. Kelley, of Pennsylvania; Charles H. Van Wyck, of New York; Henry L. Dawes, of Massachusetts; Elihu B. Washburn, of Illinois; and James G. Blaine, of Maine. Mr. Shellabarger was one of the most logical and convincing debaters in the House, remarkable for his fairness and unfailing consideration for others. Mr. Garfield was then still under forty, but had already given evidence of the mental activity and the restless ambition which distinguished his career. My personal acquaintance with him was slight, but there was in his face a vein of insincerity repulsive to close students of physiognomy, and which, perhaps, furnished a key to many of the tragic and much-discussed passages in his life. Mr. Kelley, who began his public career as a Democrat and Free-Trader, and ended it a Republican and a radical Protectionist, was an able debater and a stubborn disputant. Mr. Van Wyck served several terms in the House, and then, removing to Nebraska, represented that State for a single term in the Senate. Able, aggressive, often brilliant, and, best of all, clean-handed and honest, his was a striking and unique personality. Mr. Dawes entered the House in 1856 and served therein until 1874, when he succeeded Mr. Sumner in the



Senate. He remained a member of the latter body until 1892. A kindly, scholarly man, during his long Congressional career he exerted a potent and on the whole beneficial influence on the legislation of the time. Mr. Washburn was the eldest of four brothers representing as many different States in the House during the period of Reconstruction. All were men of shrewdness and unusual capacity for public affairs, but the elder was perhaps the ablest, and his services in the House, during and after the war, were of exceptional value.

Mr. Blaine was then fast forging to the partisan leadership which he secured and held for more than twenty years. No one can deny that he was an extraordinary man, or fail to recognize as almost unparalleled the popularity and influence that fell to his lot. In nearly all respects he was a consummate master of political strategy and tactics, while his magnetic temperament and the charm of his presence gave him a multitude of ardent personal friends and devoted political admirers. Nevertheless, my personal recollections of Mr. Blaine are not of the most pleasant character. During the progress of the impeachment trial he seemed to be disposed to conservatism, but at its close proved relentlessly bitter toward those who had caused its defeat. It had been my duty to present to the President all bills last passed and last acted upon by the Senate. During the pendency of the impeachment all bills coming to me for presentation to the President were, for obvious reasons, retained until the end of the trial. At its close I gathered these together and carried them to the White House. In the street car which I boarded were Mr. Blaine and one or two other members of the House. As I left the car at the Executive Mansion Mr. Blaine remarked to his companions: "There goes the scoundrel to get his pay." We never spoke again. In the second edition of his "Twenty Years of Congress," however, he made partial amends for the remark I have quoted, and one of the gentlemen to whom it was addressed took occasion in after years profoundly and profusely to apologize to me for Mr. Blaine's hasty and ill-bred utterance.

The admitted leaders of the Democratic minority in the House during this period were Samuel J. Randall, of Pennsylvania; James B. Beck, of Kentucky; and Samuel S. Cox, of New York. No man ever deserved better of his country, or served it more honestly and faithfully, than did Mr. Randall. Always a Democrat, he was during the war a bold and consistent advocate of the Union cause,

stoutly sustaining the Government in every measure for the suppression of the rebellion; and in the revolutionary times that followed, his majestic courage and splendid parliamentary skill were always found upholding the highest and broadest ideals of patriotic duty. Resolute, modest, and free from vanity and selfishness, no breath of suspicion was ever blown upon his character. In an era of almost universal corruption he lived and died a poor man. Mr. Beck was a stalwart, broad-shouldered, plain-speaking Scotchman, like Mr. Randall far-sighted and incorruptibly honest, who quickly rose to leadership both in the House and Senate, to which latter body he was promoted in 1876. Mr. Cox, the last of this great Democratic trio, was one of the most lovable and genial men I have ever known. His speeches often abounded with sallies of wit, but there was never malice in his fun, and beneath it all there was ever a broad basis of sterling and saving common sense.

The roll of the Congress of the Reconstruction period is rapidly diminishing, and the men upon whom fell the responsibility of re-establishing the Union are fast passing from earth. More than half the members of the House are dead. There were fifty-four Senators voting at the Johnson trial. Of these thirty-three are dead, and soon, in the course of nature, all will have gone. They passed through and lived in the most stirring and critical chapter in American history. They faced the most threatening, and, in a political sense, most eventful era of their country and their time. They had witnessed, and many of them had been participants in, the greatest contest of arms in modern times. In the hour of the impeachment trial they faced a national danger far more threatening, because more insidious, than was ever the war in its darkest days. The rebellion was carried on in the open, and all could see and realize its force, its danger, and its trend; but on this occasion there was a foe the people did not detect or comprehend. It was hidden from the gaze of the masses intent on the deposition of a President. That danger lay in the exaltation of the legislative branch to supreme control, and the declension of the executive department through the removal of Mr. Johnson on a purely partisan accusation; the destruction of the essential quality of coördination in the several branches of the Government, and the future undisputed rule of a Congressional cabal. Had it not been averted, the end of our federative system would have been inaugurated, and the last days of the great Republic would have begun.

EDMUND G. ROSS.



## THE ACTOR, THE MANAGER, AND THE PUBLIC.

AN experience of more than fifteen years in the calling of an actor has given me opportunities to note the causes which have led to the present deplorable condition of the stage. A habit of referring things to the operation of an over-swaying intelligence has made me confident that the time is not far off when the good sense of a generous public opinion will demand and effect a revival of pure drama, which will be as complete as any yet accomplished by Americans in art, politics, or social economy. If we have left to the last the establishment of a distinctively good title to a national leadership in the drama, it is chiefly because the past century has claimed from us more attention to political and social preëminence than to the advancement of a general taste in art. It is time, however, that we began to look to the condition and influence of our stage. We have contributed most generously to the support of this institution in the past; we have produced great actors and generously endowed them with fortunes; we have given to the world some excellent examples of dramatic workmanship. It is not very long since we enjoyed the reputation of holding within our confines some of the best actors who spoke the English tongue; but as, in this latter end of the nineteenth century, events follow upon each other rapidly, so, all at once, the stage of the United States has lost its boasted and brilliant ornaments, and with some few shining exceptions the genius which brilliantly illuminated the days of our fathers has refused to enlighten those who aspire to take the places of the departed shadows.

The first notable thing about the stage is that it is made an occasion for poverty. Within the past two years the actors of the United States have been in general and sore need. It is estimated that during the season of 1893-94 more than ten thousand persons, who had for a number of years been earning a living by means of acting, were out of employment and in sore straits. Movements were instituted and carried out in some of the larger cities, by which the public was induced to contribute alms for their relief. Although we hear little to-day about this state of affairs, it is none the less true

that the approaching season of 1895-96 does not bid fair to be an improvement upon those which have immediately preceded it. The number of persons that have been left out of employment may be estimated at fully one-half of those really entitled to call themselves actors. Some of these people, driven by necessity, find refuge in other callings, and strive to earn a living by taking up whatever work may come to hand. Among those who are thus compelled to relinquish the work of the stage, there may be found many men and women who for the past quarter of a century have been entitled to rank as leaders in the dramatic world.

It is related that during this time of stress a member of a dramatic organization protested to the manager, who had proposed a reduction of salaries, that the contemplated reduction would leave him with such a meagre income that it would be impossible for him to provide the ordinary necessities of life. To the manager's answer, "That's none of my business," the actor replied, "But I must live." To this the business-like gentleman responded with the well-worn pseudo-witticism, "Not necessarily."

The actor spoke the truth. He must live, and, more than that, he will live in spite of the will or opinion of managers. Managers, as such, are not necessarily an evil, nor are they always impediments to the proper prosecution of dramatic work. But when the work of the actor begins, the manager becomes merely an attendant upon the business concerns of the theatre. Unlike most other occupations in which men engage, that of the actor affords no possible opportunity for a middle man or representative. I know that it is a matter of frequent remark that actors are not good business men, and that therefore the affairs of the drama must be allowed to remain in the hands of purely commercial-minded persons. This is one of the fallacies so often reiterated that we are wearied into letting it pass in order to be rid of it. So long as the business representative of the drama confines himself to the work of arranging for the performances and taking care of their financial results, all goes well; but unfortunately it is too much their habit to usurp the proper functions of the actor. They strive to do this by proclaiming in advance how good and convincing the play and its performance should be, and, after the performance, sowing broadcast, through the many avenues of public advertisement afforded by the press, the utmost laudation of the play without regard to the manner in which the audience had expressed itself. So it has frequently hap-



pened that plays put forward without proper consideration of their merits, and which, when presented, have been coldly received or positively condemned, have been so belauded by theatrical press agencies that other audiences have been deluded into wasting time and money by attending subsequent performances thereof. In numerous instances the wide-extending communities of the United States have been treated to this sort of "confidence game," and the "show business" has been made profitable much upon the same plan that attends many other devices for obtaining an income by representing a worthless commodity as valuable. The cause of this evil lies not in the fault of one only of the three parties concerned, but, like most evils in the world, it lies in a communion of faults or failings. The actor, I know, is apt to blame others for what he fancies to be injury to his calling, and it is equally true that the public is apt to put the blame for the decadence of dramatic art upon the actor. Both at intervals unite in laying upon the shoulders of the manager the entire responsibility for the unhappy condition of affairs. Let us take an unimpassioned look at this really serious matter.

Some years ago there existed in different prominent cities of the United States companies of players known as "stock" actors. This term is now generally tortured, in theatrical advertisements, from its proper meaning. Persons were known as "stock actors" because they were experienced in playing certain parts, and thus, being possessed of a "stock" of such parts, they were engaged as members of the "stock company" in order that any of the standard plays might be presented upon the shortest notice with the least expenditure of trouble. The individual members of a playing company in that time had an opportunity to acquire a knowledge of each other, and of each other's habits of thought and action, which to the actor is of as much importance as the lines and business of his part. They had also the opportunity of becoming acquainted with their public, and their public was afforded a like opportunity of becoming acquainted with them,—elementary considerations of the greatest importance in the performance of a dramatic production. Given a good company, the public to which they appealed for patronage was sure of a good performance. Whether a company was able to present a new play or not was not a matter of concern in those good old days. If there were a new play to be done, so much the better; if not, the old stock company had not lost the power of pleasing. Those were days of slow coaches, of small communities, and long waiting for news and

gossip of the outside world. When the steamship, the electric wire, and the daily newspaper began to draw the ends of the earth more closely together, facility of travel had its effect upon the stock company of actors as well as upon other communities. Actors began to travel from place to place, at first in small circuits, from a natural and commendable desire to increase their usefulness as well as their financial receipts. The theatre-going public encouraged this action from a similarly natural desire to see new faces and witness different renditions of its favorite dramas; and as improvement went on in means of transportation and the dissemination of intelligence, so the fame of particular players became more widespread and afforded an opportunity for the increase of that class of players known as "stars." When the only means of travel from city to city was the public or private coach, actors, from purely economical reasons, hesitated to place themselves before the world in the attitude of stars, no matter how great might be their reputations. But when it became possible to extend a local reputation to half-a-dozen of the principal cities of the country, the actor was not to blame for taking advantage of his opportunity. But the result, so far as the existence of the stock company was concerned, was that no sooner had a particular actor gained a considerable reputation than he began to look for means to place himself in the rank of stars, and by these defections the managers of stock companies found themselves every year more and more impeded in their purpose of keeping up a high standard of artistic work.

It was at this time, and in consequence of this state of affairs, that the speculating manager came into existence. The standard theatres of our country had been under the direction of men identified with dramatic art either as actors or as persons who had engaged in the occupation of manager out of a laudable and exemplary disposition to encourage and uphold the drama as an art. Many of them found their way into the government of a theatre from other artistic occupations, and as a class they were conservative. However, when our actors began to seek opportunities to shine before the world in individual capacities, they naturally sought the assistance of active-minded and energetic individuals who would devote themselves to the task of preparing the way, and of making smooth the financial or business difficulties which might attend progress in the new orbit. The gentlemen of this class, first employed as salaried servants, ultimately became partners individually entitled to a greater or less percentage of the earnings of their star, and the humble designation of



"agent" was exchanged for the title of "manager." In the early periods of the change it was only the star and his agent who travelled from city to city, and in each place they found resident companies qualified to give support in all well-known plays; but in the course of time some of the principal stars became dissatisfied with the support which they received, and ventured upon the experiment of engaging and carrying with them other actors upon whom they could rely for the performance of the important characters in their plays. The only places left for the stock company to fill were the minor and unimportant ones. This example was followed by other and less influential stars, and so another element of dissatisfaction grew up among the actors who were left to support the dignity of the stock companies. Wider and wider grew the general desire to obtain admission to the now considerably extended group of stars. The old conservative managers found themselves deserted, year after year, by their actors, and the difficulty of replacing them with thoroughly reliable people was demonstrated by many unfortunate experiments and the growing dissatisfaction of hitherto faithful patrons.

One day a daring innovator concluded to try the experiment of organizing and taking about the country an entire company of players to present a particular play. The public, which had now become weary of the depreciated performances of the stock companies, eagerly welcomed this new and, to it, delightful departure. The "combination system," as this new method of organization came to be called, was a great success and met with instantaneous and substantial encouragement. Theatres which had been hitherto occupied by stock companies were opened to the combinations. The resident company, if there were one, was sent away for the time being, in order to make room for the newer organization. The manager of the theatre recognized that his best advantage from a business point of view lay in dispensing entirely with a stock organization as soon as he found that he could place combinations successively upon his stage and keep his theatre occupied for the regular season. One after another all the theatres thus became combination houses. The old order remained in vogue only in three or four instances in metropolitan cities.

Next came the most distinctively dangerous novelty which afflicted the life of the drama. The stock of plays known as the "standard drama" did not afford sufficient material for the growing influence of the combination. It was well enough for actors who had made a reputation in particular parts or in particular plays, but

the new aspirant found it easier to rise to fame and fortune in the wake of a new play. So for a number of years it has been the fashion for every aspiring actor to seek some novel dramatic idea upon whose reputation he might easily ascend to the stellar spaces. "The play's the thing!"—became the rallying cry of the dramatic enthusiasts. All kinds of plays were produced with varying degrees of success. The French, German, Italian, and Spanish fields lay invitingly open for translation and adaptation, and were industriously harvested. The hosts of playwrights, numerous at all times, were inordinately increased by the innovation. Time was when it seemed important that a writer, in order to qualify himself for dramatic invention, should have some practical knowledge of stage work. It might once have been supposed that actors such as Shakespeare, Molière, Garrick, Cibber, Macklin, and Sheridan Knowles were more likely than other men to produce the best inventions for play-making, but such notions could be regarded only as the prejudices of non-progressive minds. It seemed for some time as if the world were full of plays. Everybody was making one or more. It once afforded me much edification to note the pleasure with which a very worthy and esteemed friend, who occupied the position of dramatic critic on an influential daily paper, informed me that one of his plays had been accepted and paid for by a prominent manager whose company was then playing in the city. My good friend would have most indignantly resented any imputation that his view of the acting of the company about which he wrote a column every day could be affected by so vile a means as the offer of indirect bribery,—but the play which he sold to the manager was never produced.

As the number of attempts at dramatic work increased, it became more difficult to determine the good from the bad. The manager and the actor ultimately shifted the responsibility for this judgment to the public, which has now for a long period patiently borne the odium for much nonsense that goes by the name of "play." Startling and fascinating announcements, fashioned with the utmost art of the lithographer and printer, are relied upon to strengthen or supplant any lukewarm or indifferent verdict given by the public jury. And so the hurly-burly has gone on until sensible people have grown very weary of the impertinent and constantly repeated efforts to make them responsible upholders of the "show business." A vast and disproportionate army of theatrical managers—men whose darling desire it is to see their names in two-by-four letters, and their faces in five



colors, on the advertising boards—has sprung up by the opportunity thus afforded for the exercise of the art of getting something for nothing. By imperceptible degrees the position of the actor has been entirely changed. Once he was a person who possessed a certain power and was entitled to a certain consideration. He knew how to act and what was necessary toward the making of a good play. His opinion was deferred to and his judgment sought. The commercial prosperity of the old-time "agent" has, however, made that member arrogant in these regards, and he now no longer defers to the experience of the man who plays. The latter must conform his conduct to the direction of the box-office man, and much and great is the dissatisfaction resulting from this reversal of functions. Not the least important of the dissatisfied parties is the public. It sees, without knowing why, that there is something wrong with both actor and play, and it naturally blames the actor. He is the one responsible to it. No agent can represent the actor in his work. If the actor is blameworthy for helping to break down the rational organization of the theatre, the manager is equally so for thrusting himself into the actor's place and presuming to dictate how and what plays shall be performed. Does it not always happen that the pleasing power of any given play or set of plays is referred solely to the actors, and do they not eventually become the actual controllers of the theatre, no matter how assiduously the agent of their work tries to keep his name in print as the head of "my theatre" or of "my company"?

But has the public borne no share in the disintegration of safe and healthy tissue in the body of dramatic taste? Were it not for the encouragement to that end, found in the disposition of men to desert old friends for the excitement of seeing strange faces and hearing unfamiliar voices, the social preëminence of tried and reliable stock companies could never have been affected by disturbing notions of change. The faces were not always pleasant to look upon, and the voices sometimes caused a longing for more familiar methods of speech; but the reflection that we had seen and heard the actors of strange countries imbued us with new pride and a feverish desire to have more, but better, of the same kind. Meantime the world, acted upon by the new magic of mechanical ingenuity, keeps growing smaller, and we realize that strange countries and strange players are not better than our own. So we sigh for the good things of the past from which we turned in fancied satiety. Yes, theatre-goers must bear a share of the blame, as gracefully as may be, for it has

rested and still rests with them to keep safe the excellence of our dramatic art. Else why have they the privilege of freely expressing approval or dislike, and are safeguarded from disturbance in the salutary expression of the hiss? No actor, director, or policeman dares assert his judgment against the sovereign power of a well-timed hissing. The good-breeding of Americans seldom permits them to resort to this effectual method of correcting the evils of the theatre; they prefer to stay away from the occasion of offence. A vigorous and healthy public opinion, which sturdily insists upon its prerogative, and in the theatre utters its word of law, is greatly to be commended. The gentle spirit of toleration (or is it the despicable feeling which is described by that perversion of truth, "everybody's business is nobody's business") has made room and license for the unscrupulous and depraved to flaunt their brazen immoralities in the very places made sacred by the memory of Edwin Booth and his compeers.

Even that honorable and potent organ of the public mind, the press, is in this regard not blameless. An occasional editorial appears, in which the lamentable condition of the public theatre is deplored, but the columns set apart for notices of the drama continue to be stuffed out with the sawdust of box-office literature. So long as the managerial promoter of inane or erotic suggestions is permitted to furnish for publication in daily and influential journals his own estimate of the monstrosities of impudence and vice with which he degrades the stage, reform in the theatre can have little encouragement. Let some able and clear-minded editor set a good and sorely needed example by requiring that copy furnished by that gad-fly of journalism, the theatrical manager's press agent, shall be marked in his columns like other advertisements. Then his strong editorials upon the decay of dramatic taste will have excellent emphasis.

The United States is a broad and busy country, and it is well supplied with excellent journals. As is natural and unavoidable, these generally take their tone in treating dramatic affairs from those of the metropolis. What is said and done in New York about plays and actors is published all over the Union as quickly as the wire and the press can spread the news. Consequently the theatrical business of the entire country is managed from New York. That is why actors, managers, and the minor personages of stage life flock to New York. That is why for many years past it has been possible for the wily speculator in rotten dramatic lumber to set up a flimsy stage struc-



ture, held together only by the adhesive qualities of paint and printer's ink, and—by keeping a New York theatre open and empty for its exhibition for a stated term of weeks at the expense of three or four thousand dollars a week, and by a continual pestering of the good-natured journalist—to obtain a sufficient amount of notice of his “great New York success!” to enable him to travel through the country with his “show,” and gather a rich harvest from those who are eager to see what sort of plays please the people of the great city. Of course the “show” soon falls to pieces from the weight of its own worthlessness, and the seeds of general contempt for New York's good taste in theatrical matters are sown broadcast. But no matter. The enterprising speculator, now well in funds, returns to New York and is soon upon the full tide of another like venture. Year after year this sort of thing goes on. But the people of the East, South, and West are becoming wise and weary. The “business” is not so good now as it once was in those often-deluded sections. One of the roots of our theatrical troubles upon which the axe should fall quickly and sharply is this abuse of the press courtesy,—first extended in good nature toward the struggling artist, but now demanded as a right by the brass-bound “show-boomer.”

It would weary a very patient reader were I to enumerate one-half of the most flagrant evils which have fallen upon the path of the actor as a logical consequence of the failure of the old resident and regular companies. I may be pardoned for briefly noting one which bears a direct relation to the pauperizing effect of the present perversion of the drama. So successfully was the duping of the “jay” public outside New York carried on, that it began to be believed that the same result could be effected without the employment of experienced actors. So eagerly did the general public crowd to see the new play, that the conclusion forced itself upon the active-minded money-maker who controlled its performance that it was no longer necessary to keep an expensive company of players. There was a time when good players could not be procured except at a considerable expense. Now the places once filled with men and women who had spent the best years of their lives in the study and practice of their calling are often given to tyros who know no more of acting than can be gathered from the ill-tempered directions of a so-called stage-manager, who for a few weeks directs confused and incomprehensible rehearsals of the so-called “play.” The importation of these inexperienced people into the dramatic calling, for which

privilege the deluded wretches are often induced to pay extravagantly instead of standing in receipt of salary, gives us more poor actors,—for they delight to call themselves such, although, after a year or two of unprofitable association with some never-again-to-be-heard-of combination, they find themselves replaced by new-fledged learners.

The actor is the one most to be commiserated in the disgraceful result which has attended his abandonment of the true dignity of his calling. If he be a star, and has made money, he enjoys neither his notoriety nor his fame, for he has become a “part.” Having made a reputation and a fortune through the performance of a certain character, his future career is tied to the mask of that character. He is remembered for it, reminded of it, compared to it, no matter where he goes, what he does, or how often he tries to destroy the memory of it by trying to assume a new and different part. As a stock actor he was praised for his ability effectively to assume a number of different and dissimilar parts. Why can he not be so now? Ah! that was when he came before a contented company of good friends, who were gratified to see him every night for months. He had a home. He enjoyed domestic happiness. He was even an active and interested citizen. It is not so now. He must go before a new public every week. At most he can stay only a few weeks at a time, and then only when he has a new play. He lives in hotels and railroad trains; he is separated from his family; he is disfranchised and outlawed.

If the actor be a mere wandering asteroid, an inconsiderable speck from the broken planet of a once regularly moving theatre, and working for a salary, woe worth him! Added to the inevitable discomforts of constant travel, he is ever haunted by the fear that he may not get an engagement for next season. A few years ago he might have enjoyed content when this desired result was effected, but now he is still further steeped in the hell of uncertainty by the fact that all except the indispensable first lady and gentleman of a company are obliged to agree that their contracts may be cancelled by either party thereto upon the serving in writing of a two weeks' notice. If an actor is perchance engaged, upon some sudden emergency, without this formality, as by telegram or hurried verbal agreement, let him not be sure of his position. He may be summarily replaced two thousand miles from home, and left among strangers with the jeering remark that he may seek his remedy at law. I have been treated to that experience in the course of my practical study of the drama. It is not pleasant, and it is very expensive.



Those who have taken from the actor the right to control the destinies of the theatre will find the task too great for their little wits. Their point of view is too small. They see and hear the public only through the archway of their box-office window, while the actor steps out face to face and voice to voice with his public, beneath the broad sweep of the proscenium. Managers boast of their great astuteness. To what a condition have they brought the American stage! They have striven for and worn the honors of leadership, yet they cannot shelter themselves from the odium of the result by throwing the whole burden of blame upon a long-suffering and patient public with the hackneyed absurdity—"We gave the public what it wanted." Their case is being considered in the jury-room of good citizens, and there will be no appeal from the verdict when once it is rendered. It is the privilege of the American people to have a clean stage, and some day they will sweep the rubbish from it. The wonder then will be, as it is now with regard to certain other reformed abuses: "How could this shame have been allowed to live so long?" The seeds of corruption grow very fast. Every succeeding theatrical season develops a new weakness in the decaying edifice which shelters the usurping pretenders of the drama. At any moment it may come down "by the run."

The reestablishment of the stock company will be the natural and only remedy for these evils. The employment of skilled actors qualified to make plays, and their fixed establishment under the direction of an actor-manager, is the only means by which a good theatre can be assured. Such a company, fully qualified to play any of the standard plays before the most exacting audience, could be organized for every city in the Union from the unemployed but experienced and able actors who are vainly seeking work to-day. With them the new play would be perfectly safe. In spite of the oft-repeated taunt that "the actor is the worst judge of a play," my observation has been that wherever the judgment of a cool-headed actor (and from such I must set apart the one who nurses a starrng-bee in his bonnet) is invoked, he seldom fails to justify absolute confidence in his ability to determine what should be, from what should not be, in a play.

Once let us get to the understanding that all actors cannot be stars, and the way toward the restoration of the drama will begin to clear. I think I can see promise of this result in the future. There is no great glory in being a star of the limited magnitude to which

the one-play actor soon shrinks. The effort to reach that doubtful honor grows more futile every year. By the time an opportunity is made for the setting up of a safe and reliable stock company, good actors will be satisfied to remain in association with a just manager of their own order, and work earnestly for the production of good plays. The public will turn with delight to the refreshing influence of the honest, world-old, heart-touching play, wherein virtue is applauded and vice condemned in good set terms. The manager will, I am sure, be glad to get back to his natural position of actor's assistant, and to be rid of the rashly assumed and ill-carried responsibility which has so disturbed his rest and health and whitened his few remaining hairs.

All sorts of suggestions have been made for the amelioration of the drama in this country. One unconsciously turns to the system of France and Germany, and dreams of a subsidized guild. Nothing of the sort could ever be set up in the United States. A system of social subvention—the formation of a fund by subscription—has frequently been tried in England. In fact, since the decay of the vogue whereby actors prospered as members of the royal or noble households of the realm, such assurances have been generally relied upon. But while that may be done in a small island where the metropolis of London is practically the country, it becomes impossible in a great country like the United States, unless the organization be of sufficient importance and power to provide for the entire country. Such an organization is not unlikely. When one thinks of the great fortunes that have been made out of the calling of the actor in this country, and of the wide field for effort in the right direction from which sure and immediate profit would result, it seems strange that no business movement has yet found out the possibilities of the actor as an investment.

JOHN MALONE.



## HIGHER PAY AND A BETTER TRAINING FOR TEACHERS.

It is conceded in America, but in a very general way, that one of the first duties of parents and citizens is to provide for the proper education of the growing children. I say that this concession is made only in a very general way, because neither as parents nor as citizens do the men and women of America display any really great concern as to the education of their children. In sentimental fashion they will glow over the benefits of education, and the Fourth of July orator can always be sure of applause when he declares that that land will always be free from whose every hilltop may be seen a school-house and a church,—twin sentinels of intelligence and piety. But this interest is only superficial except in a few favored localities where education has been esteemed at its true worth. In such neighborhoods the schoolmaster was a personage of consideration, who ranked with the clergyman in the social scale and was not far below the judge and the Congressman. But such localities are few and far between, and the rule now is that even in college towns the professors are not looked up to as anything in the least remarkable. And as for ordinary school-teachers—they are looked down upon by nearly all classes, old and young, and generally thought to be unfortunates who have adopted teaching because there was no other way of livelihood open to them. It is wrong, to be sure, that school-teachers should be held in such social and industrial disesteem; but at present it is not entirely unfair to the great body of teachers of primary and grammar schools in the United States, for, generally speaking, neither their attainments nor their ideals entitle them to a much higher regard. Without training or preparation, without taste, and without love for what should be the highest and most sacred calling for men and for women, they have adopted the profession of teaching and have degraded it to a trade upon which both tradesmen and artisans look down.

But we should not visit our condemnation on the poor teachers alone. They have become what they are in obedience to the immu-

table natural law of supply and demand. There was a demand for teachers and there was no supply of properly trained teachers, so the incompetents secured the places. The fault for this lay with the citizens, the taxpayers and their representatives, who have failed to see that no one except a specially trained man or woman should ever be put in charge of a class-room. These citizens, these school commissioners, these school trustees, have not seen that there was a necessity for a higher type of teachers; and so long as petty politicians are permitted to monopolize these offices there is little likelihood that these officials will see anything more than their own inflated importance and the opportunities to "put up jobs," with the aid of the publishers of school-books, so as to defraud the public treasury.

Speaking to a school trustee a few years ago I advanced the opinion that the public schools in the United States were in a very unsatisfactory condition, mainly because the teachers were incompetent, or, if competent, because there were not enough of them employed. He expressed great astonishment and some indignation. He had never met, he said, finer men and women than the school-teachers in his ward. They were educated ladies and gentlemen. From his standpoint all this was so. But teachers should not be looked at from his standpoint. He was an entirely uneducated man, who had made a little fortune by keeping a livery-stable. His own success made him feel in his heart that learning was somewhat debilitating in its effect on manliness, and he was proud to tell that he had passed only a few months at school. Now this man in his own ward, in which there was a great school with primary and grammar departments, selected the teachers, passed upon their fitness, and naturally enough looked upon them as most excellent instructors of the young, for there was not one among them who was not vastly superior to him in learning and accomplishments. He explained to me how admirably his system of selecting teachers worked. "There was old Brown," he said, "who kept the saloon two corners below. The old man had a heap of trouble, and when he died two years and a half ago with the rheumatiz, his place was sold out by the sheriff. But his daughter Susie was a mighty likely girl, and had been eddicated right thar in my school. So I ups and has her 'pointed first-class assistant. Old Brown had stuck by me in all the elections, and I bet you I warn't goin' to let his family suffer, long as I had a place I could give one on 'em. So I ups and gets this place for Susie, and she done fust rate. I give her the promotion, end of this session, and next



year she goes in as principal. Now that's what I call good politics and good reform. Keep the best places for your own friends, and save the promotions for your neighbors in your own ward."

I was so much touched by this moving tale that I asked to be introduced to this brilliant teacher. The trustee was only too happy. We went at once to the school. Miss Susie was a young woman of twenty-five or so, with bleached yellow hair and rouged cheeks, and the airs of a fine lady in a stage melodrama. Her accent was atrocious, her voice shrill and sharp. Her manner was devoid of simplicity, but evidently impressed the school trustee as of high quality. To his compliments on her appearance and her management of her class she smiled graciously, but made no pretence of disclaiming every merit in sight. While the teacher's attention was thus taken away from her class there was a little disturbance in one corner of the room. Miss Susie whacked her desk with a ruler and called sharply: "Here, Mattie Simmons, what do you mean by such deportment?"

"I didn't do nothing, ma'am," replied the girl addressed.

"Didn't do nothing!" called Miss Susie. "Where do you expect to go to? I seen you when you done it. We will discuss your deportment when these gentlemen go."

The gentlemen went very shortly afterward, and I never learned how Mattie Simmons came out of the difficulty. But the school trustee was delighted. "She don't stand no nonsense, do she?" he asked.

It is quite likely that in the city alluded to, a prosperous place of the third rank in point of wealth and population, there were not many schools managed so badly as this one under the special charge of the livery-stable keeper; but the rest could not have been a very great deal better, for the reason that the other members of the school board were almost as ignorant as this man. I attended one of the meetings of the board. The men appeared to be very nearly of the same class as New York aldermen, except that they were not so smart in appearance, diamond shirt-pins and silk hats not being so essential to the dress of the politicians of the smaller places as they are to the people's representatives in the great cities. When a member spoke, he usually used the language of the streets and showed no regard for the rules of grammar. Each man spoke of the patronage to which he was entitled with entire frankness, and it was quite evident that the schools in this city were conducted by the board merely to supply places in which men and women chosen by the trustees could draw salaries.

It may be said that it is not fair to generalize from one or two incidents. It is not; but Dr. Rice's investigations, the results of which were printed several years ago in *THE FORUM*, show that in many of the cities, including the great city of New York, there were teachers just as ignorant as Miss Susie Brown.

The great cause which hinders public education in this country is the fact that the people, the citizens, the voters, have no genuine love for education and no real appreciation of what learning is. If their interest and their appreciation amounted to anything, they would see to it that the school trustees and school commissioners were themselves persons of education and cultivation. And any school that is conducted by teachers who are uneducated and untrained in the art of teaching is likely to do as much harm as good. By laws we protect litigants from falling into the hands of pettifoggers who have not been admitted and licensed to practise at the bar after a regular course of instruction. So, too, we protect sick people from the ignorance of physicians not regularly graduated from a school of medicine. But our teachers, though after a perfunctory examination they acquire a certificate to teach, in six cases out of ten are young women with no heart in their work, and who intend to follow the trade only until they are invited to marry; in two other cases they are young men who wish to support themselves while studying what they consider a real profession; in another the teacher is an incompetent; while in the remaining case of the stated ten the teacher is likely to be a serious person seriously pursuing a life-work because he or she is interested in the work and conscious of its high nobility. Here we have four classes of teachers where there should be only one. And until there is only one the public schools in the United States will continue to be what they are to-day,—a reproach to our boasted civilization, a refutation of our much-vaunted pride in free education.

It were idle to speak of these things unless at the same time a remedy were suggested. Already it has been affirmed with unhesitating positiveness that nothing can be done for the betterment of our public schools until educated men are put in control of the school boards. Without such a reform and unless teaching is made an honorable profession, in which distinction might be gained, and an easy competence be acquired, we can never expect that it will attract the same class of persons as those now drawn to the law, to medicine, to engineering, to the pulpit, and to business. In these pursuits great rewards are to be gained, great prizes won,—wealth,



fame, and social position. But by teaching, under present conditions, poverty is the portion of even the most successful. And as for the other things that men think are worth striving for, they are out of reach from the beginning.

Let us look at what can be earned by teachers in some of the cities, and compare these sums with what men in other professions and occupations are paid, for then we shall be able to see that an ambitious man or woman would be repelled by the prospect that opens before a teacher, and be attracted by the outlook in other pursuits. In New York the largest salary of a principal of a "male or mixed grammar school" is \$3,000; while to principals of "female grammar schools" the highest salary is \$1,700. The highest sum paid to a principal of a primary school (average attendance of 1,001 pupils and upward) is \$1,700. The teachers of grammar schools are paid from \$573 to \$1,116 a year; the teachers of primary schools from \$504 to \$900. Thus, in a city where living is dearer than in any other place in the world, the compensation ranges from \$504 to \$3,000. It makes no difference how able, how cultivated, how astute, how skilful a politician a teacher may be, he has reached the limit when he has come to \$3,000. Now suppose such a man had gone into the law, or into medicine, or into the pulpit, or into business. The same kind of success which brings the teacher \$3,000 would bring the lawyer anywhere from \$10,000 to \$100,000 a year, and it would also bring him and his family social consideration. A similar reward would come to the successful physician. No pulpit in New York is considered to be worth having unless the salary is \$5,000 including a parsonage, while some clergymen make great fortunes from salaries and gifts. The business man is not considered to have begun to succeed until his income is more than \$10,000. But the teacher in New York has earned all he can ever earn when the \$3,000 mark has been reached, and even this may be cut down if for any year there are fewer than a certain number of pupils in his school.

The salaries paid in New York are a very fair average of the salaries received by teachers in other Eastern cities. The amounts are slightly higher in New York but in other places the cost of living is so much less that the salaries are actually better than in the metropolis. But it may be depended on that a \$3,000 man in New York is a cheap man even though he has reached the top of his profession. The average of compensation for teachers is below \$1,000 a year, so that in compensation a New York school-teacher is not put on a par

with a good bookkeeper, a stenographer with a knowledge of spelling and grammar, or with a skilful cook. This, to be sure, is compensation enough for the young ladies who would work a little till they have a chance to wed; it is quite enough for the young men who are learning other professions and "teaching" *ad interim*; it is more than enough for the unfortunates and incompetents for whom no other means of livelihood are open; but it is not enough for accomplished and refined men and women who devote themselves to one of the noblest of all callings, and there should be none others as teachers in the public schools. The men and women who adopt this calling should be made to feel that a great career is open to them, and that in success they will achieve the same measure of fame that comes to the successful in other walks of life. When this has been done it is possible that ambitious young men and women will matriculate in schools of pedagogy as they do at present in schools of law, of medicine, and of theology. There would be plenty of room in the profession of teaching, and plenty of opportunity to rise, for in 1890 there were 341,811 teachers in the public schools of the United States,—96,581 men and 245,230 women.

The following facts as to salaries paid to teachers in various parts of the country for the year 1889–90 (the last year for which a full report is available) will give an idea of what teachers in the cities receive for their work. In Worcester, Mass., the highest salary paid to a male principal in an elementary school was \$2,000. The highest salary paid to a woman principal was \$1,400. In that city the lowest salary paid to an assistant was \$450, while 124 assistants received \$500. In Detroit, Mich., the highest salary to a principal was \$2,000, the lowest to an assistant was \$350. Provision is however made in Detroit for an assistant to receive greater pay as the teacher acquires more experience, so that after nine years of service the assistant may receive \$725. In Minneapolis, Minn., a principal of an elementary school with a grammar grade may, after six years of service (presumably in that position), receive \$1,300, the salary for the first year having been \$900,—this for a twelve-room building. In Omaha, Neb., a principal after five years' experience may receive \$1,400; other teachers in Omaha receive for the first year \$400, there being an annual increase of \$50 a year till a maximum of \$700 be reached. In Jersey City, N. J., a man when principal of a grammar school receives \$1,950, a woman \$1,020. The assistants begin at \$360 and their salaries are increased to a maximum of



\$624. In Syracuse, N. Y., salaries in elementary schools range from \$1,600 for a principal (man) to \$300 for an assistant (woman). In Portland, Ore., the principal of a grammar school with five years of service receives \$1,800; a novice in the grammar schools there receives \$600 for the first year and may rise in five years so as, while still an assistant, to receive \$750. In Springfield, Ohio, a principal in an elementary school may receive \$1,100; the lowest salary paid in that city is \$150 for a female assistant in the elementary school; the average for female assistants there, however, appears to be about \$400 a year. In Providence, R. I., the principal of a grammar school may receive \$1,900, while the lowest paid to an assistant in a grammar school is \$575. In Richmond, Va., a principal of a grammar school receives \$1,350; a teacher of the third grammar grade receives \$450, while a teacher of the lowest primary grade receives \$405. In Dallas, Texas, a principal of an elementary school receives \$1,125; an assistant (female) receives \$540. The teacher of mathematics in the High School at Charleston, S. C., receives \$675; the professor of *belles lettres* is paid \$525, while the teacher of elocution gets \$400. In Memphis, Tenn., a principal of an elementary school receives for his first year of service \$720. After the fourth year his salary is \$1,000. Assistants begin on \$360, and after the fourth year receive \$540. And so on throughout the country.

In the country, whether in the East or West, North or South, the compensation to school-teachers is so small that it seems wonderful that those who receive these salaries can live on them. These salaries range from \$100 a year to \$900 a year. The average for a school year of about seven months is \$318.36 for men and \$262.92 for women. The duties of a country school-teacher usually include cleaning the school-house and building the fires. These duties are not always considered to be hardships by the persons who take such posts, as the women in all save exceptional cases have been accustomed to such work at home, and the men find it easy enough to get pupils to do the work in exchange for favors in school. In the country schools of the United States there are three times as many women as men, the percentage being a little greater than in the cities. Most country schools have only one teacher, and that teacher is required to instruct children of all ages and in all branches up to grammar and algebra. The amount of either grammar or algebra dispensed in these schools is quite inconsiderable, as these are branches of knowledge not in demand. For what these country

teachers do, as the schools are at present established, it is likely that they are quite adequately paid. A village schoolmaster will earn as much as the cobbler; the schoolmistress will make as much in the year as the dressmaker. They do not belong, as a general thing, to a class better educated than the cobbler or dressmaker, and they do not work any harder. Those of them who have thought about their calling, and who have ever been moved to feel that great responsibilities devolved upon them, have realized that the conditions were such that they could do next to nothing, and usually they have given over any efforts to secure a change in school administration. For instance, here is a case that came directly under my observation. In a village school there were two rooms, one on the ground floor and one upstairs. The upstairs room had never been finished and plastered, though the school-house was of brick and had been built seventy-five years. The schoolmaster was a man of fifty, who had lost a leg at Gettysburg and received a pension from the Government. He had been a teacher in a small city for twenty years and came to the village in search of health. He was a manly fellow and cultivated quite beyond the average of country schoolmasters. He was asked to take the village school at \$600. He accepted without knowing what he was doing. When the school assembled in September he found that he had eighty-nine pupils, ranging from nineteen years of age to toddlers of six. He was expected to teach this congregation of ingenuous youth all that each needed to know, the branches ranging from the alphabet to surveying and grammar. After two weeks, in which he did nothing more than look over the field, he got the school committee together and requested that he have another teacher, and that the upstairs room be finished so that two classes could be heard at once. The school committee asked for his immediate resignation, because they were persuaded that his request showed laziness and incompetence. In the same township there is a teacher of twenty-five years' experience. He is generally considered a good teacher, and as a citizen commands the respect of his neighbors. For the last school year he taught for nine and a half months at \$50 a month. There appeared to be some hesitation on the part of the school committee about re-engaging him, so he offered to take the school for the next session at \$40 a month and to furnish also the necessary fuel. The committee, while acknowledging that he had had for years the best school in the township, declined his proposition because he was a Republican in politics.



The average pupil of the average country school does not even learn to write with ease or plainness. In arithmetic such pupils acquire enough to solve the simple sums in addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division which they meet with in practical life. This inefficiency of the country school has resulted in what might quite properly be called "the American peasantry" being as illiterate and unlearned as any class of people in any civilized state in the world. They can read and they can write. But they do not understand what they read, and, never having been taught how to think, they are the easy victims of every bustling demagogue who promises to give them something for nothing. The American farmer of two generations ago was a better educated man than is the American farmer of to-day. No one would ever have thought of calling him a peasant; he did not suggest such a thing in his manner of life, poor though it was; nor yet in his manner of thinking, though that may have been narrow. Let any candid observer go into a neighborhood where the land has been tilled by the same family for generations, and let him find a farm where there are still three generations upon it. He is almost sure to find that those of the oldest generation can speak, write, and think with more accuracy than the second generation, and that the second generation will show more evidences of education than the third. This shows degeneration, and this degeneration can be directly traced to the decadence of the country public schools, which now are really beneath discussion, were there not a hope that by telling of their badness some interest might be excited, and that through this interest they might be improved. We do not want an ignorant peasantry in this country—we have no use for peasants. But we are getting such a class, both by importation and by breeding. The city schools are bad enough in all conscience; the principle which controls their government is both false and corrupt; but they are fountains of light compared with the country schools that prevail in the United States to-day. In a country school, as at present governed, the more a teacher knows, the less is his or her ability to accomplish anything; so those who are wise and politic do as little as possible, hoping thereby to escape the hostile judgment of ignorant school committeemen. In a country district the clergymen, the physicians, and the lawyers should be asked to serve on the school committee, for men of these professions presumably have some education. But the noisy and disputatious village busybodies are usually those chosen. There is no use in refusing to look facts squarely in the face; and the fact

that country people—agricultural people—are growing more ignorant generation by generation is so patent that instances need not be recited to prove it. The mere spending of more money on country schools will not effect any reform. The States, for a while at least, must take the schools in rural districts under control.

The school-teachers in other lands than this occupy positions in marked contrast to those held by their colleagues in the United States. They do not receive marvellously liberal salaries, but where living is cheaper than it is here the same amount of money goes much farther than with us. Their social position, however, in England, France, and Germany is infinitely superior to that of American teachers. Mr. Gladstone in England did not hesitate to marry his daughter to the master of a school. Why should he? The master of a public school in England is as good a gentleman, if he happen to be a gentleman, as the next man, let him be who he may. His occupation is nothing against him. Here it is. To be a teacher is presumptive evidence of lack of force, of deficiency of mental initiative. School-teachers should be considered the elect of the land, and they will be so considered when they are selected from that class which is the best in every community. The school-teacher should be a leader in the social life and an adviser in the political life of every neighborhood, because the position is the most important public local office held in any community. To him or to her we depute the payment of the largest share of our debt to our offspring and to posterity. The teachers, therefore, should be men and women of better training and more liberal cultivation, and in order to get such teachers we should, through educated school trustees and school commissioners, offer higher salaries and a more secure tenure of office. Then, when our children go to school to educated ladies and gentlemen, to men and women trained in the art and science of teaching, we will accord to those teachers the position they should always have held,—the position of honorable precedence over all the trades and an equality with the other learned professions.

JNO. GILMER SPEED.

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NOTE.—In 1886 the average salary of teachers in Prussia was \$267.56; in New York State, including the cities, \$409.27. In Prussia, however, the teacher received dwelling, fuel, and light free. Teachers in Prussia are pensioned by the state. In France, in 1889, male and female teachers, not holding certificates of capacity for professorship, received salaries respectively of \$400 and \$360. They also received lodgings, or an allowance for lodgings.



# The Forum

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NOVEMBER, 1895.

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## THE THIRD-TERM TRADITION.

THE framers of the Constitution of the United States never for a moment supposed that their work could remain unchanged for all time to come. That new conditions which they could not then foresee would arise, and would have to be met by remedies they could not possibly devise, was as well known to them as the fact that such conditions have arisen is known to us. They provided, therefore, that the Constitution may be amended in either of two ways. One of these ways has never yet been used. The other has been used so sparingly that although many hundreds of amendments have been offered in Congress, but nineteen have ever been sent to the States.

That so many have been offered and so few been chosen is because some were trivial, because some were intended to cure ills that were but temporary and soon passed away, and because there has gradually been formed an unwritten constitution which in great measure does away with the need of amendments.

This unwritten constitution is made up of decisions of the Supreme Court, which are regarded as final; of customs and usages which experience has shown to be good and useful; and of certain interpretations and constructions of the written Constitution by the people. In the Constitution, for instance, we read that the President "may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices." It is by no means obligatory on him to do so. The language is "he may,"—not "he must." Yet upon this slender authority has

been founded a council utterly unknown to the Constitution. The first President began the custom of never adopting any policy, never taking any important step, till he had gathered about him for consultation his Attorney-General and his Secretaries of State, Treasury, and War. Every succeeding President has followed his example till the Cabinet—a piece of political machinery the Constitution did not create, nor its framers contemplate—has come to be looked upon as a prime necessity in our system of federal government. On no part again, of the Constitution, did the Convention spend more pains than on the sections which define the manner of electing a President. Some members were for having him chosen by the governors of the States; some by Congress; some by lot; some wanted an Executive of three men,—one from the Eastern, one from the Middle, and one from the Southern States. All were agreed that the choice should not be left to the people,—to do which, as one member of the Convention expressed it, would be as foolish as to leave the selection of colors to a blind man. At length they adopted the method of choosing by electors, and, taking the system by which Maryland chose her State senators, modelled after it the Electoral Colleges of the States. Their plain intention was that the Presidential electors should do two things,—select a suitable man to be President, and then elect him to the office. The people were to have no direct part in the matter. But our Constitution was not very old when the need of unity of action among the electors of the same party became apparent, and Presidential candidates began to be nominated first by the Congressional Caucus, then by State legislatures, and at last by the National Nominating Convention. As every elector is expected to give his vote for the nominee of his party, the Electoral Colleges are practically stripped of all power in the election of a President, are reduced to mere boards for registering and formally transmitting the result of the popular vote, and a highly important provision of the written Constitution is reversed and nullified by a custom which forms a part of the unwritten constitution.

Much the same thing has taken place with regard to the President's term of office. Every phase of that question, from the expediency of a short term with re-election, to a long term without re-election, seems to have been carefully considered. At the outset the general opinion of the delegates was that Congress should elect the President; that his term of office should be three years; and that he should be re-eligible, as the doctrine of rotation would tend, it was said, to throw out of office the men best fitted to execute its duties. On the other



hand, many of the members were very earnest for a term of seven years and no re-election. The Executive, said they, is to be chosen by the legislature, and will be absolutely dependent on it, as its creature and the Executive of its will and of the laws it passes. A long term with no succession to office will prevent a false complaisance on the part of the legislature toward an unfit man, and the temptation on the part of a bad Executive to intrigue with the legislature for reappointment. One member begged hard for triennial election with ineligibility after nine years: but the States by a vote of five to four decided that the President's term should be seven years, and by a vote of seven to two made him ineligible to re-election. Later on in the debate the members changed their minds, struck out this prohibition, and, by a vote of six States to four declared him to be eligible to re-election. Ten days later, however, on the motion of Mason of Virginia, this decision was set aside, and the resolution passed that the "Executive be appointed for seven years, and be ineligible a second time."

This seemed to be final. But when the Committee of Detail made its report, there was another struggle to take the election from Congress. So earnest was the effort that the Convention could come to no conclusion, and in despair sent the matter, with a great many others, to a committee of one from each of the eleven States, which in time reported a plan for a choice by an Electoral College,—or, in case the College failed to elect, by the Senate,—and fixed the term at four years. In the debate which followed, a member of the committee told the Convention that the sole purpose of the plan offered by the Committee of Eleven was to get rid of the provision, in the report of the Committee of Detail, that a President could not be re-elected, and so make him independent of Congress. He was assured that the College would never elect; that the Senate would always make the choice; and that the President would be the creature of one branch of Congress. But the idea of re-election to many terms carried the day, and with some slight changes the recommendation of the Committee of Eleven was incorporated in the Constitution.

From all this it is quite clear that the intention of the framers was that a President might be elected over and over again as many times as the electors saw fit to choose him. This was no carelessly formed decision; but was the result of a long and bitter experience under the old Articles of Confederation they were about to overthrow. At the outbreak of the Revolution the belief was general that the liberties of the people and the rights of the States would not be safe under any

system of general government, if the members of the federal legislature held their offices for a long term, or were repeatedly elected to it. The Articles of Confederation therefore carefully provided that the members of the Continental Congress should be chosen annually ; that they might be recalled at any time by the States that sent them ; and that no delegate should hold his office for more than three years in any term of six. The result was disastrous. Congress was a small body. The duties thrust on each member were diverse and important. Yet the moment he began to be fairly familiar with his duties, the moment he began to be a really efficient servant of the people, his term expired, and he returned, in the language of the time, "to the body of the people," lest another term in Congress should "breed a lust of power." It was with the intention of preventing this loss of the services of valuable and experienced men that the fathers carefully abstained from placing any limit on the time of service of Senators and Representatives, and, after due consideration, reversed their action and removed a limit they had placed on the number of times a citizen could be elected President.

But again their purpose has been defeated and their judgment condemned by that great tribunal—the people—before which, in our country, all public issues must sooner or later be tried. Again the unwritten constitution has amended the written, and no task is now quite so hopeless as that of re-electing a President to a third term. For much of this, precedent is alone responsible. Had our first President been willing to accept a third term,—and the people would gladly have given it,—he would in all likelihood have been followed by a long line of Presidents each serving for twelve instead of eight years. But he was weary of office and gladly laid it down. His motive for this act is so often forgotten that it is well to quote from his "Farewell Address":

"The acceptance and continuance hitherto in office, to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference to what appeared to be your wishes. . . . I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the pursuit of duty or propriety."

No scruples about a third term troubled him in the least. He went back to private life solely because he was tired of the Presidency, and because the state of the country did not demand a further sacrifice of his comfort. Yet this act set an example which for many years was followed implicitly by his successors, though it was long before the people saw anything wrong in the suggestion of a third term. Mr.



Jefferson was the first to point this out. More than two years before his second term ended, the legislature of Vermont, on November 5, 1806, formally invited him to become a candidate for a third term, and the great Republican strongholds made haste to follow her. Georgia joined in the request in December; Maryland in January, 1807; Rhode Island in February; New York and Pennsylvania in March; and New Jersey in December. North Carolina joined later. So far Jefferson had made no reply, but the time had now come to speak out, for in a few weeks it would be the duty of the Congressional Caucus to nominate—or, as the phrase went, recommend—a candidate. On the 10th of December, 1807, therefore, he replied to the invitations of Vermont, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and gave his reasons for declining a third term. He said:

“That I should lay down my charge at a proper period is as much a duty as to have borne it faithfully. If some termination to the services of the Chief Magistrate be not fixed by the Constitution, or supplied by practice, his office, nominally for years, will in fact become for life; and history shows how easily that degenerates into an inheritance. Believing that a representative government responsible at short periods of election is that which produces the greatest sum of happiness to mankind, I feel it a duty to do no act which shall essentially impair that principle; and I should unwillingly be the first person who, disregarding the sound precedent set by an illustrious predecessor, should furnish the first example of prolongation beyond the second term of office.”

The enemies of Mr. Jefferson have asserted that his long silence was due to policy and not to indifference, that the thirteen months which elapsed between the November day, 1806, when the legislature of Vermont invited him to run again, and the 10th of December, 1807, when he answered with his famous letter, were spent in a careful nursing of what in the political language of our time would be called “his boom”; and that he did not say No, till he was quite sure that it would be folly to say Yes. The charge is unfair and unjust; yet the fact remains that he could not possibly have been elected. There were then seventeen States in the Union casting 176 electoral votes, making 89 necessary for a choice. On the 10th of December, 1807, these votes stood:

<i>For Jefferson and a Third Term</i>	<i>Federalist States</i>	<i>Republican States not declaring for Third Term, and support- ing Madison</i>
Vermont..... 6	New Hampshire.... 7	Virginia..... 24
Rhode Island..... 4	Massachusetts..... 19	South Carolina.... 10
New York..... 19	Connecticut..... 9	Ohio..... 3
Pennsylvania..... 20	Delaware..... 3	Kentucky..... 8
New Jersey..... 8	Maryland..... 2	Tennessee..... 5
Maryland..... 9		
Georgia..... 6	40	50
North Carolina.... 14		

It will be observed that in the list of third-term States the full electoral vote of each is given to Jefferson, except in the case of Maryland, which in 1804 and in 1808 cast two Federalist votes. These, therefore, have been taken from him in the table, leaving him 86, or just three short of a bare majority. As a matter of fact the third-term States, when the election took place, cast but 79 Republican votes, for Rhode Island was carried by the Federalists, who also secured three votes in North Carolina.

Mr. Jefferson's chances in the Caucus, which met on the 23d of January, 1808, were very poor. They were poorer still before the people, who, the land over, most heartily indorsed his anti-third-term principles. The democratic citizens of Adams County, Pennsylvania, in public meeting assembled at Gettysburg, approved "that manly and sublime effort which dictated your determination to retire from public life at the close of the next elective period of your authority." At a meeting of delegates from the wards of Philadelphia an address was drawn up in which the President was assured that—

—"in yielding homage to the motives which have induced your voluntary retirement from public life, while surrounded by the warmest affections of the people, we derive consolation from the consideration that your example may operate on all future Presidents to pursue a course which has added lustre to your character, already dear to liberty and to your country."

The Senate of Maryland in a long address told him:

"Whilst we daily appreciate the motives which induce you to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom the choice of our next President is to be made, and whilst we revere the patriotism which dictated those motives, permit us still to indulge the pleasing hope that when the next period of presidential election approximates [1812], should the united voice of your countrymen require it, those same motives and that same patriotism will induce you to sacrifice your private wishes and convenience to your country's good."

Even the legislature of the far-away Territory of Orleans was moved to address the President and to heartily commend his wise decision. Their address said:

"However we may regret, in common with our fellow citizens of the United States, this determination to decline being a candidate for the highest office in the gift of the people, the motives which induce it afford another proof of your patriotism, and must command the approbation of the country."

The Tammany Society of Philadelphia, while celebrating its anniversary in May, 1808, drank to the toast, "President Jefferson—Rota-



tion in office is the bulwark of freedom. His precedent deserves our homage and our gratitude, and traitors would alone refuse them." On the Fourth of July his conduct was very generally approved in some such toast as this: "Jefferson—May his successor imitate his virtues and follow his motto, rotation in office."

That his virtues had any influence on his successors is exceedingly doubtful; but his bold assertion that two terms were all that it was safe to give any President had a deep and lasting influence on the people, and did far more than the example of Washington to establish the unwritten law which for more than sixty years none of his successors was hardy enough to defy.

Of our later Presidents Jackson is the only one who could have defied it. He was the first "man of the people" to be raised to the office of Chief Magistrate. In his day democracy was indeed triumphant, and he was the ideal democrat. No one else has ever closed a second term more honored, more truly beloved by the people than on the day whereon he began his first term. He had but to say the word, and he would surely have been thrice President of the United States. But he, too, would not break through the unwritten law, and during six-and-thirty years the question of a third term was not heard of, for in all that long period no Presidents save Lincoln and Grant were given even a second term. But at length, in 1872, the question did come up in a very definite form. The second election of Grant, it will be remembered, took place in the autumn of that year, and was scarcely over when the "New York Herald" raised the cry of Caesarism, and loudly proclaimed that our republican institutions were threatened with ruin by the probable re-election of Grant in 1876. The possibility of such an event was four years away; yet so great was the dread of it that the third-term question became a real political issue. Other newspapers echoed the cry. Public men were called on to define their position. Political conventions declared against it in their platforms, and finally, as the presidential year drew near, Mr. Springer, of Illinois, moved this resolution in the House of Representatives:

"*Resolved*: That, in the opinion of this House, the precedent established by Washington, and other Presidents of the United States, in retiring from the presidential office after their second term, has become, by universal concurrence, a part of our republican system of government, and that any departure from this time-honored custom would be unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Journal of the House of Representatives," Dec. 15, 1875, pp. 66, 67.

How perfectly the resolution expressed the sentiments of the people is made manifest by the treatment it received at the hands of their representatives, who, without a moment's hesitation, suspended the rules and passed it, on the very day it was introduced, by a yea-and-nay vote of 234 to 18. Thirty-seven did not vote.

This ended for the time being all hope of renominating Grant, who retired at the close of his term and began his famous journey around the world. But it was only for the time being, and, as that journey drew to a close, the masters of the Republican party—Mr. Conkling, Mr. Cameron, and Mr. Logan—determined to renew the old effort to re-elect him. The time seemed opportune. One of those periods of despondency—of political blues—which occasionally afflict us, had set in. The contested election of 1876; the troubles in the South; the pacific policy of Hayes; the attempt to steal the State government in Maine; and, above all, the desperate condition of the Republican party,—had aroused serious doubts as to the permanency of “our free institutions.” Men were beginning to talk of a strong government, or at least of a government administered by a strong man,—such as Grant, who just at this time landed on the Pacific coast. The reception given him by his countrymen was such as has never been accorded to any other citizen, and, mistaking this outburst of gratitude for a sure sign that the people had again turned to Grant for political leadership, the effort of the machine to renominate him began in serious earnest. The struggle which followed is too recent to need description. We all remember how the dominating power of Conkling in New York, of Cameron in Pennsylvania, and of Logan in Illinois, extorted from the conventions of those States a demand for the nomination of Grant; how other States followed this lead; how the friends of the movement were denounced as “Restorationists” and “Imperialists”; how they persisted in their effort to the very last; how in the Chicago Convention they never cast less than 303 votes and once cast 313; and how by their persistence they forced that compromise which resulted in the nomination of Garfield. All these things are still fresh in our memories, and, being so, it is not a little strange that a serious effort should be on foot to give a third term to Mr. Cleveland.

The fears which tormented the founders of the Republic have long since vanished. We do not believe that our democratic institutions can ever be subverted by any occupant of the White House. We stand in no dread that the day will come when some successful general or some unscrupulous politician will first seize the Presidency and then



use its great power to set up a life-long dictatorship, or establish a kingdom, on the ruins of the Republic. Yet there is no reason to believe that the old-time antipathy to a third term is one whit less strong than it ever was. Any sane man will admit that the bank, or the railroad company, or the corporation of any sort that should dismiss a tried and able president merely because the stockholders had twice placed him in the executive chair, would deserve financial ruin. No tendency in the business world is more marked than the constant effort to find men pre-eminently fitted to carry on certain lines of business, and to place the management of such concerns entirely in their hands. But the common-sense rules which govern the selection of the president of a corporation do not apply in the election of a President of the United States. Our Presidents are not chosen because of their fitness, but because of their availability. Some are dark horses; some are nominated because they alone can reconcile contending factions; some because they can carry pivotal States. Others are forced on the voters by the machine. In theory this is all wrong. In practice no harm comes from it. Under our system of government we do not want, we do not need, a President of extraordinary ability. The average man is good enough, and for him two terms is ample. We want a strong government of the people by the people, not a government of the people by a strong man, and we ought not to tolerate anything which has even the semblance of heredity. The advocates of a third term for Mr. Cleveland will do well to remember the doctrine of the illustrious founder of their party, that "in no office can rotation be more expedient."

J. B. McMASTER.

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## THE GENERAL RAILROAD SITUATION.

So much has been written already upon the subject of railways in this country, that I do not propose to weary the readers of *THE FORUM* by a repetition of well-known facts. It may be assumed, I think, without fear of contradiction, that the railway situation is embraced in the following condensed outlines :

First. Railways in the United States have for several years been suffering from an intense competition, which has reduced their net profits to such an extent as to render many of them undesirable investments, while the revenues of the best of them have been seriously impaired.

Second. The causes of this decline in railway prosperity can be distinctly traced to the construction of superfluous lines, the result of which has been an increase of transportation capacity beyond the present wants of the community. Under such conditions the railways have been forced to scramble for traffic at unremunerative rates.

Third. In addition to the demoralization in rates of transportation which this sharp competition has produced, legislation in many of the Western States has been arbitrary and oppressive in assuming the power of fixing maximum charges without reference to the right of railway companies to a reasonable return upon the capital invested, and in adding yearly to the taxes upon railway property in defiance of those equitable principles upon which taxation should be founded.

Fourth. In the enforcement of the Interstate Commerce Law, which attempts to regulate railway traffic in opposition to the natural laws of trade, and refuses to them the privilege of meeting the difficulties of the situation by a simple and harmless method of distributing the whole traffic of groups of systems at common gateways, for the purpose of stopping rate-cutting and improper discrimination.

The original trouble traced to the useless multiplication of railway lines is obviously beyond remedy, except in so far as in process of time traffic may be developed in a growing country sufficiently to give full employment to the transportation agencies. This will be the ultimate relief ; but it is a slow process, and the railway disease is making rapid



progress and should be checked at once. The assumption that in time the growth in local resources and the constant expansion of interstate commerce will overtake the excessive transportation facilities is not a hazardous one. The railways of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, if not the entire railway system of New England, offer strong proof of this. In the three States named the railway lines show a construction of about one-quarter of a mile of road to the square mile of area, while construction in the Central-Western States will show about one-fifth of a mile of road to the square mile of area. Now, in Massachusetts the population is about two hundred and ninety-seven to the square mile, while in the Middle-Western States, such as Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, it is about eighty to the square mile.

In the New England States named, the railways make a fair return upon the capital invested, even in these times, while in the Western States it is just the reverse. This is accounted for by the density of population in the first, and the comparative sparsity in the last. In time the Western States will overtake those of New England, and then even the present railway facilities will be inadequate. Hence I conclude that under the universal commercial law of supply and demand the railways might eventually work out their own salvation, but meanwhile they are suffering. It may be urged, against this anticipation, that railway construction will grow also; but this is not in accordance with precedents. Construction statistics prove that in the old, well-settled Eastern States, railway mileage has about reached its maximum for the present, and in the Middle-Western States it is in the declining stage, even in projection. There is, of course, but little inducement to build now, and it would be difficult to provide capital for new projects; but the decline in railway construction in the most thickly settled of the Western States is largely to be attributed to the existing facilities. A generation may pass away while we are waiting for the action of natural causes upon the railway situation, and we therefore seek for some more immediate and tangible relief.

At first sight the reader may conclude that a trouble which is confessedly to some extent the result of foolish enterprise on the part of the proprietors of railway lines, and partly to the unwise policy of competing with existing lines at ruinous traffic rates, being self-inflicted, deserves but little consideration; but there are two sides to the question. The present owners of railway property are no more responsible for the unhealthy development of railway enterprise than other people. They had nothing to do with this superfluous construction. Why,

then, should they be deprived of sympathy because their predecessors of a former generation were mad on the subject of railway construction? And so long as the lines are here; so long as at all important competing points there are five or six lines where but two or three could do the service and do it well, how can the competition which produces demoralization be avoided? Left to its natural flow, business would go over the best and shortest lines, and therefore the inferior lines must offer some inducement in lower rates or lose the traffic entirely. Then comes the struggle, for the old lines will not submit to depletion without resisting the attacks upon their legitimate traffic. It is needless to pursue this part of the subject. It is patent to all men of intelligence.

There are six lines between Chicago and St. Louis, and seven between Chicago and Kansas City. Two or three lines could easily handle the entire traffic in either case. Between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts there are, including the Canadian Pacific Railway, six lines where but two are required for the existing traffic. In each of these cases it may be assumed that two or three of the number are at a disadvantage in the competition, by reason either of greater length or of heavier grades. It follows that to obtain a fair share of the aggregate traffic,—or what the managers consider a fair share,—the inferior lines must offer some inducement to draw from the superior channels. The lines have been constructed, and they must be operated or become valueless. Rate-cutting is the inevitable consequence.

In the consideration of these perplexing difficulties and the remedies therefor, we meet with a greater variety of nostrums for their removal than is developed in the whole range of medical science bearing upon the physical ills of humanity. Some of the propositions of intelligent men are fair, but utterly impracticable; while others are governed by a spirit of uncompromising hostility born of a stupid prejudice against all corporations, or influenced by political aspirations. Among the remedies proposed by the first is that of government ownership and control, and this proposition is supported by two distinct classes: the honest and well-meaning, who would acquire the properties by purchase; and the others, of anarchical sympathies, who would accomplish the object by confiscation. The latter may be found in the ranks of the Populists.

Referring to the first proposition, which contemplates a fair valuation and purchase, and which is therefore entitled to some respect as an honest expression of opinion, it must have become sufficiently ob-



vious from practical experience, as illustrated by recent developments in Australia, that such a solution of our railway problem would be undesirable even were it available; but there are serious obstacles to governmental control in our case which no plans hitherto submitted to the public have taken into consideration. Here is one proposed, for example, which tries to demonstrate the feasibility of the scheme of purchase, which goes into a calculation of the net earnings of all lines during a year, and upon that result proposes to issue a 3 per cent government stock in exchange for the railway property at a fair valuation. But here the calculator ignores the fact that at least one-half of the valuation would represent a mortgage debt bearing an average interest of at least 5 per cent, and he does not seem to realize that these mortgages are contracts which cannot be touched by any legislation, except at the peril of a revolution. No right of eminent domain, no legislation for the public good, can impair the inviolability of contracts. It would then be necessary to recognize these mortgages, and the proposed issue of 3 per cent government stock would subject Government to a heavy loss. This would be intolerable. I only mention this as a fair illustration of the crudities of thought not uncommon even among men of education and high character. Beyond this is the antagonism of a free people to the concentration of power and patronage in the hands of the privileged few, which would be at once provoked. This last-named obstacle has been elaborately discussed in the railroad literature of the day. It will be an astonishing example of retrograde movement if such a scheme is ever seriously entertained in the United States. One might then anticipate a recognition of the "divine right of kings" under such a change in popular opinion, or the restoration of feudal privileges, so great appears the surrender of the personal liberty for which men struggled for ages. *Facilis descensus Avernæ.*

This is the railway situation. What is the remedy?

At this point it is easy to conceive the intervention of a Populist opponent, who may ask why the situation calls for any remedy at all. From his point of view, competition among the railway lines, even if destructive to their interests, is just what the people want; the laws regulating railway traffic are intended to prevent monopoly, and we do not care how fiercely the railways compete, so long as the competition results in lower rates to the public. But, setting aside the heartless character of the proposition which adopts class legislation for the public good, the real question is whether competition such as I have described

is a benefit to the people? I contend that it is just the reverse. A healthy competition protects the people against extortion, and is doubtless beneficial; but an unhealthy competition, which gives to large shippers an immense advantage over the small, ultimately enfeebling the competitors, impairing their efficiency, and impeding the natural growth of transportation facilities, is clearly against public interests. And it is precisely in this way that the present restrictive legislation works. One of the pretended advantages of the Interstate Commerce Law is that it prevents unjust discrimination, whereas, in fact, it promotes it by increasing the advantages of shippers who control the largest amount of freight. He who cannot see this inevitable result in the reckless competition which the law encourages, is not familiar with the business of transportation.

For these reasons the remedy is required as much for the benefit of the people as for the relief of railway companies. The first step in the curative process is to repeal the anti-pooling clause of the Interstate Commerce Law, and to adopt an amendment which will legalize agreements for a division of traffic under the supervision of the Commissioners. The result of this would be to enable the strong lines to allot a percentage of the gross traffic to the inferior lines, under an agreement to maintain established rates. With such an agreement the temptation to cut rates will be removed, and the power to enforce penalties agreed upon would make violations of the agreement costly experiments. The second remedy lies in the enactment by each State of a law to regulate railway construction, similar to that in force in the New England States and in New York. The operation of this law limits railway construction to the lines which receive the approval of the railway commissioners of the State. If the public convenience demands the construction of a new line, the commissioners give their consent. If, on the contrary, the project is merely in the interest of speculators, whose design is to prey upon the traffic laboriously built up by existing lines, which are able to transact all business present or in the near future, consent is refused, and the enterprise cannot proceed. If the projectors are dissatisfied with the decision of the commission, they have the right to appeal to the Supreme Court, which can interfere if the circumstances demand it. A recent case in New York State furnishes an exact illustration. The Commission refused to approve the construction of a short line which would parallel one now running. The projectors appealed, and the Court sustained the Commission.



These are briefly the remedies which the railway companies favor, and which men of intelligence throughout the country support, unless they have come under the baleful influence of Populistic demagogues.

My own theory, which supports movement toward railway relief, is that the business of transportation cannot be seriously injured without a corresponding detriment to the commercial and industrial interests of the country. This proposition is fortified by the experience of the last four years, which shows beyond question that no one factor has been more potent in lessening industrial activity than the increasing difficulties of railway companies. From all points of view—whether in their bad effect upon the interests of workingmen or upon the investment of foreign capital, or in the development of enterprise—there is no single influence which has been so powerful and so injurious to all public interests.

I am not unmindful of the accusations brought against railway corporations by the advocates of such oppressive restrictions as I have in part described. One of these, which has become stereotyped, alleges that extensive watering of capital stock and reckless financial management have characterized railway development in this country. This is partly truth and partly exaggeration. There have been some instances of stock-watering in the sense of creating stock for a value which did not exist, and there are many instances where stock has been sold at a low price either by fraudulent practice or by financial stress. Increase of stock has also been made by stock dividends to represent expenditures for betterments, and, again, stock has been issued by construction companies to swell the profit of the contractors. But, taking all these issues, the number represented in an aggregate sum will, in my opinion, be much less than people are led to believe by the loose talk of would-be railway reformers. A definite statement of such hydro-pathic treatment would be much more satisfactory than the vague generalities which imply a much greater participation on the part of the railway companies than is warranted by the facts. It may be useful to review briefly some of the glaring instances of the over-issue of capital stock which can justify the charge of "watering."

A little over forty years since, the New York & New Haven Railroad Company was the victim of an extensive fraud by an over-issue of stock, and the Vermont Central Company suffered by a small one. In both cases the over-issue was redeemed. The Vermont Central sold stock as low as \$30 per share, but this was openly done. These transactions are all I can recall of stock-watering in New England.

In New York, the New York Central Railroad, under Commodore Vanderbilt, declared a stock dividend to represent the expenditures for betterments made during a number of years. This is also called "stock-watering," but it is the practice of English railway companies to capitalize such expenditures every year. Commodore Vanderbilt claimed that the amount of this dividend had been taken from the earnings, and, to the amount of the issue, had added to the value of the property. In other words, he adopted the English method, and capitalized money expended for improvements. The New York & Erie Railroad Company, by the sale of convertible bonds at low prices, introduced quite a volume of water into its capital stock, and it is possible that the West Shore Railroad Company added nominally to its capital,—without profit, however, to the projectors.

In the West, a number of instances can be given also, including roads built by construction companies; but making a rough estimate of the entire amount involved in the watering process, whether by fraud, speculation, construction or stock dividends, I doubt if any statistician can prove a dilution which would aggregate \$500,000,000, or but a little more than one twenty-third part of the total cost of the 178,000 miles of railways in the United States. How insignificant these figures appear as a basis for the sweeping charge which is intended to prove adequate returns in revenue on a fair cash valuation of the property!

I believe my estimate will bear critical examination; but, suppose we admit a much larger amount of watering than can be proved, what is to be said of the vast sums which have been wiped out of existence by bankruptcy and foreclosure? I venture to assert that at least double the amount of capital has been extinguished in this way, to that which has been created by fictitious capital. Moreover, it is an indisputable fact that hundreds of millions of dollars have been expended in improvements which have been paid for from earnings and are not represented in the aggregate cost of our railway system. The New York & New Haven, the New York Central, the Pennsylvania, the Baltimore & Ohio, the Erie, and the Lake Shore companies have expended immense sums in this way, but a small part of which has been capitalized. Most of these betterments have been at the cost of the stockholders.

A fair examination of the subject leaves no foundation for an argument which is always introduced to prove that railway companies are trying to earn upon an exaggerated cost, and therefore deserve no sympathy. An average cost of about \$62,000 per mile is thus made to



appear excessive by people who see nothing surprising in the fact that English railways cost an average of \$225,000 per mile. The truth is, that railways in this country are opened for traffic as soon as trains can be safely moved over the track, and with this temporary construction they have undertaken transportation to meet the rapidly growing wants of the country. In a few years such structures must give way to more substantial work. In this way,—in the substitution of iron for wooden bridges, and of stone for wooden culverts; in the laying of heavier rails; in making additions to the motive power and rolling-stock; in the building of more commodious and substantial stations; and in numberless, but desirable improvements,—a constant demand is kept up by railway operations, increasing in the ratio of traffic development. A very large proportion of these expenditures, until within a few years, has been paid out of earnings and charged to operating expenses. To the extent thus charged, railway lines in this country, valued at about \$11,500,000,000, and represented by that sum in bonds and stock, are understated as to actual cost of construction. Had the English method of capitalization been adopted, it is not unreasonable to assume that a cost of at least \$80,000 per mile would have been reached. Therefore, without doubting the sincerity of many intelligent men who lay so much stress upon the fictitious valuation of our railways, I am confident that they have been led astray as to the actual cash cost of railway construction.

At this point the productiveness of railway traffic on the amount invested, as represented by the funded debt and capital stock of the 178,000 miles constructed and in operation, should be considered. According to "Poor's Manual," the items are as follows:

Funded Debt.....	\$5,665,734,000
Capital Stock.....	5,075,629,000

On this aggregate sum of \$10,741,363,000 the railways divided in 1894 the sum of \$322,899,000, or an average of about 3 per cent. Of this sum the funded debt having a fixed rate of interest received the sum of \$237,620,000, or 4 per cent; and the capital stock, \$85,299,000, or a little more than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. The year 1894 was one of exceptional dullness in railway traffic, but the results were not much better in the three or four years preceding, the railways having by forced economies reduced the operating expenses and expended less for maintenance and repair.

Is it possible that any man of intelligence will consider 3 per cent

a reasonable return on the capital invested in railway property? But more than half the amount, in bonds bearing interest, received 4 per cent, while more than \$5,000,000,000 received but a fraction more than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

A further analysis of the statement will prove that a very large amount of both bonds and stock received no interest or dividend whatever; but, turn the figures as we may, it will be difficult to make the statement any more favorable to railway property. Before this pitiful return on railway stock, what signifies the idle talk about watered stock? Supposing even one-half to be water, the dividends would have been but 3 per cent.

In this proof of inadequate return the impartial student will find several questions of primary importance involved. The public interests require constant improvement in railway accommodations and in the facilities of transportation. New devices to render passenger travel more secure from accident; better arrangements for the comfort as well as the safety of travellers; double tracks, block signals, improved switches; and progressive movements in the direction of more perfect service, too numerous to give in detail,—are constantly presented. All these improvements are costly, but should be adopted as speedily as possible; but how can such expenditures be made from such limited profits?

To add to the perplexities of the railway problem we have the possibility of labor disturbances, illustrated in the strikes during the summer of 1894. Here, as in fact in all the troubles which railways encounter, the public interest is at stake. To interrupt transportation is to impede commerce, and to subject all classes to great loss and sometimes to great suffering; and all good citizens will unite in crushing such attempts to interfere with the flow of the vital currents upon which our prosperity as a nation depends.

It has not been the intention of the writer to present the railway troubles of the time as a grievance for which any class can be held responsible. In fact, it is frankly admitted that railway companies themselves are largely the promoters, if not the projectors, of the difficulty; but, as the situation admits of no permanent relief except through agreements between the competing lines which can be enforced by law, it is strenuously urged in this paper that public interests require the prompt adoption of the proposed amendment to the Interstate Commerce Law, which passed the House of Representatives last winter. It is exasperating to think that a measure which would certainly have



passed the Senate by a large majority should have been defeated by discreditable tactics and unnecessary delays. The only objection to this amendment is too frivolous to require lengthy consideration ; but let us give all sides a hearing. It is urged that a division of gross earnings, or "pooling," as it is called, would stop competition and raise rates. This the railway interest denies, so far as rates are in question. The only object of legalized pooling is to maintain existing rates,—thus preventing unreasonable discrimination,—not to advance them. Rate-cutting is the most offensive form of discrimination, and its practice is illustrated in the movement of large agricultural or manufactured products at rates which can of themselves hardly pay operating expenses. The only way the railways can do this is by utilizing cars moving in one direction with paying freight, which, without loading with grain or a similar class of freight, would perhaps return empty. In these heavy shipments at nominal rates, small shippers are obviously placed at a disadvantage. But if, in spite of the assurances of railway managers, it is insisted that the desired legislation would be opposed to public interests ; if the supervision of the Commission is not a sufficient guarantee of good faith,—what great harm can result from a trial of the experiment for a single year ? If the public good requires a return of the restriction, is it not in the power of Congress to restore it ? It is difficult to find any substantial objection to the trial of an experiment which may be of great advantage to the people, in view of the legislative control which will minimize the alleged danger to insignificance.

The plea for liberal treatment of railway corporations is founded largely upon the assumption that the unproductiveness of such property is a positive injury to the material interests of the country, whether in its bearing upon the prosperity of numerous and extensive industries, and upon the army of workmen employed by them, or in its effect upon the construction of railway lines in the comparatively unsettled and undeveloped parts of the West. To this we can add the positive assertion that, in rendering these transportation agencies undesirable for the investment of capital, we shall not only drive foreign and domestic capital from an employment which stimulates the growth and expansion of the whole country, but we shall obstruct our own local progress. From any point of view within the scope of the writer's vision, it is prejudicial to the interests of the people to support a policy which discourages enterprise essential to our national development. The Populistic idea seems to be that railway corporations are gigantic monopolies organized

to prey upon the substance of the people, and that all measures of restraint are justifiable which will force cheaper service, even if such measures cripple or ruin the agency employed. This mean and narrow view is an insult to the intelligence of the people, and utterly opposed to the fundamental principles of republican government.

The Interstate Commerce Law, as originally introduced, would have been one of the most stupid and mischievous measures ever presented to Congress; but, fortunately, the practical good sense of the Committee to whom it was referred eliminated its most offensive parts. The law as it stands, however, is, in my opinion, a useless piece of legislation, full of impracticable provisions which never have been and never can be enforced. What, for example, can be more stupid or more unjust than to prescribe rules for land transportation while inland navigation is left free? What can be more unjust or more unwise than to propose regulations which, if carried out, would neutralize the geographical advantages possessed by seaboard or inland cities? It would be out of place to discuss this part of our subject at length, nor is it necessary, inasmuch as experience has exposed the weak points of the law. Railway men do not object to a supervision on the part of the Government, and I think I can add that such a supervision meets with their approval generally; but the main object of a Commission of this character should be to protect the people from extortion, and to compel safe and efficient service. Beyond these important safeguards, interference is not only unnecessary, but contrary to public interest.

Writers upon the inexhaustible subject considered in this paper are doubtless more or less influenced in their views by personal interests; but I think recent experience has demonstrated that the whole country has suffered from the adverse conditions visible in railway transportation, and I am confident that the time is not far distant when our citizens will recognize the truth of the proposition that the transportation and commercial interests of the country are identical, and that, if one of these is disabled, the consequences will be speedily reflected in the embarrassment of the other.

O. D. ASHLEY.



## THE NAVY AS A CAREER.

THERE are two principal aspects under which a career may be regarded : (1) its inherent advantages, or disadvantages, to the person who undertakes it ; and (2) the value set upon it by the society of which he is a member,—for the general recognition of its usefulness and dignity will always form a part of its recommendations. The former consideration being the one that usually determines the individual choice, it will be first discussed.

Granting adequate personal fitness, greater or less, for the naval career, and continued liking for it, the circumstance that specially characterizes it as contrasted with private callings, and most markedly distinguishes it from them, is, that advance from grade to grade—promotion—depends wholly upon seniority ; is unaffected, that is, by the comparative merits of the several persons who otherwise, being all more or less fit, might be called from a lower position to fill a vacancy. Like most other modes of procedure that have the sanction of long custom, this has both good and bad sides—advantages and drawbacks ; and this fact has led to a good deal of discussion, in and out of the navy, as to whether or not it is better to alter the existing system in favor of one sanctioning greater freedom of choice in promoting. The question now before us, however, is not what is best for the navy,—and because for the navy, therefore for the country,—but the effect of a recognized rule (never departed from except for brilliant services in war) upon the fortunes of the individual, and therefore upon the prospects offered to him by the career.

I place this consideration first, because, although the navy as a life pursuit has decided attractions and decided drawbacks, which will be noted later, it in this respect resembles other callings ; but in the particular feature mentioned it is different from all save the army, while even in the latter there is a limited choice allowed. It is, of course, true of great corporations, having many employees, that the rule of seniority—of length of service—plays a conspicuous part : a large majority of men depart but little from the average of merit, and among such both policy and justice dictate that faithful and continuous service

should be recognized by advancement. But this does not prevent the corporation, either in theory or in practice, from selecting from among their own servants, or from outside, men most suitable for higher positions as they become vacant; and every employee knows that conspicuous ability means probable, if not certain, preferment. That such choice, when made, will be in a general sense fairly just, is guaranteed by the clear interest of the person choosing. He needs the best man he can get for his own interests,—either direct personal interests or those of the corporation with which his own are bound up. The same soundness of choice cannot be predicated of an officer of the Government; not because of a less firm purpose to choose righteously, but because immediate personal interest imparts a sensitiveness of appreciation, of judgment, which nothing else can equally do. Nor is it possible, antecedently, to judge from peace services what man will be most fit for such rapid advancement as will give high command in war. The conditions are very dissimilar; and at the same time the navy, while it performs many useful services at other times, finds its supreme function in war. It may be mentioned, in passing, that these considerations are felt in foreign navies, and the systems of selection there still prevalent are becoming continually more and more modified by the claims of length of service. Of course partiality makes itself felt in private corporations, as by kinship or by personal regard, which is not always discriminating; but as a rule the imperious claims of immediate interest will ensure the choice of the best man for exceptional advancement.

Now this unvarying promotion by seniority works in two ways for the individual,—favorably and unfavorably. In the first place it gives security, permits quietness of mind—an immense boon in an over-anxious age; but on the other hand, by withholding the hope of material results from special activity, it removes in part the stimulus of emulation, as well as the inspiring hope of preferment. Emulation has its bad side as well as its good; but as a factor in progress, as an inducement to go ahead, it is a very potent force, and the loss of it is something to be very seriously considered by one deciding upon a career. This reflection is perhaps too philosophical for boys of the age at which the naval profession is begun; but it is not so for parents or guardians, when the decision rests with them.

On the other hand, the loss of the factor of emulation is largely compensated for by the particular development of the sentiment of duty. Duty is the atmosphere in which a naval officer is brought up, from his entry into the service until his exit by death. Some, doubt-



less, may be neglectful; but the exceptions are rare, and in the great mass the feeling is strengthened, and receives continual support, from its being not simply their own individually, but that of all around them. I question whether in a given number of men the aggregate results from the sense of duty will equal those to be obtained from emulation—self-interest. Except in rare cases the impulse is too calm, too unimpassioned; but the effect upon the character, and consequently upon that happiness in which, to the individual, the true success of a career consists, is, I believe, distinctly more favorable. It may be noted, too, that the absence of competition and of rivalry takes away many of those sources of disappointment and anxiety which embitter life and destroy peace of mind.

There is another considerable compensation for the loss of the opportunity to obtain advancement by diligent effort, which is to be found in the many-sided activity of the naval profession of the present day. The progress of science has introduced, and is continually introducing, so many changes in the development of naval material and naval methods, that openings for novel mental occupation present themselves in many directions and for many types of mind. Each change, it may be said, raises new problems; and, apart from the material and scientific aspect of the matter, the recent general impetus in all countries toward the study of the art of war at sea has aroused naval officers to the investigation of some of the noblest and most engrossing problems with which man has ever dealt,—a field in which human attainment, intellectual and moral, has in the far past been carried to the highest pitch it has ever known.

These various subjects, correlatives of the naval profession as commonly understood, yield a twofold advantage that cannot be too highly valued. In the first place they give interest—that salt of life; for, after all, what can life in any career give to one who has lost interest? or to one whose life is wrecked, while interest remains? Like all sound interests they take possession of the man, carry him out of himself, lead him forward and upward. They do not indeed remove from sight the material side of life, its necessities, desires, gratifications; but they do much to compensate, albeit, perhaps, unconsciously, for the undeniable discouragement attendant upon hope so long deferred that it ceases to be hope. And, in the second place, a certain amount of advantage which may be considered material results to men who have made their mark in these related pursuits. Their acquirements ensure them employment congenial to their taste, and often under condi-

tions more than usually favorable to contentment and happiness in life. The advantages thus accruing are, it must be noted, very largely independent of rank and age. They are in fact personal to the man, results of his diligence and acquirements, and so of the nature of reward. Though not permanent, as promotion in the strict sense of the word would be, they are often recurrent, and in the aggregate they fill pleasantly and with modest profit a not inconsiderable portion of the career.

There is a way in which the slowness of advancement affects the career of the navy, as touching the individual, that is not lost sight of, but which I think is perhaps inadequately weighed. Somewhat humdrum and monotonous in daily routine and through long years, it is liable to sudden sharp calls of emergency, so extreme in comparison with the even tenor as to resemble convulsions of nature. From the genius and necessary constitution of military bodies, the strain in these cases falls upon one man—the one in command; and to him it may mean fortune or ruin, according as he prove equal or inferior to the demand made on him. The power to endure in such cases—not only to bear responsibility, as it is commonly styled, but to do all that is needful—is partly a natural gift; but it also depends, in the average man—and it is the average man that we must consider—upon previous training and habit. Now, while admitting that previous reflection and thought—previous mental preparation—will do very much to qualify a man for such a call, it is undeniable that the habit of bearing responsibility—of doing things of like character to that for which an extreme call has arisen—does much more. It is the misfortune of the system of advancement by seniority that, while it preserves a man from the injustice of having one unworthy put over his head, it does delay for him the opportunity of improving by practice the particular faculties needed to cope with emergency. In so far as this affects the navy itself, it is outside the present discussion; it has, however, drawn the serious attention of the Navy Department. As regards the individual there remains the very serious question whether it is wise to embark in a career which, after maintaining him for many years in a quiet life,—not without care, but without serious anxiety,—suddenly makes upon him a tremendous call for which its conditions during his formative years have scarcely allowed adequate preparation. It is to my mind one of the most serious drawbacks: for failure under the conditions is failure total, irrevocable, and possibly tremendous; and even success, to one so uninured to strain, may be bought at a price over-dear to pay. To a certain extent this



liability is inseparable from both the military professions,—and military and naval history give instances enough of men who after long years of respectable service in average conditions have signally failed in responsible command ; but promotion by seniority alone entails upon the individual the most extreme form of the risk indicated.

To the naval career as followed in the United States there are two active sides,—the service on board ship at sea, and that known technically as shore duty. Besides the actual handling and fighting of ships and fleets, which is the ultimate aim toward which all naval activities are directed, there are a number of antecedent requirements connected with the building, equipping, and manning of ships,—administrative duties, reaching in many directions and covering a wide field,—which are also essential, and subsidiary only in the sense that root and trunk are essential to fruit. Except for the fruit you do not want the tree ; but without the tree you cannot have the fruit. In the United States Navy it has been the custom from long back to entrust these duties in almost all their details to naval officers. The system has the advantage of employing usefully to the Government and to the service, in excess of the actual requirements of the peace establishment afloat, a number of officers, the greater part of whom would be immediately available for the additional ships commissioned in time of war ; while the remainder would afford the nucleus around which to gather and systematize whatever additional force might be required for these administrative functions under the pressure of war. The system promotes also a clear understanding, between the branches charged with the purely military and the partially civil duties of the naval administration, of their respective methods and difficulties ; the same men passing from one to the other and keeping touch with both, not as mere onlookers, but as active participants. In these occupations on shore, opportunity is also given for study, observation, and a practical acquaintance with the details of preparation and growth through which passes the development of the vessel, the guns, the engines, and all the multitudinous apparatus that go to form the whole known in its finished state as a modern ship of war ; and the knowledge thus obtained, though neither seamanship nor the military art in the exclusive sense of those terms, conduces to a more easy, intelligent, and therefore thorough care of the implements which seamanship and naval war have to handle. When the time of an officer is fairly proportioned between the two lines of duty, the interaction is beneficial both to himself and to the service.

On shore duty the career of a naval officer presents in its external aspects no marked or necessary contrast to that of a civilian working and living on a modest salary. In the inner spirit with which the work is done, in the general tenor of the interior life, upon which so much of happiness depends, there will be of course the difference which early training, and the conditions before briefly indicated, will necessarily impart. Professional characteristics will surely show themselves. In sea service, on the contrary, the contrast of environment between the naval man and the civilian is sharp and emphatic,—one of kind, and not of degree only. It is true that the former exaggerated severance between the two—which elicited Dr. Johnson's remark that "a ship was a prison, with the additional drawback that you might be drowned"—no longer exists. Absences from home are shorter. Correspondence is much more regular and frequent, thanks to the network of mail routes with which steam has covered the sea. Actual passages from port to port are far more rapid, so that men are no longer thrown, as of old, for long months upon the narrow coterie of a mess-room for companionship and society. The mere bodily necessities of life—air, food, water, light—are purer, more varied, more abundant; and health, with the happiness dependent upon it, is in no way inferior to that of average shore life. Exposure to the elements there necessarily is, but rarely to an extent which injures: on the contrary, its tendency is rather to invigorate and harden the frame, except in the infrequent emergencies which compel a prolonged stay in a sickly region. Neither the body nor the mind need suffer from the life of a naval officer; but when the side of the emotions is touched there is a difference. The long breaks—two or three years—in the home life; the lack of habitude to home and its ways; husband and wife losing touch, and becoming independent of each other's support and sympathy; children for long periods and at the plastic age without experience of the father's character and influence: if a career means more than material professional success,—whether in money, reputation, or anything else than simple happiness,—these inevitable drawbacks and privations must be considered in the award.

There remains the consideration of the navy as a career relatively to its place in the social organization. The consideration accorded to a profession in any society depends, not upon its intrinsic merits or advantages, but upon the general aims and pursuits of that society, and upon the value to its interests that it recognizes in the profession in question. A combination of circumstances, which it is needless here to analyze,



have contributed to fasten the attention of the citizens of the United States pretty exclusively upon the internal affairs of the country, and to attach to the making and having of money an importance paramount to that of all other factors in life. Undoubtedly many other human interests claim and receive a certain share of attention; but money, as the representative of power and the means to gratification, may without exaggeration be said to have no competitor so close as to be accurately called a rival. In the navy, money will not be found; and as, if it stands for anything, it stands for the representation of external interests, it fails there also to touch keenly the chords that respond to the sense of danger or advantage near at hand. As a matter of fact, the external interests which are now generally recognized as calling for the existence and maintenance of a navy concern but a very small proportion of our citizens,—those who either reside or have business interests in foreign lands where political conditions are unsettled, and justice at times hard to obtain. Whether a wider-embracing view of national interests will in the future be justified, and, if justified, will be reached by so large a number of our own people as to constitute anything like a national sentiment, is a question upon which it is impossible to speak with certainty. My own opinion is that within the probable lifetime of one now entering the service such a sentiment will have become general, owing to the course that external events are likely to take; not by the initiative of our own country, but by the action of other states. If this should come to pass, the navy will undoubtedly gain that width of sympathy and recognition which, by the dignity it confers, is of itself no slight advantage to be considered in the choice of a profession. In no event will there be money in it; but there may always be honor and quietness of mind and worthy occupation,—which are better guarantees of happiness.

A. T. MAHAN.

## A REVIEW OF HUXLEY'S ESSAYS.

THE problems which lie behind our familiar experience of nature and of man are a perennial attraction to those who think; but the writer who handles them in simple words, and fills his treatise with the charm of literary sweetness, must be content to find more readers than students. Huxley's essays are eminently notable for the attractive handling of these deeper problems; and if those who read them to contradict and confute, or to believe and take for granted, are more numerous than those who read to weigh and consider, this is no more than he might have looked for. To many readers, and to many more who are not even readers, Huxley is a terrible and relentless radical, whose delight is in destruction; and those who, under this impression, dread him and the science in whose name he speaks, are only less numerous than those who hold him in honor for the same reason. Now nothing could be more unjust than this impression. The study of the essays shows that his most distinctive characteristic is not fanaticism, but caution; that he is so far from a radical that he has devoted a long life to the cultivation of his inborn conservatism; that, while asserting the claims of the new, he has never ceased to plead, in season and out of season, for the preservation of all that is best in the old.

If the object of any thinker in the nineteenth century is "the active scepticism whose whole aim is to conquer itself, and not that other sort which is born of flippancy and ignorance," that man is Huxley. Every one of the essays proves his right to affirm, with Descartes:

"I did not imitate the sceptics who doubt only for doubting's sake, and pretend to be always undecided: on the contrary, my whole intention was to aim at a certainty, and to dig away the drift and the sand until I reached the rock or the clay beneath."

While every essay proves that this was Huxley's aim, I hope that the following quotations will help to make his position clear to those who question it:

"The army of liberal thought is at present in very loose order: and many a spirited freethinker makes use of his freedom mainly to vent nonsense. I, for one, lament that the bench of Bishops cannot show a man of the calibre of Butler of



the 'Analogy,' who, if alive, would make short work of much of the current *a priori* infidelity." (III. v. 121. 1869.)

"Of all the senseless babble I have ever had occasion to read, the demonstrations of those philosophers who undertake to tell us all about the nature of God would be the worst, if it were not surpassed by the still greater absurdities of the philosophers who try to prove that there is no God." (I. v. 245. 1874.)

"If the belief in God is essential to morality, physical science offers no obstacle thereto; if the belief in immortality is essential to morality, physical science has no more to say against that doctrine than the most ordinary experience has, and it effectually closes the mouths of those who pretend to refute it by objections deduced from merely physical data." (IX. III. 143. 1886.)

"Scientific Naturalism leads not to the denial of the existence of any Supernature; but simply to the denial of the validity of the evidence adduced in favor of this or that extant form of Supernaturalism." (V. I. 39. 1892.)

"The supposition that there is any inconsistency between the acceptance of the constancy of natural order and a belief in the efficacy of prayer, is the more unaccountable as it is obviously contradicted by analogies furnished by experience. Nobody can presume to say what the order of nature must be . . . . It is this weighty consideration which knocks the bottom out of all *a priori* objections either to ordinary 'miracles' or to the efficacy of prayer so far as the latter implies the miraculous intervention of a higher power." (V. IV. 133. 1887.)

So far is science from denying the possibility of miracles, that we (the men of science) "have any quantity of genuine miracles of our own." (V. II. 81.)

We venture to believe that Huxley's attitude regarding these questions will be a surprise to many who think they have read his works with diligence; and that others who already understand his position so far as these subjects are concerned will be much perplexed to find that he has "nothing to say" to any philosophy of evolution except that, in his judgment, all such attempts are "premature." (V. I. 41.) He continually calls himself an "Evolutionist," and he can hardly blame a reader who, failing to draw nice distinctions, regards him as one of the great pillars in the temple of the new philosophy. A good deal of confusion may be permitted to those who remember his lectures in New York on evolution; his various essays with the same title; and the statement in his Autobiography that the work of his life has involved him "in an endless series of battles and skirmishes over evolution." It is easy for one who understands his true position to see that the essays lend no countenance to the opinion that he has ever been, or sought to be, either a pillar or a disciple of any system of philosophy, but that he has, on the contrary, never ceased to affirm his total ignorance of many of the questions with which philosophy seeks to deal. His "evolution" is not philosophy, but science. It deals with history, and not with logic; with the phenomenal world, and not with the question what may or may not lie behind it.

During the last century natural science has become historical; the attributes of living things, which seemed to the older naturalists to be entire and independent in themselves, have proved to have a history which can be studied by the methods of science: they have been found to be steps in a long sequence of events as orderly and discoverable as those dealt with by astronomy or geology. The cultivation of natural science in this historical field, and the discovery of evidence that the present order of living nature is the sequence and outcome of older and simpler conditions of things, is not philosophy, but science. It involves no more belief in the teachings of any system of philosophy than does the knowledge that we are the children of our parents and the parents of our children, but it is what Huxley means by "evolution." (V. I. 44-54.) The New York lectures on Evolution, with the exception of the first, which treats of the natural history of opinions regarding the history of living things, deal with palæontology, and narrate facts which are to be found in the text-books on this subject; but natural science, as it is taught in the text-books on botany, zoology, and palæontology, is, most assuredly, no "Philosophy of Evolution."

One word in its time plays many parts, and the word "evolution" has had many meanings. To-day, in popular estimation, an "Evolutionist" is not a follower of Bonnet, nor one who is concerned with the binomial theorem or with the evolutions of fleets or armies: neither is he a cultivator of natural science. Whatever the word may have meant in the past, it has, in popular speech, come to mean a belief in that Philosophy of Evolution which, according to such evolutionists as Huxley, is premature. Since this is so, and since the changes in our vernacular are beyond individual control, would it not be well for those who stand where Huxley stands, and have "nothing to say" to any Philosophy of Evolution, to stop calling themselves Evolutionists and to be content with the good old name of "Naturalist"?

The essays which make up the nine volumes of the new edition treat of many subjects, and we must examine them in detail; but they are not a miscellany, for they are all strung on one thread. Through all of them runs one increasing purpose, which has grown with the author's growth and strengthened with his strength; the purpose to teach, like Descartes, that—

—"there is a path which leads to truth so surely that any one who will follow it must needs reach the goal, whether his capacity be great or small. And there is one guiding rule by which a man can always find this path and keep himself from straying when he has found it. This golden rule is: Give unqualified



assent to no propositions but those the truth of which is so clear that they cannot be doubted."

The essays are so far from a miscellany that they remind one of a fair landscape stretching from the rugged heights of controversy over meadows filled with the flowers of literature, and through fields and orchards loaded with the ripe fruits of science, all vitalized by a clear stream, sometimes welling up in great gushes of truth, sometimes wandering in silence under the verdure which it nourishes, but always there for all who wish to drink of it. All the essays either set forth the results which have been won or may be hoped for from the application of this golden rule, or else they teach our moral obligation to suspend judgment on questions to which we are unable to apply it, however great our desire for answers. In the long run their value will depend on the success which attends this purpose,—the purpose to which their author tells us he had subordinated whatever hope he may have had of scientific fame; but they have other claims to consideration. All are good reading; in all we continually come across profound truth put into words so apt and pithy that we store them away in our minds as permanent additions to our stock of wisdom:

"I have never been able to form the slightest conception of those 'forces' which the Materialists talk about as if they had samples of them in bottles." (IX. III. 13.)

"Fact I know, and Law I know: but what is this Necessity, save an empty shadow of my own mind's throwing? . . . There are impossibilities logical, but none natural." (V. VI. 197.)

"To quarrel with the uncertainties which beset us in intellectual affairs would be about as reasonable as to object to live one's life with due care for the morrow, because no man can be sure he will be alive an hour hence." (V. VI. 206.)

"Logical consequences are the scarecrows of fools, and the beacons of wise men." (I. V. 244.)

"The only freedom I care about is the freedom to do right; the freedom to do wrong I am ready to part with on the cheapest terms." (I. IV. 93.)

Among the essays a few are so notable, so simple and interesting, so full of knowledge, and so "safe" or free from controversial issues, that they must delight all readers. Before long we should have in a handy volume those on "The Advisableness of Improving Natural Knowledge," "The Progress of Science," and one or two other selections. To compare these with the essays on "Lord Clive" and "Warren Hastings" hardly does them justice, for they not only give us the finished work of a master, but with this the best fruit of the meditations of a philosopher. It is certainly not the least of Huxley's claims to our gratitude that he has thus enriched our literature.

Three volumes (II., VII., and VIII.) are almost entirely devoted to reviews, for general readers, of the chief results of progress and discovery in the province of biology. Even at the present day, thirty years and more after they were written, I know nothing in English, to which to refer the unscientific reader for a summary of the broad outlines of zoology, morphology, and embryology, better than the "Six Lectures to Working Men on our Knowledge of the Causes of the Phenomena of Organic Nature" (II. XI. 1863); nothing better on the principles and results of research in palæontology than the "Lectures on Evolution" (IV. III. 1876); and, most assuredly, nothing better in anthropology than "Man's Place in Nature" (VII. I. 1863). Many students have told me that they owe the awakening of their interest in science to one or the other of these three essays, which have had great value as stimuli, and even greater value as general reading. It is true that, however novel their substance may have been when they were delivered, it is now familiar to all educated persons; but I cannot agree with Huxley that "my young contemporaries might employ their time better than in perusing" these old essays. My own feeling is that the loss from my library of whole shelves of text-books would concern me less than to miss "Man's Place in Nature" from its accustomed corner.

All thoughtful students will prize the essays and addresses on Education which make up the third volume of the "Collected Essays." When written, these were regarded by most readers as special pleas for scientific education; but nothing could be farther from the truth, although the prominence of "science" in their titles gives some ground for this impression. Those who read them now, after scientific education has become an assured fact, will find that Huxley shows here, as elsewhere, that he is no radical seeking to sweep away the ancient landmarks, but an enthusiastic admirer of all that is best in the old, as well as a zealous advocate for the new in education. While he improves every opportunity to set forth the need for scientific education, he tells the student that he is a man and a citizen as well as a student; and the delights and the discipline of literature and art and history are emphasized again and again; and each essay is a plea for liberal culture, although he never fails to demand the removal of the accumulated ashes, and the rekindling of the pure flame, until the very air the student breathes shall become "charged with that enthusiasm for truth, that fanaticism of veracity, which is a greater possession than much learning; a nobler gift than the power of increasing knowledge."

No one—Huxley least of all—would dream of attributing the



"New Reformation" to any one man, and he speaks of himself as "a full private who has seen a good deal of service in the ranks" of the army ranged around the banner of physical science; but the object to which he tells us he has devoted his life—the diffusion among men of the scientific spirit of "organized" "common sense"—has made notable progress during his lifetime, and in this assurance he tells us at its end that he "shall be content to be remembered, or even not remembered," as one among the many who have brought it about.

The controversial articles, which have done more to spread Huxley's fame than all his other works, fill several volumes of the series, although he himself expresses grave doubt of the advisability of reprinting them. No man of science who pursues in good repute studies which were recently under suspicion can be unmindful of his great debt to Huxley; but he who runs may now read the signs that the laboratory and the text-book will soon be able to hold peaceful possession of fields which have been won by science militant.

"Even parish clerks doubt the utility of prayers for rain so long as the wind is in the east; and an outbreak of pestilence sends men, not to the churches, but to the drains. In spite of prayers for the success of our arms, and *Te Deums* for victory, our real faith is in big battalions and keeping our powder dry."

This being the case, we are disposed to think that the controversial essays, "however appropriate at the time of their utterance, would find a still more appropriate place in oblivion." Those whose interest is in Huxley's personality must read them to learn what manner of man he was. If he had confined himself to research, his audience would have been smaller, for men love a fight. It is possible, as he suggests, that some who came to see hard knocks remained to think, and we who enjoy the freedom for which he fought so bravely must remember his gallant fearlessness with gratitude; but "few literary dishes are less appetizing than cold controversy," and the original editions of these controversial essays seem adequate to the legitimate demand.

We now come to the essays which are of most value to students: those which deal with the development rather than the application of the "method of using one's reason rightly" in the search for truth. Among them are the whole of Vol. VI, "Hume; with Helps to the Study of Berkeley"; as well as the one "On Descartes' Discourse Touching the Method of Using our Reason Rightly; and of Seeking Scientific Truth" (I. IV.), and many others, such as "Possibilities and Impossibilities" (V. VI. 1891), and "Scientific and Pseudo-Scientific

Realism" (V. II. 1887). The opening paragraph of the book on Hume's Philosophy (VI. 57) may be taken as a statement of the purpose of all these essays :

" Kant has said that the business of philosophy is to answer three questions : What can I know ?—What ought I to do ?—and, For what may I hope ? But it is pretty plain that these three resolve themselves in the long run into the first. For rational expectation and moral action are alike based upon belief ; and a belief is void of justification unless its subject-matter lies within the boundaries of possible knowledge, and unless its evidence satisfies the conditions which experience imposes as the guarantee of credibility. . . . Fundamentally, then, philosophy is the answer to the question, What can I know ? "

Huxley is not drawn into this province by the fierce joy of controversy, nor by any desire to join those who flit forever over the dusky meadows, green with asphodel, in vain search for reality. His motive is the most practical and serious one we know,—“ to learn what is true in order to do what is right.” This, he tells us, “ is the summing up of the whole duty of man, for all who are not able to satisfy their mental hunger with the east wind of authority.” The conclusion of the whole matter is that “ there is but one kind of knowledge and but one method of acquiring it.” This is the melody which runs through all the nine volumes ; now loud and clear, now hidden by the minor interest of a scientific topic, or by the heat of controversy, or by the charm of literary genius ; but always present, and easy—for one who listens—to detect. It is because scientific education helps us to acquire the method of using our reason rightly in the search for truth, and not because science is the one thing worth knowing, that he pleads for it so eloquently. It is because the improvement of natural knowledge is conclusive testimony to the value of this method that he devoted his life to the popularization of science. It is because his right to use this method—the right which is also the highest and first of duties—was disputed, that he entered the stormy waters of controversy.

“ If I may speak of the objects I have had more or less definitely in view, . . . they are briefly these : To promote the increase of natural knowledge, and to forward the application of scientific methods to all the problems of life, to the best of my ability, in the conviction, which has grown with my growth and strengthened with my strength, that there is no alleviation for the sufferings of mankind except veracity of thought and action, and the resolute facing of the world as it is when the garment of make-believe with which pious hands have hidden its uglier features is stripped off.”

To what nobler end could life be devoted than the attempt to show us how we may “ learn to distinguish truth from falsehood, in order to be



clear about our actions and to walk surefootedly in this life?" If he has succeeded (and every zoologist who is free to follow Nature wherever she lead is a witness that he has succeeded); if, as the end of his life-long labor, intellectual freedom is established on a firmer basis,—this is his best monument, even if the man should quickly be forgotten in the accomplishment of his end. No memorial could be more appropriate than the speedy establishment of that intellectual liberty which is not intellectual license on a basis so firm that the history of the struggle to obtain it shall become a forgotten antiquity.

Since I began this account of the new edition of Huxley's essays, word has been brought, through the daily papers, that his work is ended. As I review them with this in mind I find it hard to refrain from wondering which of them will do most to keep him in remembrance; but this is not the end for which he labored, and the speculation is unworthy of the example of the man who walked his path in life with no thought to any footprints on the sands of time. Whether his earnest faithfulness over a few things do or do not make him ruler over many things, his life needs no completion and no monument.

"No need hath such to live as ye name life.  
That which began in him when he began  
Is finished : he hath wrought the purpose through  
Of what did make him Man."

Huxley's life-long devotion to the task of teaching the right method of using our reason in the search for truth has been so fruitful that the success or failure of his attempts to teach the application of this method to specific problems is a matter of very subordinate importance.

As he was not only a man and a citizen, but, above all, a naturalist, peculiar interest attaches to his utterances on the problems of biology, although his various essays on this subject differ so much in perspective that their effect upon many thoughtful readers has proved to be practically equivalent to inconsistency. It is easy to show that in this case, as in others, the responsibility rests with the reader and not with the author; but, however this may be, the opinion that his utterances are inconsistent is real, and therefore a proper subject for examination.

Huxley's frame of mind in 1854 is embodied in the essay "On the Educational Value of the Natural History Sciences" (III. II.), from which I copy the following passage (p. 43):

"What is the cause of this wonderful difference between the dead particles and the living particles of matter appearing in other respects identical?—that dif-

ference to which we give the name of Life? I, for one, cannot tell you. It may be that, by and by, philosophers will discover some higher laws of which the facts of life are particular cases,—very possibly they will find out some bond between physico-chemical phenomena on the one hand and vital phenomena on the other. At present, however, we assuredly know of none; and I think we shall exercise a wise humility in confessing that for us, at least, . . . this spontaneity of action . . . which constitutes so vast and plain a distinction between living bodies and those which do not live is an ultimate fact: indicating, as such, the existence of a broad line of demarcation between the subject-matter of biological and that of all other sciences."

Between 1854 and the publication of the essay "On the Physical Basis of Life," in 1868, natural science advanced with strides which have no parallel, and the "Origin of Species" brought about a revolution in our conception of the history of living nature. It is not surprising that Huxley's point of view also undergoes significant change, and that a new aspect of nature now excites his interest and absorbs his attention. The establishment of the doctrine of the continuity of life on a firm basis, and the acceptance of the generalization that all living things are related by birth, had given new meaning to the familiar truth that they are all fundamentally identical in structure; and the essay of 1868 deals with this aspect of living organism. The essay is regarded by many readers—both those who look upon it with horror, and those who make it the basis of a biological creed—as contradictory to the essay of 1854, but I, for one, am unable to find in it any basis for this opinion. Its motive—the truth that "protoplasm is the formal basis of life"; that "it is the clay of the potter, which, bake it and paint it as he will, remains clay, separated by artifice and not by nature from the commonest brick or sun-dried clod"—is no novelty. In fact the essay is nothing more than a statement in modern terms of the new evidence which modern science furnishes in confirmation of the familiar conviction that, so far as his physical basis is concerned, man hath no preëminence above the beasts; that they all have one breath; that all flesh is grass; that it is the rain on the earth which causes the bud of the tender herb to spring forth; that as for the earth, it giveth us bread; that the vital spark is soon quenched unless it is kept alive by fuel from without; that the living machine must soon break down and wear out, and that then shall return the dust to the earth as it was. Huxley says: "Past experience leads me to be tolerably certain that when the propositions I have just placed before you are accessible to public comment and criticism, they will be condemned by many zealous persons, and perhaps by some few of the wise and thoughtful."



Those who remember the reception of the essay are aware that this expectation was not disappointed; but it is hard to understand why, for its substance, if not its modern language, has been the common property of some of the wise and thoughtful for ages.

I do not see why any one should challenge Huxley's statement that "it seems to me that we are logically bound to apply to protoplasm or the physical basis of life the same conceptions which are held to be legitimate elsewhere. If the phenomena exhibited by water are its properties, so are those presented by protoplasm its properties." We may have practical objections, based on expediency and not on logic, to the further statement that "we live in the hope and in the faith that by the advance of molecular physics we shall by and by be able to see our way as clearly from the constituents of water to the properties of water as we are now able to deduce the operations of a watch from the form of its parts and the way they are put together." Faith and hope are good things no doubt, and "expectation is permissible when belief is not" (VIII. VIII. 1870); but experience teaches that the expectation or faith of the master is very apt to become belief in the mind of the student, and "science warns us that the assertion which outstrips evidence is not only a blunder, but a crime." (III. IV. 150. 1880.) In order to avoid all danger of adding to the criminal classes it is perhaps as well for those who are teachers to keep their faith outside the laboratory as much as possible.

With this qualification I have nothing but approval for the passage quoted, as well as for the rest of the essay. Like Huxley I hold that we are logically bound to apply to protoplasm the same conceptions as those which are held to be legitimate elsewhere. Without believing, I certainly see no reason for doubting, that all the properties of organisms may possibly be some day deduced from the nature and disposition of their constituent molecules. If I should live to see this proved, I should believe it without remodelling any beliefs I now hold, for most assuredly I do not believe that these activities are the result of anything else than physical structure. I simply do not know, and have no belief whatever on the subject, although I welcome every addition to our knowledge of the properties of the physical basis of life, in the conviction that this knowledge is a necessary condition for progress. I must also insist, however, that nothing seems more obvious to me than that we might study the form of the parts of a watch, and the way they are put together, till the crack of doom, without understanding it in any sense worthy of the name. To understand it we

must study not only its mechanism and the movements to be deduced from it, but the movements of the earth as well: and then we must study a third thing,—that relation between the two which fits a watch for man's service. I hold that, in this sense of the word, we can "understand" watches, and that good common sense forces us to admit not only that the fitness of a watch is real, but that it is the only basis for a rational interest in watches. Analogies are dangerous weapons, because of our fondness for pushing them farther than the facts warrant, and for assuming that resemblance in one feature involves resemblance in other features. The fact that living things are like watches in their fitness, in their adjustment to the phenomena of the external world, at once suggests many interesting questions with which I have no intention of dealing. This particular resemblance is obvious, and I hold that, whatever may be possible to the zoologist of future ages, the only method of studying this fitness which is available at the present day is like that which we apply to watches. Huxley says:

"If the properties of water may be properly said to result from the nature and disposition of its component molecules, I can find no intelligible ground for refusing to say that the properties of protoplasm result from the nature and disposition of its molecules."

I know no reason why any one should "refuse to say" this, except that "the assertion which outstrips evidence is a crime." When it has been proved, I, for one, shall say it cheerfully: but I cannot forget that we have been taught for two thousand years and more that life is not a property of the physical basis like the properties of water, but a relation, an adjustment between the properties of the organism and those of the environment, between internal relations and external relations: that this adjustment serves to promote the welfare of the species, and that we know nothing comparable to it in water or in anything else except living beings and their products—such as watches, and spiders' webs and birds' nests.

The author of our oldest work on zoology opens it with the following statement of its purpose:

"To say what are the ultimate substances out of which an animal is formed . . . is no more sufficient than would be a similar account in the case of a couch. For we should not be content with saying that the couch was made of bronze or wood, or whatever it might be, but should try to describe its design or mode of composition in preference to the material. . . . It is plain that the teaching of the old physiologists is inadequate, and that the true method is to state what the definitive characters are that distinguish the animal as a



whole, . . . in fact, to proceed in exactly the same way as we should do were we giving a complete description of a couch" (or a meat jack). (Aristotle, "Parts of Animals," I. 1.)

If this is true: if life is not a property like those of water, but an adjustment between properties, it must be clear that no amount of knowledge of any properties of the physical basis except the property of fitness can ever give us a science of life, although it must be equally clear that knowledge of all its properties is a necessary condition for progress. My comment on the essay "On the Physical Basis of Life" is that, while I fully agree with it, I hold with Aristotle that it is "inadequate," although I am quite prepared to admit the possibility that this inadequacy may be due to our own limitations, and not to the nature of the subject. While I find nothing in the essay which need give any one a moment's "nightmare," I am equally unable to find in it any warrant except "faith" for the dogma that biology—the science of life—now is, or is at all likely soon to be, the study of the physical and chemical properties, or any other property except fitness, of the physical basis.

The partial failure of training in biological laboratories to make naturalists of the students, or to excite in them that interest in the homes of living things which has so often proved a greater delight than art or literature; its failure to stimulate the investigation of those relations between animals and plants and the world around them which constitute life,—has begun to attract attention and to excite comment. Among the many reasons assigned for this failure, "microtomes" have occupied a prominent place and have been held to be the seat of the mischief, although no one can treat seriously the assertion that we can have too many or too refined means for research into structure. From long acquaintance with many students and from much discussion with them I have satisfied myself that the belief that our biology (the biology of the present day, and not that of the unknown future) ends with the study of the structure and functions of the physical basis—the belief that biology is "nothing but" the discovery of its physical and chemical properties—has much to do with it. My experience also tells me that the essay "On the Physical Basis of Life" is appealed to as a scientific warrant for this belief, although we have seen that it affirms nothing more than a "hope" for this consummation.

This ground was all worked over before Aristotle's day, and perhaps it may not be too much of a flight of the imagination to inquire what he might have thought of this essay. Do not his reflections in the

"Parts of Animals" warrant the assertion that his comment would be something like this?—

"Your natural science interests me more than anything else in your modern world; and your century is distinguished beyond all others for progress in the history of life. I am delighted with this essay, and no other pleasure could compare with that which I should find in a course of study on the properties of living things with the aid of your appliances for research; but are you quite sure that the whole case is stated in the essay? While clay is the physical basis of the potter's art, its essence is fitness for the use of man: and what concerns us is not that he uses clay, but that he makes from it now a foundation-brick and now an ornamental coping; now a homely kitchen pot, and now a graceful urn. I have studied your wonderful chronometers until I am 'able to deduce the operations of a watch from the form of its parts and the way they are put together,' but I failed to understand it until I perceived that relation between its movements and those of the earth which constitutes its fitness for man's service. I tried, long ago, to show that something very similar is true of living things. We may some time be able to *foresee* or *deduce* all their actions from their structure, but at present, as in my own day, the only available way to *understand* them is to study their relations to the world around them.

"My teaching that the essence of a living being is not what it is made of, nor what it does, but why it does it, has been well rendered by one of your contemporaries into the statement that life is the continuous adjustment between internal and external relations. If this is true, is not the biology which restricts itself to the physical basis, and forgets the external world, like your play of 'Hamlet' without the Hamlet. Is not the biological laboratory which leaves out the ocean and the mountains and meadows a monstrous absurdity? Was not the greatest scientific generalization of your times reached independently by two men who were eminent in their familiarity with living things in their homes?

"You ask, 'What better philosophical status has vitality than aquosity?'—and I ask you in turn what better status has volition than vitality?—yet you find the employment of this word both useful and justifiable. You can separate water into its elements, and then, by recombining them, you can get water again; and this you may repeat as often as you choose: but can you, as yet, do anything of the sort with living things? When by the methods of the laboratory you have made a living being; when you have made not merely protoplasm,—nor even protoplasm capable of nutrition, growth, reproduction, and contraction,—but protoplasm able to maintain persistent adjustment to the shifting world around it,—then, and not till then, will I admit that my word 'vitality' ( $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ ) has reached the end of its long career of usefulness.

"I admitted long ago that it is as much a property of a bird to build a nest as it is a property of water to freeze; but our interest in the nest lies in its fitness for maintaining the species. I hear it said among you that science has nothing to do with the Why? but only with the How?; but we can surely give answers to the questions 'Why do men make and buy watches?'—'Why do birds pursue their prey?'—'Why do they flee their enemies?'—and 'Why do they make nests?'—answers which are good and sensible, although they are incomplete.

"The naturalists of your day are adding continually to the overwhelming evidence of a truth which was unsuspected in mine,—the mutability of species



and the continuity of life. If I could now publish a new edition of the 'Parts of Animals,' I should treat with more consideration than they seemed to merit two thousand years ago the views of my contemporaries who held that extermination and survival have a good deal to do with fitness, but I should still contend that the study of fitness is the true aim of biology."

This comment on the current interpretation of the essay on "The Physical Basis of Life" seems to me to be good common sense, and therefore good science: and it also seems to me to be a legitimate application of the teachings of the "Parts of Animals."

Huxley makes many references to the problems of biology in later essays, but space will permit us to examine none except the last. In 1894 I find certain Prolegomena (IX. i. 1894) in which it is easy to read between the lines clear indications that, notwithstanding the period represented by the essay on "The Physical Basis of Life," Huxley ended as he began,—almost, if not altogether, in the old-fashioned conviction that living things do, in some way and to some degree, control or condition inorganic nature; that they hold their own by setting the mechanical properties of matter in opposition to each other, and that this is their most notable and distinctive characteristic. He says the flora of the region where he writes was in a "state of nature" until three or four years before, when the—

—"state of nature was brought to an end, so far as a small patch of soil is concerned, by the intervention of man. The patch was cut off from the rest by a wall. . . . In short, it was made into a garden. . . . It will be admitted that the garden is as much a work of art or artifice as anything that can be mentioned. The energy localized in certain human bodies, directed by similarly localized intellects, has produced a collocation of other material bodies which could not be brought about in a state of nature. The same proposition is true of all the works of man's hands, from a flint implement to a cathedral or a chronometer: and it is because it is true that we call these things artificial, term them works of art, or artifice, by way of distinguishing them from the products of the cosmic process, working outside man, which we call natural, or works of nature. The distinction thus drawn between the works of nature and those of man is universally recognized, and it is, as I conceive, both useful and justifiable."

I trust that the thoughtful reader will perceive that the legitimate pursuit of this line of reflection leads straight back to the Aristotelean statement, in the essay of 1854 (III. II. 40), that "to the student of life (as contrasted with the student of physics) the aspect of nature is reversed. Here incessant, and, so far as we know, spontaneous change is the rule: rest the exception—the anomaly to be accounted for. Living things have no inertia and tend to no equilibrium."

Many biologists find their greatest triumph in the doctrine that the living body is a "mere machine": but a machine is a collocation of matter and energy working for an end, not a spinning toy; and when the living machine is compared to the products of human art, the legitimate deduction is that it is not merely a spinning eddy in a stream of dead matter and mechanical energy, but a little garden in the physical wilderness; that the energy localized in *living* bodies, directed by similarly localized *vitality*, has produced a collocation of other material bodies which could not be brought about in a state of *physical* nature, and that the distinction thus drawn between the works of *non-vital* nature and those of life is both useful and justifiable.

What this distinction may mean in ultimate analysis I know no more than Aristotle or Huxley; nor do I believe that any one ever will know until we find out. One thing we may be sure it does not mean,—that the living world is anything but natural: for all men of science must agree with Aristotle ("Parts of Animals," III. II. 16) that "in all our speculations therefore, concerning nature, what we have to consider is the general rule" (not forces, or causes, or necessary laws). "For that is natural *which holds good* either universally or generally."<sup>1</sup> If we are to understand this fitness which is so distinctive of living things, this must be brought about, not by keeping it locked out of sight as a chamber of horrors, but by bringing it into the bright light of day; by "intending the mind" upon it; by attacking it with Descartes' method of using one's reason rightly for the discovery of truth. Whether this method is or is not adequate, we shall know when we find out; but we have no other, and the discoveries of Wallace and of Darwin give a basis, not for a belief, but for a hope that it may some day prove adequate.

Times are changed since Huxley warned his hearers in 1868 that, in accepting protoplasm as the physical basis of life, he was "placing his foot on the first rung of a ladder which, in most people's estimation, is the reverse of Jacob's and leads to the antipodes of heaven." Now "Scientific Rip Van Winkle" and "Aristotelean" are the mildest phrases applied to him who holds that life is more than a basis,—to him who doubts whether the essay states the whole or even the most essential part of the case; and he is lucky if he is not told that he is a "Spiritualist," "false to the spirit of Science," or at the very least that he is "illogical." In this case he can only say with Huxley (IX. 10.

<sup>1</sup> See also Huxley, VII. 154. "Nature means neither more nor less than that which is."



1894) that "if it is urged that the . . . cosmic process cannot be in antagonism with that . . . which is part of itself, I can only reply that if the conclusion that the two are antagonistic is logically absurd, I am sorry for logic, because, as we have seen, the fact is so," or, as Aristotle expresses it, "it holds good."

My own interest in this distinction is entirely practical and not philosophical. Whatever philosophical basis it may have or may not have, it seems to me that no one can question its practical bearing on the study of biology at the present day and for many ages to come. If it is urged that our knowledge of the external world is destined to be resolved, in the long run, into our consciousness of changes in the physical basis of our minds, and that the "external world" to which plants and animals respond is also to be resolved into changes in their physical basis, I am quite willing to admit this possibility; but I hold it unwise to forget that the same daily experience which justifies our confidence in the orderly sequence of external nature also warrants the assumption that their external world is the same as ours. The question of its reality or unreality has no more to do with this purely practical confidence than has the presence or absence, in a dog or an oak-tree, of conscious belief in it.

Those who hold the faith that science will some day be able to demonstrate, in the structure of the brain, the origin of such actions as writing a review of Huxley's essays, are quite welcome to their faith; but I hold, as a purely practical matter, that they may find out in a much shorter way why I have written this article; and I also hold that this is likely to be the case for some considerable time. I also believe with Aristotle that the most practical way within our reach of studying that adjustment between the organism and the external world—that fitness—which constitutes life, is to learn all we can about the physical basis and all that we can about its fitness; and I hold fast to this purely practical belief without any faith in the unknown biology of the distant future, and most assuredly without any desire to discount it.

W. K. BROOKS.

## PLUTOCRACY AND PATERNALISM.

To judge from the tone of the popular press, the country would seem to be between the devil of state interference and the deep sea of gold. The two epithets, "plutocracy" and "paternalism," so freely applied, are intended to characterize the worst tendencies of the times in these two opposite directions, and are calculated to engender the bitterest feelings in the public mind. If such a thing were possible, it would certainly be useful, standing aloof from the contest, to make a cool, unbiassed analysis of the true meaning of these terms in their relation to the existing state of affairs. While it may be admitted that this is impossible, such an approximation to it as the conditions will allow can certainly do no harm.

On all subjects that interest mankind there are extremes of thought, and these form a sort of penumbra outside the general consensus of opinion among right-minded people. While most persons consider the possession of wealth a rightful condition and a laudable aim of life, there are some who accept Proudhon's dictum, "*la propriété c'est le vol*," and nearly all shades of opinion between these may be found. The average man desires to see the business interests of society left free and open to equal competition, but there are those who would have the state conduct all industry and make all citizens salaried employees. Between these views there are also many intermediate ones. This condition has always existed very much as it is to-day. On the whole there seems to be little danger that any of the extremes of popular opinion will ever prevail, but at the same time there is always a moderate, often rhythmic, drift in some one direction, so that what were extremes are so no longer, and other unthought-of schemes occupy the van. It is this that constitutes social progress.

Justly or unjustly, society has made wealth a measure of worth. It is easy on general principles to prove that it is not such a measure. Every one is personally cognizant of numerous cases to the contrary. All will admit that, taken in the abstract, the principle is unsound, and yet all act upon it. Not rationally, not perhaps consciously, but still they do it. It is "human nature" to respect those who have, and to



care little for those who have not. There is a sort of feeling that if one is destitute there must be a reason for it. It is inevitably ascribed to some personal deficit. In a word, absence of means is, in one form or another, made to stand for absence of merit. Its cause is looked for in character. This is most clearly seen in the marked contrast between the indisposition to help the unsuccessful, and the willingness to help the successful. Aside from the prospect of a *quid pro quo*, no one wants to waste time, energy, or money on what is worthless,—and possession is the primary test of worth.

It would be easy to work out the genesis of this sentiment, and to show how it is the natural result of the universal competition in society, where the fittest to survive is always the one who can gain possession of the greatest amount of this world's goods. It has therefore a rational basis, a substratum of truth on which to rest. We are chiefly concerned with it here as a fact. It is universal. Those who most thoroughly condemn it are influenced by it. The force that works against it in society is not the absence or weakness of the sentiment itself, but another and wholly dissimilar feeling, viz., sympathy. This sentiment is not rational, but illogical, as shown by the fact that men give alms to satisfy temporary want rather than opportunity to supply permanent needs. But of the other sentiment, which may be called "plutolatry,"—the worship of wealth,—even the victims show traces, and in denouncing the rich they unconsciously attribute to them a personal dignity proportional to their wealth.

Thus it comes about that wealth, in the existing state of society, is a tremendous power. It gives not only ease, plenty, luxury, but, what is infinitely more, the respect of all and the envy of the less favored. It gives, in a word, superiority; and the strongest craving of man's nature is, in one way or another, to be set over his fellows. When all this is considered, the futility of the proposal of certain reformers to eradicate the passion for proprietary acquisition becomes apparent. It may be assumed that this passion will continue for an indefinite period to be the ruling element of the industrial state. That it has done and is still doing incalculable service to society few will deny. That it may continue to be useful to the end of our present industrial era will probably be admitted by all but a small class.

If the accumulation of wealth, even for the benefit of individuals, were all that is involved in the term "plutocracy," the indictment would not be serious. If the governing power implied in the last component of the word were nothing more than the normal influence that wealth

exerts, no great injury to society could accrue. Even the amassing of colossal fortunes is not an evil in itself, since the very activity which it requires stimulates industry and benefits a large number. There is, it is true, a danger—in the transmission of such fortunes to inactive and non-productive heirs—of creating a non-industrial class in perpetuity; but this could be remedied, without hardship to any worthy person, by a wise limitation of inheritance.

So much for plutocracy. Let us now turn to the other pole of public opinion and inquire into the meaning of "paternalism." Literally, of course, paternalism in government would be restricted to cases in which the governing power is vested in a single person, who may be regarded as well-disposed and seeking to rule his subjects for their own good, as a father governs his children. But a ruling family, or even a large ruling class, may be supposed to govern from similar motives. In either case the governed are not supposed to have any voice in the matter, but are cared for like children by the assumed wisdom of their rulers. How far from true paternalism is anything that exists in this or any other civilized country to-day may therefore be readily seen. No one will claim that there is any danger, in a representative government with universal suffrage, of any such state being brought about. This shows at the outset that the term is not used in its original and correct sense, but is merely borrowed and applied as a stigma to certain tendencies in republican governments which the users of it do not approve. What are these tendencies? In general it may be said that they are tendencies toward the assumption by the state of functions that are now entrusted to private enterprise.

On the one hand it is logically argued that the indefinite extension of such powers would eventuate in the most extreme socialistic system,—the conduct of all business by the state. On the other hand it is shown with equal logic that the entire relinquishment of the functions which the state has already assumed would be the abolition of government itself. The extremists of one party would land us in socialism; those of the other, in anarchy. But on one side it is said by the more moderate that the true function of government is the protection of society; to which it is replied by the other that such extension of governmental powers is in the interest of protection, viz., protection against the undue rapacity of private enterprise. Here, as almost everywhere else in the realm of politics, it is a question of quantity and not of quality. It is not a difference in principle, but in policy.



It is the degree to which the fundamental principle of all government is to be carried out.

If we look for precedents and historical examples we find great diversity. If we take the question of government telegraphy we find that the United States is almost the only country in the civilized world that has not adopted it, while the reports from other countries are practically unanimous in its favor. That such a movement should be called paternalism is therefore quite gratuitous, and must spring from either pecuniary interest or unenlightened prejudice. From this on, up to the question of abolishing the private ownership of land, there is a multitude of problems presenting all shades of difference in the degree to which the principle of state action is to be applied in their solution. They need to be fearlessly investigated, coolly considered, and wisely decided in the true interests of the public. It was not the purpose of this article to discuss any of these questions, but simply to mention them in illustration of the popular use of the term "paternalism." It is clear that that term is employed solely to excite prejudice against the extension of the functions of the state, just as the term "plutocracy" is used to arouse antagonism to the wealthy classes. The words have in these senses no natural meaning, and, with intelligent persons, should have no argumentative weight.

Are there, then, no dangerous or deleterious tendencies in modern society? There certainly are such, and they may be said to be in the direction of both plutocracy and paternalism, giving to these terms not a literal, but a real or scientific meaning, as denoting respectively the too great power of wealth, and the too great solicitude for and fostering of certain interests on the part of government.

The first law of economics is that every one may be depended upon at all times to seek his greatest gain. It is both natural and right that the individual should be ever seeking to acquire for himself and his; and this rather irrespective of the rest of the world. It was so in the olden time, when physical strength was almost the only force. It is so to-day, when business shrewdness is practically supreme. Government was instituted to protect the weak from the strong in this universal struggle to possess; or, what is the same thing, to protect society at large. Originally it was occupied solely with abuses caused by brute force. It is still, so far as this primary function of enforcing justice is concerned, practically limited to this class of abuses, relatively trifling as they are. Crime still means this, as it did in the days of King Arthur, and as it does to-day in barbaric countries. Any advantage gained

by force is promptly met by the law; but advantage gained by cunning, by superior knowledge,—if it be only of the technicalities of the law,—is not a crime, though its spirit be as bad as that of highway robbery and its consequences a thousand times worse.

From this point of view, then, modern society is suffering from the very opposite of paternalism,—from under-government, from the failure of government to keep pace with the change which civilization has wrought in substituting intellectual for physical qualities as the workers of injustice. Government to-day is powerless to perform its primary and original function of protecting society. There was a time when brigandage stalked abroad throughout Europe and no one was safe in life or property. This was due to lack of adequate government. Man's nature has not changed, but brigandage has succumbed to the strong arm of the law. Human rapacity now works in subtler ways. Plutocracy is the modern brigandage and can be dislodged only by the same power,—the power of the state. All the evils of society are the result of the free flow of natural propensities. The purpose of government is, as far as may be, to prevent this from causing injustice. The physical passions of men are natural and healthy, but they cannot be allowed to go unbridled. Government was established, not to lessen or even to alter them. Exactly the same is needed to be done with the higher acquisitive faculty. It need not be condemned; it cannot be suppressed: but it can and should be directed into harmless ways and restricted to useful purposes. Properly viewed, too, this is to secure its maximum exercise and greatest freedom, for unrestrained license soon leads to conflict, chokes its own free operation, and puts an end to its activity. The true function of government is not to fetter but to liberate the forces of society, not to diminish but to increase their effectiveness. Unbridled competition destroys itself. The only competition that endures is that which goes on under judicious regulation.

If, then, the danger of plutocracy is so largely due to insufficient government, where is the tendency to paternalism in the sense of too much government? This opens up the last and most important aspect of the subject. If there were no influences at work in society but those of unaided nature; if we had a pure physiocracy or government of nature, such as prevails among wild animals, and the weak were thereby sacrificed that the strong might survive to beget the strong, and thus elevate the race along the lines of evolution,—however great the hardship, we might resign ourselves to it as part of the great cosmic scheme. But unfortunately this is not the case. Without stopping to



show that, from the standpoint of a civilized society, the qualities which best fit men to gain advantage over their fellows are the ones least useful to society at large, it will be sufficient for the present purpose to point out that in the actual state of society it is not even those who, from this biological point of view, are the fittest, that become in fact the recipients of the greatest favors at the hands of society. This is due to the creation, by society itself, of artificial conditions that destroy the balance of forces and completely nullify all the beneficial effects that are secured by the operation of the natural law on the lower plane. Indeed, the effect is reversed, and instead of developing strength, either physical or mental, through activity incident to emulation, it tends to parasitic degeneracy through the pampered idleness of the favored classes.

What, in the last analysis, are these social conditions? They are at bottom integral parts of government. They are embodied in law. Largely they consist of statute law. Where this is wanting they rest on judicial decisions, often immemorial, and belonging to the *lex non scripta*. In a word, they constitute the great system of jurisprudence relating to property and business, gradually built up through the ages to make men secure in their possessions and safe in their business transactions, but which in our day, owing to entirely changed industrial conditions, has become the means of throwing unlimited opportunities in the way of some and of barring out the rest from all opportunities. This system of artificial props, bolsterings, and scaffoldings has grown so perfect as to make exertion needless for the protected class and hopeless for the neglected mass. In a word, it has become the bulwark of monopoly. Says Prof. John R. Commons in his "Distribution of Wealth":

"The heads of industries are no longer the independent Napoleons of finance; they find their sphere as high-salaried managers and legal advisers, while the successors of the *entrepreneurs* proper, the original organizers and promoters of enterprises, are simply the commonplace, idle recipients of the permanent profits and the mildly fluctuating temporary profits. . . . Instead of the profits being due to the powerful exertions and abilities of the captains of industry, they are due to certain fixed social relations and rights. The recipients of these incomes may with perfect security become idlers and drones. They abdicate their functions as *entrepreneurs* into the hands of salaried chiefs and advisers. They are no longer performing the services of society which were performed by their ancestors or predecessors, who organized and developed the business to which they have succeeded."

And thus we have the remarkable fact, so persistently overlooked in all the discussions of current questions, that government, which fails

to protect the weak, is devoting all its energies to protecting the strong. It legalizes and promotes trusts and combinations; subsidizes corporations, and then absolves them from their obligations; sustains stock-watering schemes and all forms of speculation; grants without compensation the most valuable franchises, often in perpetuity; and in innumerable ways creates, defends, and protects a vast array of purely parasitic enterprises, calculated directly to foster the worst forms of municipal corruption. The proofs of each one of these counts lie about us on every hand. Only those who are blinded by interest or prejudice can fail to see them.

There is no greater danger to civilization than the threatened absorption by a few individuals of all the natural resources of the earth, so that they can literally extort tribute from the rest of mankind. If half a dozen persons could get possession of all the breadstuffs of a country, it would justify a revolution. Fortunately, from the nature of this product, this is impossible, although long strides in that direction have from time to time been taken. But it is otherwise with some other products which, if less indispensable, are still among the modern necessities of life. All the petroleum of this country is owned by a single trust. If men could not live without it there is no telling how high the price would be raised. Nothing limits it but the question of how much the public will pay rather than do without. That indispensable product, coal, has well-nigh reached the same stage through the several railroad combinations that now control it. That which costs sixty cents to mine, and as much more to transport, cannot be obtained by the consumer for less than five or six dollars. Does it speak well for the common sense of a great people that they should continue to submit to such things? There seems to be no remedy except in the power of the nation.

It is time, too, that the people began to look into the great question of transportation. If a thorough investigation should show that the hour is not yet come for the public management of the vast enterprises involved, it would at least show, as it has done in England, France, Germany, and nearly all the other countries of Europe, that they are in need of thorough and systematic regulation. Does any one, for example, suppose that there is any permanent advantage in the railroad rate-wars that are so frequently waged in this country? The low cut-rates are always of short duration, and the result is the ultimate combination of the interests involved, usually followed by higher rates than before. And why should several companies be allowed to build parallel lines



between the same points, like the three between Philadelphia and Atlantic City, when one is abundantly sufficient to supply the traffic? Is it not clear that the public must pay this unnecessary expense? Would it be any infringement of human liberty for the state to forbid the construction of a railroad for the sole purpose of being sold to another that had no use for it except to get it out of its way? In France nothing of the kind is allowed, and the railroad system of that country is under strict and rational state regulation; yet no one complains of oppression.

One of the greatest needs of an industrious people is a safe and profitable investment of their surplus earnings. In the existing condition of things they are driven into the stock-market. In a few rare cases the stocks taken prove good. In still rarer cases—such as the first telephone shares—they become enormously productive. But in the great majority of cases they first fluctuate and finally fall below par, often to a mere nominal value. There seems to be nothing to prevent the directors of these concerns from manipulating the shares so as first to enrich themselves and then to leave the business a wreck. Witness the degeneracy of the great Thompson-Houston Electric Company, its absorption of other properties, its passage into the General Electric Company, the suspension of dividends, and the fall of the stock to thirty-five cents on a dollar. It may be said that those who choose to risk these losses should suffer for their folly. But there is nothing that is safe. Savings banks are even more precarious, for here failure results in total loss to the depositor. And there seems to be nothing to prevent the legal authorization of all kinds of investment schemes to tempt the public to entrust them with its money, until the organizers think they have all they want and can afford to “fail” and retire with it. If the state cannot really require a safe guaranty to investors, or prohibit such insecure organizations, it can at least offer, in the form of national savings banks, an opportunity for prudent people to make a safe disposition of their surplus funds; and this has been done in nearly every country except the United States.

One of the most crying evils of the times is the reckless manner in which the most important franchises are being given away. The following statement made by Mr. W. C. Dodge, President of the Associated Charities of the District of Columbia, in his annual address of December, 1891, has not, to my knowledge, been answered or denied. It is to be taken merely as a sample of what is going on throughout the country:

“Here are seven street railroad companies, two gas companies, two telegraph companies, two telephone companies, and one electric-light company, not one of which gave a cent for their valuable franchises, and the whole amount of taxes paid by these fourteen corporations the past year is but \$98,321.45,—a mere trifle as compared with the value of their franchises and the profits drawn by them from the public. Some have never paid in the full amount of their capital stock, and yet pay dividends and extend their works from their profits, while the stock of others is quoted on the market as from 100 to 400 per cent premium.”

It is well known that in almost every country of Europe these franchises, based on “natural monopolies,” are made to constitute one of the principal sources of revenue.

The “burning question” of our day is the reform of municipal government. The evils complained of all result from the same cause as the national evils already enumerated, which is at bottom the indifference of the citizen to what is being done by self-seeking individuals. Here, as everywhere, personal greed is laying the public under tribute. Individualism is supreme. Party politics are shrewdly brought in to obscure public interests, and behind this veil abuses go unperceived. The cities, as well as the nation at large, need to wake from the lethargy of *laissez faire*, and to take matters into their own hands. They would do well to begin with a study of the recent policy of the London County Council, and, if they doubted its efficacy, they would only need to pay a visit to the “Greater London.” Some idea of what there is to be learned in this direction is given in a paper read by Mr. Sydney Webb, in August last, before the British Association for the Advancement of Science.

The very possession of wealth is only made possible by government. The safe conduct of all business depends upon the certain protection of law. The most powerful business combinations take place under legal forms. Even dishonest and swindling schemes, so long as they violate no penal statute, are protected by law. Speculation in the necessities of life is legitimate business, and is upheld by the officers of the law though it result in famine; and even then bread riots are put down by the armed force of the state. Thus has society become the victim of its own system, against the natural effects of which it is powerless to protect itself. It has devised the best possible scheme for satisfying the rapacity of human nature.

And now, mark: The charge of paternalism is chiefly made by the class that enjoys the largest share of government protection. Those who denounce state interference are the ones who most frequently and successfully invoke it. The cry of *laissez faire* mainly goes up from



the ones who, if really "let alone," would instantly lose their wealth-absorbing power.

A significant example of this is found in some of the provisions of the so-called Pooling Bill. In a paper read by the Hon. Carroll D. Wright before the American Economic Association in December last, he characterizes this as "state-socialistic," and says:

"This pending legislation is demanded at the instance of the shippers and the railroads of the country, and its passage is being aided by a powerful lobby in their service. The railroads base their advocacy of the bill on the claim that it will be for the interest of the shippers to have such a law."

And he predicts that it will be followed by a demand that the government shall take charge of the roads and guarantee dividends to the stockholders. He further says:

"All this will be at the demand and in the interest of the railroads and of the shippers, and not of the labor involved in carrying on the work of transportation, as the demand of to-day for the enactment of the pooling bill is alleged to be largely in the interest of the shippers and the public welfare."

Nothing is more obvious to-day than the signal inability of capital and private enterprise to take care of themselves unaided by the state; and while they are incessantly denouncing "paternalism,"—by which they mean the claim of the defenceless laborer and artisan to a share in this lavish state protection,—they are all the while besieging legislatures for relief from their own incompetency, and "pleading the baby act" through a trained body of lawyers and lobbyists. The dispensing of national pap to this class should rather be called "maternalism," to which a square, open, and dignified paternalism would be infinitely preferable.

Still all these things must be regarded as perfectly natural, that is, inherent in the nature of man, and not as peculiar to any class. Therefore personalities and vituperation are entirely out of place. It is simply a question of whether they are going to be permitted to go on. The fault is altogether with the system. Nor should any one object to state protection of business interests. Even monopoly may be defended against aggressive competition on the ground of economy. The protection of the strong may not be too great, but there should be at the same time protection of the weak against the protected strong. It is not the purpose of this article to point out remedies, but tendencies, and it seems clear that right here are to be located the two greatest dangers to modern society. Here lies the only plutocracy, and here

the only paternalism. The two are really one, and are embodied in the joint fact of state-protected monopoly.

The degree to which the citizen is protected in the secure enjoyment of his possessions is a fair measure of the state of civilization, but this protection must apply as rigidly to the poor man's possessions as to those of the rich man. In the present system the latter is not only encouraged, but actually tempted to exploit the former. Every trust, every monopoly, every carelessly granted franchise, has or may have this effect, and the time has arrived when a part at least of this paternal solicitude on the part of government should be diverted from the monopolistic element and bestowed upon the general public. If we must have paternalism, there should be no partiality shown in the family.

LESTER F. WARD.



## WOMAN'S POSITION IN PAGAN TIMES.

I HAD heard so many times, both in and out of the pulpit, that woman owed to Christianity her social elevation and the amelioration of her lot, that I had come to accept it as a truism. At all events it had never occurred to me to question the postulate until, one day, I read in the "Germania" of Tacitus that among the ancient Teutons a kind of sanctity seemed to pertain to women. Truly remarkable, considering the time when it was written, is the statement that the German women were not permitted to regard themselves as standing outside the world belonging to the men, nor were they unconcerned in their warlike pursuits.

I fancy I detect here a little fling at the ladies of the writer's own day, the astonishing variety of whose toilet articles we may yet admire in the Pompeiian Museum at Naples. Nothing, I should judge, was of more serious import to these damsels than their frivolities; and in the art of beautifying themselves they have been emulated, but not excelled, by their sisters of later date. If the exquisite and elaborate care of one's physical self is (as has been gravely contended) the crucial test of civilization, then civilization reached its climax about the age of Tiberius, and the feminine half of mankind has been retrograding rather than advancing in the last nineteen centuries. But to my mind the test is a flimsy one, and I could easily, if that were my present business, propose one more worthy of consideration. If the above statement of Tacitus is to be trusted, I am inclined to believe that the Germans, amid all the rudeness of a pastoral and militant life, possessed elements of a higher civilization than the fastidious and over-refined Romans. The chief evidence of this superiority is, I think, to be found in their attitude toward women.

This very question as to whether women should or should not regard themselves as standing outside the world belonging to the men has been noisily debated, and is continually reëmerging for fresh debate when we think it has been finally disposed of.

Among the ancient Germans it had not yet reached the stage of

controversy, because, apparently, men conceded all that women demanded. There is to me something very noble in the comradeship of husband and wife which appears to have existed among these rude and hardy warriors,—a comradeship half resembling that of boy and girl before the consciousness of sex has markedly differentiated them. Not even from the tribal council were women excluded. Tacitus expressly states that they were attentively listened to, and that their advice was never left unheeded. I was once inclined to suspect a bit of courteous exaggeration in this, induced by the writer's desire to emphasize the contrast between the weight of personality and serious worth of the barbarian women and the flimsy frivolity of his own countrywomen. But a deeper study of Germanic paganism convinced me that the suspicion was unfounded. Paganism in the North did, undoubtedly, tend to evolve sturdier types of womanhood than Christianity has done; and it accorded a recognition to female intelligence which Christianity has been far slower in according. Largely, to be sure, the rude conditions incident to pastoral life, interrupted by frequent wars and migrations, were responsible for the sagacity, the readiness of resource, and the splendid courage which the daughters of Germany seem to have exhibited, a thousand years ago, in a far higher degree than they do to-day. For all that, I cannot but think that the Oriental view of womanhood, implied in the Bible, has had an enormous influence in forcibly checking the normal development. The Catholic church not only adopted, but immensely exaggerated the disabilities under which the sex had labored in Semitic lands; and the result was that the free-born, sagacious, and nobly self-dependent daughter of the Teutonic forests was dwarfed, subdued, and spiritually crippled until she became the commonplace, insignificant, obedient *Hausfrau* of to-day.

There is something exceedingly attractive to me in the picture of the tribal chiefs, with their wives and mothers grouped upon the earthen floor about the fire, deliberating concerning the affairs of the commonwealth. I seem to see the tall, brawny warriors, whose shaggy blonde heads and stubborn blue eyes looked so terrible to the puny Italians, and the paintings of Thumann and Piloty have aided me in divining their female counterparts. Where will you find a type of more splendid matronly dignity, or more defiant majesty of womanhood, than the latter's "Thusnelda"? Where such noble and healthful simplicity and vigor as in the former's Teutonic maidens in "Hermann's Return from his Victory over the Romans"?



They have a fine, free, out-of-door air about them, and that sturdy, half-boyish candor which is so touching in the face of a girl. They have never heard of St. Paul's injunction that woman should not speak in meeting; and they utter with a full sense of responsibility grave, well-considered words upon which the fate of the tribe may hang. If (as Tacitus informs us) they were attentively listened to, we may be sure it was not from gallantry, but because they had something weighty and valuable to say. Gallantry came into the world with chivalry over a thousand years later. Now, without invidious comparison, permit me to ask if such a scene or anything equivalent to it would be possible to-day? I am, of course, making allowance for the extreme simplicity of the government of the German village communities; and I shall not, therefore, ask if women are tolerated in cabinet meetings or councils of state. But even in town meetings or communal councils I believe that their presence would now create a sensation. If, for all that, they have, since the days of Maintenon and Pompadour, wielded a considerable political influence, it has usually been of an unacknowledged and subterranean kind, of which they have had cause to be ashamed. And, truth to tell, their training, or, if you choose, their lack of training, and the character which this lack of training has developed, would to-day make them ill-adapted for any serious business in which prudence and deliberation were of prime import. It would be an exaggeration, perhaps, to maintain that Christianity is alone responsible for this undoubted degeneration of womanhood, as regards civic worth, weight of personality, and strength of character; but that it has been the strongest of a number of coöperating factors is beyond dispute. Social refinement, increased security of life,—in a word, civilization, with its changed ideals,—is responsible for the rest. And the two are so closely intertangled that it is impossible to say where the one begins and the other ends.

It is customary to comprehend under the term "chivalry" that radical change of sentiment which about the time of the Crusades, or a little earlier, began to revolutionize the social position of woman. The frank and unsentimental comradeship of pagan antiquity was superseded by an exaggerated, mawkish, and artificial homage which implied a lessened respect under the mask of a heightened one. Only two feminine virtues came to be regarded as important, viz., chastity and piety; and so far as the Germans are concerned there is no disguising the fact that beyond this point they have never since advanced.

The Emperor William II. (if he has not been misquoted) is, to be sure, liberal enough to recognize a third virtue, viz., skill in cooking. Woman's sphere, he said recently, is bounded by the three *K's*—*Kirche*, *Küche*, *Kinderstube* (church, kitchen, nursery). It did not trouble him to consider how untrue he was to the best German tradition in making this foolish declaration. What kind of women can you expect to foster in the mingled fumes of nursery, church, and kitchen? Simple, devout creatures, no doubt,—pious, higher domesticities, who will bear children meekly and be profoundly at the service of their lords and masters. It would be the wildest folly to expect any free and noble flowering of a soul thus narrowly circumscribed, and it is small blame to the victims of such a system if they fail to exhibit the qualities which we have for seven hundred years been at pains to suppress in them.

It is against the worn-out ideals of the age of chivalry that the women are now beginning to revolt; and although I am æsthetically shocked at their rebellion, my intelligence justifies and approves it. Let them reconquer the right to be physicians, surgeons, priestesses, and, if they like, prophetesses,—all of which they were during pagan times. Let them emerge from their historical swaddling-clothes, and move their limbs and their souls with happy freedom and grace. I am aware, of course, that to a limited extent they have already reconquered these ancient privileges; but the few daring pioneers enjoy but a chary recognition on the part of society at large, and for this very reason they have been apt to develop their pugnacity at the expense of their charm. Such would not be the case if they felt themselves to be as normal and natural phenomena as their colleagues of the masculine gender.

I cannot close the present reflections without correcting the very general misconception that during pagan times the position of women was practically that of slaves. It will, perhaps, surprise many to learn that the legislation regarding marriage and divorce was in Iceland and Norway far more mindful of the wife's interest than it has ever been during the Christian era. The old Icelandic law stipulated, for instance, that if a man were divorced from his wife (even though she were the offending party) he had to return her dowry intact. Divorce was legally obtainable if both parties desired it, and the law did not, as in Christian times, insist upon publicly humiliating and disgracing every man and woman who in youthful folly had committed themselves to a choice which made every breath



a blight upon the face of life, and the hours a burden to be dragged through the weary length of day. Love was not held to be woman's only concern. Marital affection was rarely of the wildly romantic sort, but a mutual hearty good-will, esteem, and devotion, often amounting to tenderness, bred by habit and a community of interests. There are in the Sagas a few sublime instances of romantic attachments; as in the touchingly beautiful tale of "Gunlaug Serpent-Tongue and Helga the Fair." But they are relatively exceptional. What strikes one above all in the women of the Norse Sagas is their admirable practical efficiency and their passionate absorption in the quarrels, rivalries, ambitions, and feuds of their husbands, sons, and brothers. Generally speaking, love was not all of life to them, but an episode, though a highly important one. But it did not engross and possess them to the exclusion of all other interests. Primarily they were human beings; secondarily, women. As members of the family and the clan, they were as much concerned in the turbulent politics of the period as those who wielded the sword; nay, they were only too often the instigators of the fearful internecine wars which devastated the land. A kind of heroic lawlessness and mighty power of will made them often terrible and at times sublime. We have to admire, even though we may not approve. Such formidable strength of personality and elemental force of character (for good or for ill) present a glaring contrast to the sweet, coy, but comparatively insignificant women of the age of chivalry, who emphatically did "stand outside the world belonging to the men." They dwelt much of the time in sequestered bowers, like Turkish houris, listened to love romances, attended the solemn buffooneries of the love courts, gossipped, embroidered, played chess, dreamed, sighed, and had stolen interviews with lovers. Their whole lives and emotions centred in the passion of love. They were sweethearts, wives, mothers (and probably fairly good ones), but they were nothing else. They had no separate individual existence, no larger public interests; and their personalities were therefore, from generation to generation, reduced, impoverished, and dwarfed. Their sex gradually came to take precedence of their humanity, which is the most disastrous thing that can happen to any creature, male or female:

It may perhaps be impertinent to ask to what extent European and American women of to-day have emancipated themselves from this feudal ideal. The novelists, who not unfairly reflect public opinion, are yet tolerably unanimous in representing love as the one

dominant and overshadowing concern in a woman's life. Most of them are also inclined to ridicule any member of the sex who aspires to wider spheres of activity. We fill the brains of our daughters with current conventional catchwords, as we fill their pockets with the current coin of the Republic, and it would no more occur to most of us to furnish them with the materials for forming independent opinions than it would to supply them with the tools for coining their own money. So long as this system remains in vogue, the happy comradeship between men and women which prevailed in pagan times is out of the question. For you cannot make a comrade of a cackling flirt, or a simpering fashion-plate, or an amiable echo. Until we cease to teach our girls the pernicious folly that they are to live only to love, they will, in my opinion, not be worth loving,—besides being exceedingly trying to live with.

HJALMAR HJORTH BOYESEN.



## STUDIES OF NOTABLE MEN: STAMBOLOFF.

THE assassination of ex-Premier Stamboloff, of Bulgaria, last July, removed from the scene of his activities the most remarkable personality in southeastern Europe. Opinions as to his worth differ, and perhaps always will; but that he was a very remarkable man no thinking person can for a moment doubt. The stormy history of new Bulgaria is rich in heroic names, but in achievements and just renown no name rises higher than that of Stefan Stamboloff. He was born to lead and to command; a man of tremendous force of character, indomitable will, and, in pursuing his plans, original, fearless, and tireless. Built after the pattern and of the stuff of which Nature builds greatness, his strength and his weakness, his virtues and his vices, were alike great. A man, in fact,—

—“ whose genius was such,  
We scarcely can praise it or blame it too much.”

It was by no accident, therefore, that his murder, at the early age of forty-one, created such a profound sensation throughout the civilized world.

Stefan Nikoloff Stamboloff was born February 12, 1854, at Trnovo, the ancient capital of Bulgaria. There he passed his boyhood, during which period of his life his fertile imagination was fired by the remnants of the ancient greatness of his enslaved country. At Trnovo he also received his primary education. When about seventeen years old he went to Russia and entered a theological seminary in Odessa, where he remained about three years. As a student “ he showed a remarkable aptitude for learning, but his industrial moods were fitful and irregular.” At length he left (some say that, owing to his total disregard of discipline, he was expelled) before quite completing his course, in order to join the insurrectionary bands in Roumania.

And who were these people that allured young Stefan from his studies, and what was their aim? They consisted chiefly of three classes: first, true patriots, who on account of their patriotism were

exiled, or had saved themselves by flight, from Turkey; secondly, men who had suffered some personal or family wrong (such as father or brother killed, sister or sweetheart forcibly carried away, by the Turks) which had led them to vow eternal vengeance upon the race of their oppressors; and, thirdly, regular outlaws,—half soldiers, half brigands,—whose love of fighting and plunder, as well as hatred of the Turk, had led them to make common cause with the genuine patriots. The headquarters of this motley crowd was the “Central Revolutionary Committee” at Bucharest, whose purpose was disguised under the name of the “Central Benevolent Committee.” The aim of this organization was to arouse the Bulgarian people to rebellion, in the hope of liberating their country from Turkish thralldom. With this end in view, from time to time small bands of them attempted with arms to force their way into Turkey; but the result of such attempts was always the same,—the utter destruction of the daring band, and the martyrdom of their sympathizers, real or suspected. Yet other bands followed in the same track, only to meet a similar fate.

Another no less daring and even more romantic method of work for the same end was their so-called “apostleship.” The “Apostles of Liberty” were a class of picked men, usually the most ardent and persuasive speakers among the revolutionists, who were set apart and sent across the Danube to preach insurrection against the Turks. A more perilous life than theirs can scarcely be conceived. To be sure, they took some precautionary measures. Each “apostle” had an assumed name and garb, as well as an occupation which varied with the places he visited. Some of them were in turn merchants, farmers, foreign travellers, priests, and even Turks. They surrounded themselves with mystery, and they communicated their movements to the Central Committee by special messengers. But, despite all disguises, they were hourly exposed to danger. All these preachers of the gospel of political liberty, therefore, looked to the gallows as their most probable goal.

Such were the men, the movement, and its agencies that allured young Stefan from the seminary in 1874, when Liuben Karaveloff was the head as well as the soul of the insurrectionary idea, and Vasil Levsky, who had left the altar to become a revolutionist, was by merit the chief “apostle.” The ardent nature, patriotic fervor, and restless spirit of Stamboloff fitted him for just such hazardous adventures. He at once joined the Central Revolutionary Committee, and threw his whole soul and tireless energy into its cause. Thus, although a mere youth of about twenty, he soon became one of the most important factors in



the movement. All his rare talents, which have since won for him a world-wide fame, then became manifest. With his eloquence and original revolutionary songs he fired the organization to enthusiasm and greater activities. He presided at the sessions of the Fourth Revolutionary Assembly, and was elected one of the "Twelve Apostles." When Apostle Levsky was captured, and, after unspeakable tortures, was hung by the Turkish authorities at Sophia, Stamboloff took his place,—a position whose greatest distinction was its great peril.

In 1875 "Apostle" Stamboloff tried ineffectually to raise in revolt the city of Stara-Zagora in Thracian Bulgaria. Upon its failure he saved himself by hiding in the Balkans, and afterwards by flight into friendly Roumania. But the next year, in spite of the vigilance of the government, he was again in Bulgaria, working with resolution and increased energy.

In the spring of 1876 the insurrection of Bosnia and Herzegovina broke out, and the "apostles" made a desperate effort to raise a like one in Bulgaria, the partial success of which ended in the notorious Turkish atrocities. Yet this terrible failure proved a success in disguise; the long-cherished purpose of the patriots was attained. The victims indeed were many, but not in vain. The massacre, filling the whole civilized world with horror and indignation against the Turk—"the anti-human specimen of humanity"—led finally to the Russo-Turkish war (1877-1878), which ended in the liberation of at least the most important part of Bulgaria. And had it not been for the interference of England, under Beaconsfield, every inch of our fatherland would to-day have been independent, and there would have been no "Macedonian Question." Only two "apostles," so far as I am aware, lived to see Bulgaria free, they were Stoyan Zaimoff and Stefan Stamboloff. Thus, while in this last venture almost every "apostle" perished, as happened several times before, Stamboloff again managed to escape with his life.

After the liberation of Bulgaria, a still wider field was open for the display of his splendid talents; and, owing to his high public services, he was justly popular in the country. He naturally joined the Liberals, who were then in opposition; and when elected to the Sobranje as deputy for Trnovo, he distinguished himself from the first by that boldness which was at once the strength and the weakness of his character. When, for instance, a certain deputy, in advocating some government measure, mentioned, for the purpose of influencing his colleagues, that his measure was approved by the Prince himself, Stamboloff sprang

from his seat as if stung by a wasp, crying, "What Prince! We are the princes, the representatives of the people!"

When, in 1884, the leader of the Liberal Party, Petko Karaveloff, —a brother of Liuben Karaveloff of revolutionary fame,—became Prime Minister, Stamboloff succeeded him as President (Speaker) of the Chamber of Deputies. In the revolution of Eastern Roumelia and the war with Servia, in 1886, he played an important but secondary part. The leading actors during those critical and glorious events were Zacharia Stoyanoff, Petko Karaveloff, and Prince Alexander. Stamboloff filled the important post of President of the National Assembly until the kidnapping of Prince Alexander gave him a chance to add one more to his list of heroic and historic achievements.

Prince Alexander, the first Prince of new Bulgaria, was dethroned by the partisans of Tsankoff in order to propitiate Russia, or rather to avoid the personal displeasure of the Czar. Briefly the situation may be thus described: Alexander II. gave us Prince Alexander. We believe that he gave him to us to be our Prince,—the Prince of Bulgaria. Whatever may be said about Alexander II. of Russia, Bulgarians will never believe anything but good of him. He was, and ever will be, our God-sent Liberator,—our Saint. Our Liberator, however, was soon afterward martyred, and his successor, Alexander III., disliked our Prince, because he ruled Bulgaria in her own interest, and not in those of Russia. Prince Alexander was a successful ruler, but, the more successful he was, the more he was hated at St. Petersburg. The Bulgarian Russophils—called also, from the name of their chief, Tsankovists—very readily echoed this hatred at home. And this enmity and disloyalty produced what in Bulgarian history is known as "the Ninth of August" (O. S.), a black date, which plunged the country into adventurous experiments not yet terminated.

During the night of August 9/21, 1886, some Bulgarian officers, whose unsatisfied ambition had rendered them easy tools of foreign designs, abducted Prince Alexander. With the aid of the treacherous Strouma Regiment and of the Academy cadets, which they personally commanded, the conspirators kept the Capital quiet, sent the Prince to Russia as a prisoner, assumed the supreme command of the army, declared the country in a state of siege, and established themselves as masters of the Principality. Every opposition was silenced by threats of instant arrest and sentence by court-martial methods, severe and speedy; graver cases of disobedience were declared punishable by death within twenty-four hours.



While the conspiracy seemed thus triumphant, there appeared, scattered broadcast throughout the country, a proclamation in the name of Prince Alexander, which denied the assertion that the Prince had voluntarily abdicated, denounced the conspirators as traitors, and called on the people and the army to follow the "undersigned," and help, by overthrowing the newly established government, to wash out the national shame. "The undersigned" was, "S. Stamboloff, President of the National Assembly." He had set up a counter-government at Trnovo, where the news of the event at Sophia had first reached him. All this Stamboloff had done on his own responsibility; for he did not even know the whereabouts of the deposed Prince, or whether he was still alive. The boldness of the man took everybody's breath. Men first shuddered, then admired, then felt the manly impulse to follow and die under the righteous standard of so great a leader. Telegrams began to pour in from all sides: "We are with you." That part of the army which had not yet given its oath of allegiance to the government refused to give it; and the other, finding itself deceived, declared likewise for Stamboloff and the Prince. On the second day, instead of being shot down, Stamboloff was supreme in Bulgaria; and on the third he overthrew the government at Sophia and recalled the exiled Prince. It was by this brilliant and masterly stroke that Stamboloff introduced himself to the world.

Prince Alexander came back, but, owing to the hostile attitude of Russia toward him, abdicated soon after. Having obtained a promise from the Czar that Bulgaria should not be occupied by a Russian force "except in case of anarchy," Prince Alexander departed, leaving Stamboloff at the head of a Regency of three. Thereafter, for eight years, first as a Regent, and then as Prime Minister under Prince Ferdinand, he, more than any other man, shaped the destinies of the Principality.

The retirement of Prince Alexander from Bulgaria brought very different results from what Russia and her friends had anticipated. Instead of improving, the misunderstanding soon increased to the point of breaking off the relations between the two countries. The Czar sent a special envoy, General Kaulbars, to treat with the Regency. Kaulbars—who either knew little or cared little for the feelings of the Bulgarians, especially for those of the Regent Stamboloff, who was as yet little known to the outside world—entered Bulgaria, not to treat with the Bulgarian Government, but practically to dictate to it the pleasure of the Czar. His arrogant, dictatorial bearing was resented by the

Regents. Aided by the Tsankovists, the envoy then started to stump the country; but Stamboloff sent his men on the General's track, and everywhere baffled his efforts. Then, in one of his fits of anger, Alexander III. recalled Kaulbars and all the Russian consuls from Bulgaria, and suspended relations between the two countries.

Nothing could have been more provoking to Russia than the conduct of the Bulgarian Government, which, instead of lamenting over the rupture, loudly congratulated itself on the good riddance of the Muscovite consulates,—“those nests of rebellion and disturbance.” The partisans of Tsankoff, and all the Russophils, feeling scandalized, became furiously active. They protested that “Bulgaria cannot exist without Russia”; which proposition, following the illustrious example of Kaulbars, they undertook to demonstrate by inciting the people to rebellion in favor of Russia. And they actually succeeded in winning part of the army, which, in cities like Silistra and Rustchuk, rose in arms against the Regency. This made the situation exceedingly critical. Stamboloff saw at a glance how these disturbances, purposely created by her friends, might be used by Russia as a pretext, and—before the world—as a justification, for armed interference in Bulgaria. The prospect promised anything but good to Bulgaria's independence. Stamboloff no sooner saw the danger than he rose to the emergency, and met it with promptness, courage, and resolution. The revolt he put down with a merciless hand. Nine of the ringleaders in the Rustchuk rebellion—among whom were some distinguished officers—were shot down under sentence of court-martial three days after the event. The blow was heavy and cruel; but it attained its object. The Russophils were taught a much-needed lesson. They saw that Stamboloff was not a man to trifle with, and, while some now began to hate and others to fear him, no one again attempted rebellion. Severe as these measures were, they were approved by the country. Stamboloff was still by far the most popular man, while the name “Russophil” became synonymous with “traitor.” Likewise the term “Black Souls” came into general use,—a name applied to the Bulgarian Russophils by Zacharia Stoyanoff, who was the right hand of Stamboloff, and the chief spokesman for the Administration.

This led the friends of Russia to change their tactics. They were now fully persuaded that they could hope to accomplish nothing so long as this “tyrant” continued in power, and, having no fair means of dislodging him, they began to plot for his assassination. Such was the beginning, eight years ago, of that deed whose horror shocked the



world last July. The first in the series of these infernal plots came to light in 1890. Its ringleader was Major Panitsa, a popular bravado, who was convicted of conspiring against the state, as well as against the lives of the Prince and the Prime Minister, for which purpose he had received encouragement and money from Russian sources. He was sentenced and shot in June. But the next year Stamboloff narrowly escaped assassination when the Finance Minister, Beltcheff, mistaken for the Premier in the dark, was killed by his side.

Stamboloff now acted more like a wounded tiger than a reasonable being. He practically proscribed all prominent Russophils, many of whom were arrested; and four of them, after a long trial, were condemned to death. One of these, Milaroff, was a man of some literary standing. Seven were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment,—among them ex-Premier Karaveloff, whose term was fixed at five years. Throughout the whole of Europe indignant protestations went up against the results of the trial; but Stamboloff was not to be moved by threats or persuasions, and the quadruple execution took place June 14, 26, 1891, eight days after the passing of the sentences.

The excesses he committed in punishing this crime cost our Dictator his popularity, marred the last years of his able administration, and for a time obliterated from the short memory of the fickle populace his great public services. His treatment of Karaveloff probably best illustrates the ugliest side of Stamboloff's character. To Petko Karaveloff—once the sole leader of the Liberty Party, and a very successful Prime Minister under Prince Alexander—Stamboloff owed much of his rapid elevation to power. But Karaveloff lost his great popularity and the leadership of his party at the abdication of Prince Alexander, in whose abduction he was suspected to have passively taken a part. Although named by the Prince as one of the three Regents, Stamboloff, finding him too independent, soon ejected him and put in his place a man whom he could easily manage. Fallen, but not crushed, Karaveloff—the ablest political rival of Stamboloff—was gradually regaining his lost influence, when he was arrested on the charge of Beltcheff's murder, and was actually sentenced to five years' imprisonment. That Karaveloff had any part in the crime, none but Stamboloff and his judges believed. It appeared to some that Stamboloff put his rival in prison in order to have him out of his way. Nor could the intelligent overlook the fact that although Karaveloff was unfortunately a Russophil, he was more dangerous to Stamboloff's ambition than to his country. Many of the Dictator's best friends were

thus alienated from him. This event, in regard to Stamboloff's great downfall, may be called the beginning of the end, for thereafter he was Premier, not by the will of the people, but in spite of it. Yet few dared openly to attack him. Indeed, he seemed to have paralyzed with terror the hand of despair itself, for although the upholder of his policy, Dr. Vulkovitch, was afterward assassinated by the Russophils at Constantinople, so long as Stamboloff remained in power no more serious complots were heard of in Bulgaria.

In the meantime, ever since 1887, Stamboloff had been earnestly engaged in establishing a dynasty for Bulgaria; for he regarded the Crown as one of the best safeguards of her independence. It was chiefly under his influence that the Grand Sobranje, which met at Trnovo, July (N. S.), 1887, elected Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha ruler of Bulgaria; and it was Stamboloff's strong arm that protected the Prince from attacks at home and abroad. He elected and maintained him in spite of the indifference of the world, and the open hostility and protestations of both Russia and Turkey. After the betrothal of the Prince to the Princess Marie Louise of Parma, it was at his demand that, in 1893, the Legislature revised the Constitution so as to permit the new Princess to retain her Catholic faith. In other words, if Prince Ferdinand is to-day ruler of Bulgaria, and has an heir to the throne thereof, it is due above all to Stefan Stamboloff. Him will posterity have to thank—or blame—for the present Bulgarian dynasty.

The fall of Stamboloff, in 1894, came rather unexpectedly. A few months earlier, no one would have believed it possible for some years to come. His enemies had credited him with a declaration to the effect that he was determined not to resign before he had been in power at least twenty years. I do not know whether he ever said such a thing, but it looked very much as if he meant it. He had triumphed over all his enemies, and commanded respect abroad and obedience at home. Turkey, which was disposed to be hostile at the beginning, he had finally both overawed and conciliated. Russia was passively awaiting the development of events; her special agents no longer dared to cross the border of Bulgaria. Even the obstinate Russophils, after exhausting all means, both fair and foul, had long since given up the fight, and had made themselves as scarce as possible in the country. There were no longer signs of discontent in the army; no longer, in time of elections, voting for the Czar of Russia, or, indeed, for anybody but Czar Stamboloff's candidates. The Legislature never objected to a single measure of his, and the Judiciary was hardly more independent;



the right of public meeting was suppressed; the opposition press, although restless, was to a great extent muzzled; his energies were unexhausted, and his power unlimited. The abject crowd licked the dust before him, crying, "Long live Stamboloff!" It looked as if he were destined to be captain of the ship of state for life. But the appearances were deceitful. Deep down beneath the ken of the superficial on-looker lay the dynamite of popular discontent, waiting for an opportune hour to burst forth in fury against the Dictator. And the hour, hastened by Prince Ferdinand, came, sooner than the most sanguine hoped for. Whether because he was becoming restless under the overbearing manner of Stamboloff; or because he was jealous of his First Counsellor (who was getting all the credit for the government); or whether, finally, because by throwing overboard his great Minister the Prince hoped to purchase Russian favor (which he craved for well-known reasons) I do not know. Certain it is that the relations between the two men had become very much strained; and that, on Stamboloff offering it, the Prince accepted his resignation, May 18/30, 1894.

The news of Stamboloff's downfall was greeted throughout the country with wild joy. "Down with the tyrant" became the common salutation everywhere. On that day people seemed to have remembered his great faults alone; and the fickle populace, that a day or two before was singing him loud hosannas, was now frantically yelling, "Crucify, crucify him!" The attack of the press was doubled and quadrupled; for now every sneaking coward raised a loud outcry against "the tyrant." They brought forward every conceivable accusation against him, both true and false, and everybody believed everything. All political parties, which now reappeared at a bound, in hating "the Fallen Majesty"—as they not inaptly called him—became one.

Stamboloff's popularity, which eight years before had attained a height never reached by any other Bulgarian leader, had now descended to the other extremity. The elections that followed, which were comparatively free, did not return a single Stambolovist deputy. And the new Sobranje appointed a commission from among Stamboloff's bitterest enemies to investigate the charges of high crimes and misdemeanors brought against his administration,—particularly for violating the Constitution and unlawfully enriching himself out of the public treasury.

To avoid insult after his retirement,—knowing how intensely he was hated, and that the chiefs of the guardians of the peace were his

bitter enemies,—he rarely ventured out of his house. He was, his foes said, a voluntary prisoner. Once, being summoned in court to give bail on the charge of having slandered Prince Ferdinand in a newspaper interview, he was mobbed in the streets in broad daylight, while the police, as he had expected, did little more than look on. But the active persecution of the Government—which, as time went on, was passing more and more under Russophil influence—did not appear so plain until, upon a trivial pretext, it refused to give him a pass to seek relief abroad from a dangerous disease. And whenever his organ, “Svoboda,” called the attention of the authorities to the fact that there was a conspiracy against the life of the ex-Premier, the official “Mir” replied that the diseased mind of Stamboloff reflected nothing but murders and conspiracies around him. In the meantime, while the Russophil Government was actively engaged in “rooting out Stambolovism,” the passion of hatred had begun to subside among the people,—some, doubtless, recollecting that Stamboloff had been something besides a tyrant; that he had done something besides evil. He then commenced occasionally to reappear in public, when, returning home on the evening of July 3/15, 1895, he was attacked and assassinated by those who had so long sought his life.

Such in the main and in brief was the remarkable public career of this remarkable man. As to his physical and other personal characteristics, he is thus described by eye-witnesses :

“Of all the [revolutionary] band, Stamboloff alone survives, with a smile upon his face that would seem to indicate a quiet conscience, an ambition that is well-nigh satisfied, and a magnificent confidence in his star which cannot fail to impress. He has a constitution of iron, and considerable physical strength, the happy heritage of the years of hardship and exposure he spent with the shepherds in the bleak fastnesses of the Balkans after every unsuccessful revolution, with the Turkish *zaptiehs* on his heels, and with but a sheepskin between him and the weather,—his clothing by day, and his couch by night. He is below the middle stature of man, and the general impression of his shortness is heightened by his depth of chest and breadth of shoulder, which are both phenomenal even for this country of heavy and coarsely-built men. His eye is black and very brilliant, and illumines his whole face. When closed or down-turned, his features are hard, drawn, and repellent. When he smiles, however, his expression is genial and almost boyish. He is without education,—his three years in a theological seminary being his only schooling ; but after five minutes’ conversation you are impressed with the original bent of his mind, and his clear, fresh way of viewing men and things. He has backbone and mother-wit, and easily disposes in debate of his antagonists, graduates of German *gymnasias* and French *lycées* though they be.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Stephan Bosnal, “Harper’s Weekly,” April 11, 1891.



A letter by Prof. Grosvenor, of Robert College, to a New York paper, dated at Sophia, August 22, 1890, says :

“A short, swarthy, strong-framed man, his head shaped like a cannon-ball, he entered the room like a shot, and, with barely a word of greeting, plunged directly into the subject uppermost in his mind,—Bulgarian politics. His words flow like a torrent : words, sentences, exclamatory phrases, questions, jostling against each other,—that, too, in French, a language he has learned in the last two or three years simply by hearing others talk it. A man strong enough to despise subterfuges, he states just what object he has in view, and does not deny that by all means in his power he will endeavor to attain it. That ultimate object he states to be the deliverance of Bulgaria from foreign interference, the attainment of internal order, and the maintenance of individual liberty. Says he truly :

‘Americans who do not know the East, living always in their favored, ocean-defended land, can never realize our difficulties, nor the necessity of what you call arbitrary acts. My first duty is the preservation of Bulgaria. To keep alive Freedom it is necessary sometimes to pull some of the plumes from her wings. Personally I know neither friends nor enemies. I know only Bulgaria and my policy. I do not want a personal following such as Bulgarian leaders have. If a man is content with my policy, well ; if not, and if he is in the way, I push him aside a little (*Je l'écarte un peu*). As soon as Bulgaria's internal and external relations are in a perfectly normal state, I shall resign and say to the nation : “The work is done. Do you want me any longer ?” Very likely they will ; more likely they will not ; for we know what the populace is. But I shall have been a patriot and served my country, and have served it perhaps most by deeds most denounced now.’

There is no hypocrisy about the man, even as there seems to be no reserve. The fact that I was known to him as an American and as a friend of Bulgaria may have helped to unseal his lips ; but I imagine he would have talked to any stranger with the same freedom he did to me. He is an extraordinary man.”

There is yet one psychical characterization of him, I think, that comprehends all the rest : he was a *Bulgarian* “writ large.” Stefan Stamboloff was a typical child of his country, a Bulgarian to his backbone. The weakness and the strength, the faults and the merits of his race, were in him, with exaggeration, personified.

A full estimation of Stamboloff's character, and, to a certain degree, the full valuation of his work for Bulgaria, cannot be figured satisfactorily until we have more details of his private life. Yet, as he will be tried principally upon the record of his public career, an approximation to a verdict can be made now. We have seen that Stamboloff began his administration hated by a few partisans, and idolized—as sincerely as ever a man was idolized—by the people ; and that he ended his administration loved by a few partisans, and hated—as passionately as ever a man was hated—by the people. Of so radical and complete a change of public opinion, the caprice of the populace and the laws of

reaction to which society is a victim are not a sufficient explanation. There was still another cause. Stamboloff did commit actual blunders and some palpable crimes. That in his capacity as practical ruler of Bulgaria during his long tenure of office he displayed great talents and attained remarkable success, is undeniable. But it is also undeniable that the last years of his administration have left a lasting stain on his moral character. History can no more deliver him from the epithet "autocrat" than it can despoil him of the title "patriot."

His chief blunder was committed in thinking himself indispensable when he was no longer so; in trying to maintain his position when the people no longer wanted him. Immediately after the abdication of Prince Alexander his dauntless courage and his iron hand on the helm were a blessed necessity. The people instinctively knew it: they therefore upheld his hand and approved all his measures. But after 1890, when he had quieted down the country, and, as much as in human power lay, established the security of the Crown, his work was done. Then he ought to have resigned. The people were right. They saw that Stamboloff was—

—"a daring pilot in extremity;  
Pleased with the danger, when the waves went high,  
He sought the storms; but, for a calm unfit,  
Would steer too nigh the sands, to boast his wit."

The people saw this; but he did not. This oversight or blunder caused his downfall and nearly proved his ruin, for, in order to maintain his power, he was obliged to resort to arbitrary means and perhaps to crimes.

An autocrat Stamboloff undoubtedly was, but he was something besides: he was a patriot. For if I do not agree with his blind admirers, who see nothing but honor and integrity in the conduct of their hero, I can much less agree with his enemies, who go so far as to deny him every virtue, and ascribe his activity to promptings of the basest motives. His motives were worthy of his genius. Bearing in mind the number of times he risked his own life for Bulgaria, even at a period when she had no honors or salary with which to reward him, I believe that no man—idiots and Russophiles excepted—can for a moment doubt Stamboloff's sincere devotion to his country. Offspring of a semi-civilized social atmosphere, Stamboloff was not an ideal hero; but a hero he certainly was—a hero of the first magnitude, and a patriot with but few equals in the whole range of history. Patriotism, in fact, is the key of his whole life. In patriotism the intensity of his



stormy being centred. Before her liberation, the dynamic of his life was: "Bulgaria free from the Turkish rule by any means and at any cost"; after the liberation, "the preservation of her independence." "My first duty," said he to the American professor, "is the preservation of Bulgaria. Personally I know neither friends nor enemies. I know only Bulgaria and my policy."

That in pursuing his policy Stamboloff used rough and objectionable methods, no man who craves the good opinion of those whose good opinion is worth having would attempt to deny. Yet, in estimating his character, three things must be taken into consideration: first, the environments of his youth; second, the kind of foes he had to deal with; and, third, the cause he was fighting for. The influences and the environments of his youth were very unfavorable for the development of a symmetrical character. Family training he had none to speak of; and his school education he got partly in Turkey and partly in Russia. In those countries, as is not difficult to conjecture, he found no Gladstone to take for his model, and formed few of those refined and humane tastes that produce Christian statesmanship; while, ever since he left school, "he had been the hero of plots and counterplots, of daring adventures and hair-breadth escapes, until," in his thirty-second year, he found himself Dictator of Bulgaria. Is that a man of whom we would expect a tender conscience, scrupulous observance of the laws, and ripe parliamentary moderations? And is it fair to weigh him by an English standard of morality?

Then, again, before condemning his severity, we should consider the kind of opponents he had to deal with. His foes were not only on the wrong side of the question, but used in their warfare methods immeasurably worse than his. Stamboloff, judged by a high standard of Christian civilization, can indeed be condemned; but compared with his antagonists he appears not only great, but noble and upright. True, he was arbitrary and fierce, but he plotted or permitted nobody's murder. He had the traitors shot without mercy, but only after they had been sentenced in an open court. He was no coward. He struck right from the shoulder, and stood in the light of day like a man; the whole world knew where he stood and what he was about. The very reverse was the case of the Russophiles opposed to him. They skulked in the dark, with rebellion in favor of a foreign power, fraud, and assassination as their chief weapons. The fiendish temper of Russophilism which he fought and held in check so many years is now well known by the exhibition it made of itself at Stamboloff's murder.

During the thirty hours he was writhing from the fifteen terrible wounds it had dealt him, Russophilism broke forth with exultant rejoicing over his agony ; when he died, it insulted his remains ; and at the burial it danced around his grave. The whole world witnessed it horror-stricken. Such were and are "the Black Souls" against whom Stamboloff exercised ruthless measures ; measures in his mind defensible because of their efficacy. He believed that in a successful fight with the devil a devilish severity was a necessity, and occasionally devilish weapons. He therefore fought fire with fire, and resisted Russia and her influence with her own methods improved,—excepting of course their brigandism. I shall not now discuss whether Stamboloff was right or wrong in arriving at such a conclusion. I only call attention to the fact that many eminent men in more advanced countries than Stamboloff's seem to hold the same views. It was not very long ago that a brilliant American senator publicly declared that the Decalogue has no place in politics.

In the third place, we must consider the cause he was fighting for. The policy for which he stood was : "Bulgaria for the Bulgarians ; Bulgaria free and independent from all foreign interference." Now there are three Powers that are or may be a menace to Bulgaria's independence,—Turkey, Austria, and Russia. Whether Turkey can reconquer Bulgaria is doubtful. In case she does, she would be unable to hold her in subjection two years,—provided the European Powers would allow it, which they would not. The danger from Turkey, then, is reduced to a minimum. Neither would Austria have a very easy task to subjugate Bulgaria, because she would have to conquer Servia first. In case Austria does conquer both Servia and Bulgaria, not only could they, like the Slovaks and the Bohemians, preserve their identity and wait for the opportune moment for self-assertion, but in all probability such an opportune moment would not be far off. For Austria, who already has more Slavs than she can conveniently manage, would then be completely flooded by them. They would gain the balance of power, overwhelm both Hungarian and German elements, and simply convert her into a Slavic empire. Thus, since, by subjecting Bulgaria, Austria is likely to commit suicide, she cannot afford to try the experiment.

Very different is the case with Russia. Should Bulgaria be left alone, Russia would have no difficulty in taking possession of the country and holding it down. Being one in religion, and nearly one in blood and language, by merely transporting Bulgarian soldiers to



Russia, and Russian soldiers to Bulgaria, she could in a short time completely Russify the country. Half a century would be all she would need to blot out the Bulgarian name from the face of the earth. For the Bulgarians the gate of the Russian empire bears this inscription: "Leave all hope behind, ye who enter here." No man read this inscription with a clearer eye than Stamboloff. The danger was especially imminent during the first part of his administration. The threatening civil war or anarchy, had it succeeded, would have certainly invited Russian armed interference; in which case free Bulgaria would have been to-day either a mere history, or so far Russified that her final gravitation into the mass of the great Slavic empire would have been only a question of time. It was about this time that Prof. Freeman wrote: "For the moment neither Turk nor Austrian is so dangerous to Bulgaria as the son of her liberator." No man, as I said, saw the danger with a clearer eye than Stefan Stamboloff. And he devoted his life to prevent this threatening catastrophe, or to perish in the attempt,—and he did both, as we now know. The sight of born Bulgarians—whether knaves or fools, equally dangerous—helping to bring about the ruin of their own country, made his wrath against them uncontrollable. But it was his profound conviction that by these measures he saved Bulgaria from the fate of a second Poland. And who can say that he did not? Stamboloff's severity, then, was a result of the logic of events, plus himself,—a half-civilized, but more than a full-grown patriot.

Even against the grave charge that he identified his personal enemies with the enemies of his country, his friends advance a plausible patriotic defence. They argue that, as he was the greatest bulwark of her independence, the man who aimed at Stamboloff was in reality no less a criminal than a traitor to Bulgaria. And this was doubtless true, at least during the first half of his administration. That he ruled autocratically, he himself never for a moment attempted to deny. But he held it to be necessitated by the unsettled and extraordinary condition through which the country was then passing. He did deny, however, the charge of appropriating public money, and—to his credit let it be said—his not over-scrupulous enemies, after a whole year of special investigation, at the time of his murder had proven nothing, though they did announce that they had proven that Stamboloff had violated the Constitution,—which, as I said, he never denied.

If we now strike a balance, weighing his faults against his merits,

not forgetting his great temptations, the issue of the verdict of justice and posterity admit not of a moment's doubt. His faults dwindle to insignificance by the side of the splendid services he rendered for the liberation and the preservation of Bulgaria. Setting aside for the moment the indispensable work of the Russian and Roumanian armies, the liberation of Bulgaria was achieved by the historic efforts and sufferings of half a dozen men,—Gheorgi Rakovsky, Liuben Karaveloff, Vasil Levsky, Christo Boteff, Gheorgi Benkovsky, and Stefan Stamboloff,—none of whom did a more valuable service than Stamboloff. The preservation of Bulgaria's independence may be accredited chiefly to Prince Alexander, Petko Karaveloff (until 1886), Zacharia Stoyanoff, and Stefan Stamboloff; but especially to the last named, who contributed toward it more than all the rest put together. For the liberation of Bulgaria, then, he has done as much as anybody; and for the preservation of her independence Stamboloff's services are by far too great to be compared with those of any man.

Such, in brief, are the royal and extraordinary public services rendered to Bulgaria by this, her extraordinary child. He has not inappropriately, therefore, been compared with Cavour and Bismarck; and if any single man deserves to wear the proud title of *Pater Patriæ* of new Bulgaria, his name is Stefan Stamboloff. "With all his faults,—and they were neither few nor small,"—Stamboloff is justly entitled to lead the names of new Bulgaria, writ by the finger of Fame on the roll of honor, to be read by a grateful posterity. It can be said of him substantially what Macaulay said of Warren Hastings: "Those who look on his character without favor or malevolence will pronounce that, in the two great elements of all social virtue—in respect for the rights of others and in sympathy for the sufferings of others—he was deficient. His principles were somewhat lax. His heart was somewhat hard. But though we cannot with truth describe him either as a righteous or as a merciful ruler, we cannot regard without admiration the fertility of his intellect,—his rare talents for command, for administration, and for controversy,—his dauntless courage," his passionate love for Bulgaria, for whose independence he lived and was ready a hundred times to die.

Nor did his enemies end his services with his life. He has bequeathed to his followers and his country a safeguard, a priceless example. He showed that Bulgaria can stand on her own feet. Not only was he the embodiment of the national policy, but he also showed that the policy can be carried out. Previous to his administration,



when the Russophils declared that "Bulgaria cannot exist without Russia," we half believed their favorite formula ourselves. To-day even they are shamed into modifying their treacherous declaration. For they saw Eastern Roumelia annexed to Bulgaria, and they saw the Servian war carried to a successful issue, in spite of Russia; they saw Stamboloff resist and deliberately defy their almighty idol. He did what no Bulgarian before him would have dared to attempt. Even our brave Prince Alexander was scared off his throne by a single frown from the Qzar. But now the defence of Bulgaria's independence does not seem a task so superhuman. Now more timid men can and will continue his work, and because of his patriotic life and great work Russian absorption of Bulgaria is much less possible,—is in fact improbable. So I do not think that his cause loses much by his death. I believe, on the contrary, that, in murdering Stamboloff, Russophilism made a fatal mistake. Russophilism, in my opinion, has no more done with Stamboloff than Pharisaism had done with Christ when it nailed Him to the cross. Brutal materialism will again be reminded that sacred ideas are never thus annihilated; that the blood of the patriot-martyrs, too, is the seed of their Cause.

STOYAN KRSTOFF VATRALSKY.

## THE MODERN LITERARY KING.

TIME was—and it is not so very long ago—that an author, when he sat down to write a book, felt as if he were approaching a devout task. He felt as if the pen were a sacred instrument: the book a gospel. He lived a sane life: that is, he feared God and slept eight hours every night,—and when a man does those two things he *is* sane and very far removed from pessimism. He viewed life in a calm and rational manner; he went among people enough to understand them, and he had time and leisure to read. When he wrote, it was because he felt within him a mental or spiritual impulse which drove him to the pen; and when his work appeared in print, people realized that the man had written because he had something to say. He had a message. He wrote from inspiration. There was in his work a certain glow, a magnetic vigor, a reaching-out power which took hold of the reader as it had possessed the writer. It is this subtle power—or call it by what name we may—in Thackeray, that gave stamina and strength to “Vanity Fair,” and made it a piece of fiction that will live as long as novels are read. It was that fine sensation of an inspiration felt and a deed achieved that Gibbon experienced in his historical writings. Coming to our own literature, we find the same power behind almost all of Emerson’s work. Washington Irving was thus impelled to write, and, getting even closer in touch with our own day, we realize the same glow of inspiration in the writings of Lowell, who never stooped to make aught but art of literature. Those were, indeed, pastoral days in literature, and in America more particularly. The “needs” of the publisher, the “requirements” of the public, were far from the mind of the writer when he wrote, and yet his work invariably met both needs and requirements. But the author was himself in those days, and what he gave was of himself and his best self. He believed in inspiration, and waited for it before he wrote. He was actuated by no other motive than the impulse which drove him to transform a mental message—something which he felt and believed—into a printed page.

Nowadays we have changed all this. Inspiration is given no chance: one is almost led to say that it has become an unknown quality in our



literature. The one thought of the author of to-day is to make matter out of mind. The successful writer of the present, once he has secured the eye of the public, feels that he must keep himself and his work before the eye of that public. He must produce and go on producing whether impulse or inspiration comes to him or not. He must, he feels, produce just so much work. He is sincere and conscientious in the hope that what he does will be good work. But if it happens to be otherwise, which is more than likely, he feels that he is not altogether to blame. The work must be produced. It is not a case of *can*: it is simply and purely one of *must*. He is in a feverish race: he needs keep in the procession and as near the head of it as he can. He is driven by a force he neither understands nor stops to analyze. He must eke out his living by his pen, and there lies the root of the evil. Not only does his present belong to another, but his future is mortgaged. He contracts to write books for delivery within the next two, three, or five years, quite unmindful of the question whether there will be a book in him to write, or a story in him to tell, or not. He is simply "under contract": his time, his brain, his mind is mortgaged. For each novel he is offered a larger sum than he received for his last, and proud is that author who, when a publisher comes to him in these days, can say: "My dear fellow, I can't undertake another scrap of work. Everything I do for the next five years is sold. My 1897 novel goes to So-and-so, my 1898 stories are sold to '——'s Magazine,' while all I do in 1900 I have contracted to give to the ——s. You see how I am fixed." And if you ask him what his 1897 novel will consist of, he has no more idea of its plot or context than has his valet or his cook. Nor is this in any sense an exaggerated picture of the condition of the modern American author. With one or two rare exceptions—so rare that they can be counted upon the fingers of a single hand, with fingers to spare—the successful authors of the day are under the thralldom of the modern literary king,—the almighty dollar.

It is easy to lay the blame for this condition of affairs—as some of our famous writers have done who have been brave enough to acknowledge it at all—upon the over-enterprising and grasping publisher. But it is evidently overlooked by these author-critics that no condition can become a condition until it is accepted. If publishers and editors have committed errors in advancing commercial standards and allowing them to sway our literature, our authors have committed equal error in permitting themselves to accept those standards. The responsibility for matters as they are cannot be shifted to one pair of shoulders any more

than to another. Both publishers and authors are equally responsible, and they, not singly, but together, can change them.

As conditions are, they unquestionably injure the prospects of both producer and purveyor. Take, for example, the accursed "word" system which has grown out of this iconoclastic literary standard of ours. I mean the system of paying an author so many cents for each word in his manuscript. An editor or publisher goes to an author and promises to pay him so much per word for his next work. The story—if it be a story that is being bargained for—is not written: even the barest outline of the plot is not clear in the writer's mind. Absolutely nothing exists. A certain date is fixed for the delivery of the manuscript. The author makes a note of the transaction on his calendar, and a month or two previous to the time he is reminded of it and begins to write. The conditions of his contract are, generally, two: first, that it must be a certain kind of story; and second, it must be so many words in length. Every word means so many cents. He sits down to write with that one fact prominently in mind. Let him be as conscientious as he choose, as sincere as he prefers, it is human nature for him to remember that every word he writes means four, five, six, eight, ten, twelve, or fourteen cents to him. He cannot get away from it. The crisp retort in a dialogue is spun out to a dreary succession of words, words, words. And why not? It is words he is writing: it is words he is being paid for. Every vowel looms up into a figure, every "a," "an," "is," "if," "it," or "the" means so many cents to him. "To think that every one of those small words," said an author to me recently, while he was reading his manuscript, "means six cents. Odd, isn't it?" And then he went over his "copy" to see if he could n't put in a few more words to "cover his typewriter's bill," as he humorously—and yet very truthfully, I fancy—remarked. Nor is this man a "hack writer": he is one of the foremost American writers. When the manuscript reached the editor, a piece of paper was pinned to it,—“8,255 words, at six cents a word,” it said; then came the foot-line, and the total in large, bold figures: \$495.30! I was amused a week afterward in finding the editor who had "contracted" for the story busy in the confirmation of the author's figures. One of his assistants had carefully counted the words and found a difference of seventeen! Then it was revealed that the author had included in his count the chapter-heads, the title of the story, and his own signature! There were but three words to the signature, and I could not help thinking that the editor, after all, had gotten the name of his "star"—



what he had actually bought at the start—pretty cheap; since, according to the author's own figuring, it brought only eighteen cents! But imagine Milton, for example, having written "Paradise Lost" at six cents per word, and throwing in his name for twelve cents! And yet this sort of thing goes on constantly in literary negotiations nowadays: in fact, we practically know of no other way of measuring the value of a manuscript. The result is that most of our authors are nothing more or less than a species of literary telegraph-operators who transmit to their public a certain number of words in a given time at so much a word.

It is idle to say that the literary purveyor is to blame for all this. The original offender—the creator of this soul-inspiring standard—might be difficult to trace, but the author who first accepted it is equally responsible with him who concocted it. That the standard is absolutely killing to good literary work, there can be no question. Every conscientious author knows this and feels it. And yet he practically does nothing to rid himself of the thralldom. So long as he gets six cents per word this season from one publisher, and seven cents—or eight if he can—next season from another, he is satisfied. His vanity is pleased, even though he stultifies his art.

As things are, a successful author, in our day, writes just one book—his first book—with true literary art in it and with the freshness of inspiration upon it. If this book does not make a success, he is safe, and, if not discouraged, he will write another book of merit. But if his first book meets with success, he has reached the beginning of the end. Even before he fully realizes that his book has commanded attention, and that, as an author, he is a success, he is pounced upon by an army of publishers, editors, and literary purveyors who immediately proceed to knock all the inspiration out of him. His first book was written in practically an untrammelled spirit, save, of course, with the pardonable hope of fame and success. His second book is written "to an audience" at "so much per word," with the final crack of the whip at the end of the contract that it will be finished at a certain date. And yet some of us wonder why it is that we have so many of what we choose to call "one-book authors,"—men and women who write one successful book and seem to be incapable of "doing it again," as we term it. Is the reason so invisible? After a while the new author turns into one of those machines which Mr. Zangwill recently so happily described in writing of Anthony Trollope:

"I always figured to myself Trollope's novels as all written on a long, endless scroll of paper rolled on an iron axis nailed up in his study. The publishers

approach to buy so many yards of fiction, and shopman Anthony, scissors in hand, unrolls the scroll and snips it off at the desired point."

It does seem as if we can go only one step further, and buy the manuscripts of authors by the pound! In that case, how the fine rice paper now used as "copy-paper" by so many authors would go begging for customers!

All this commercial tendency in literary wares has caused the most fictitious values to be placed upon manuscripts of all kinds. And it is a value that, sooner or later, is destined to act as a boomerang to the author. The time is not so far back when a price of three cents per word was considered a fair remuneration even by authors of considerable repute. Then it jumped up to five cents per word, and it has been jumping ever since, until now the highest point reached, I think, is fourteen cents per word, with such an occasional leap into the realms of idiocy as when a certain magazine editor recently offered the author of "Trilby" five thousand dollars for a story of five thousand words,—with the check enclosed in the letter, in fact. So far as magazine publication is concerned, no story bought by it at fourteen cents per word can represent that value to it. The president of the publishing company which issues "The Century Magazine" has said that no novel printed in that magazine ever made a perceptible increase in its circulation. And any man who knows anything of the business side of magazines knows this to be true in his own experience. A value of fourteen cents per word, or anything approaching to it, is a fictitious value. It can only be such, and as such it can only react upon the author receiving it. It is simply impossible for him to hold his market at such a rate. He may for a time, so long as magazines feel the sense of keen competition that they do to-day. But when the strain of that competition is relieved, and editors begin to edit their magazines on a sound and normal basis of true values—as soon they will and must—the value of the ten-, twelve-, or fourteen-cent author will materially decrease. And, like a great many other kinds of people in this world, when an author once deteriorates in value he is like the man of whom "Josh Billings" wrote that when he began going down hill it did seem as if the hill had been greased for the occasion. The only true literary value is a normal and sane value: a value which does not attain fictitious limits, but holds its own. One or two wise authors, more far-seeing and discriminating than their restless brethren, have seen the wisdom of this course, and while they write to-day for five cents a word, as they did three years ago, the likelihood is that



they will be getting five cents per word when those who aspired to higher figures—and reached them—will be getting two and three cents, and be compelled to hawk their manuscripts around even at that figure.

It may be questioned in some quarters, perhaps, whether this commercial aspect has, in reality, seriously affected the work of our well-known authors. But those whose business brings them into close contact with writers know it has affected them, and seriously so.

There is now an author before the public whose writings have a wide audience, but who has been recently told by the critics that his work is deteriorating. This is true, and it is not strange that it should be so. He is a man who as a writer shows the highest art in his work, and his earlier books demonstrate this fact beyond a doubt. But he has come under the influence of the dollar, and now writes what is called "to order." Not long ago a magazine editor approached this author for his next work, and found him just starting upon it.

"I would like it," said the editor.

"What will you pay for it?" was the author's first question.

"How long will it probably be?" inquired the editor.

"Oh, I can make it just as long or as short as you want it," said the obliging author. Then he added: "It depends upon the price. I can make a 40,000-word story of it if you like, and then it will cost you \$6,000. Or, I can spin it out to 60,000 words,—and that is really what I ought to have to let the story tell itself; but then I will want \$7,500 for it. Of course, if you can't pay more than \$6,000, I can trim it accordingly."

The real question of the story itself did not enter into the question. It was simply a matter of price. You paid so much and you got so much. If you paid a little more you received a little more. It was Anthony Trollope over again.

The reason why our American literature suffers so unmistakably in comparison with that of other lands lies in this fact: that so much of our literature is written "to order" or "by contract." It is contract work that we are getting, and nothing else. I do not mean to say that the authors of other countries are free from this evil: I know very well they are not. But we are more addicted to the system than they, and we have helped foreign authors not a little in their addiction to it. It is absolutely a rare instance in which we find an author writing a book which is not sold, or been bargained for, long before he began to write it. And in nine cases out of ten he does not

write the story as it originally presented itself in his mind, but he writes it directly to "the needs of the audience" which he has contracted shall receive it. The result in this sort of writing is always the same. Every author knows, whether he chooses to acknowledge it or not, that writing to order means loss of power, loss of belief in the actuality of the tale, and ultimately loss of self-respect to the writer. Hack-work—and that is all that writing to order is—invariably results in a man mis-saying himself at every turn, until at the last he ceases to be the author of what comes from his pen. He turns into a veritable machine. This theory, I think, is apparent to every one who writes, and it accounts for much of what confuses and mystifies us in the writings of certain authors whose views on the same subject in two different articles or stories are diametrically opposed to each other. No author can remain true to his art or to his convictions who makes of it a trade pure and simple. Nor does it make any material difference how great a master of his art he may be. If he allows the commercial element to dominate his thoughts, his work invariably shows the influence. It is a system of degeneration from the moment he allows the influence to possess him. It is not stating too much in this connection to say that the products of some of our authors have simply become a mechanical annual crop, suggesting the fact that the writers are making all the hay they can while the sun of their prosperity is shining. Only a few of the successful writers of the day have the self-power to remain silent until they have something to say. One book follows another in rapid succession until the natural query is: "How in the world does he do it?" The result is that the great run of books we have are hard and wooden, with not the first sparkle of vivacity or individuality in them. They are simply so many books written to order and finished to fit.

When one looks carefully over the ground of modern literary industries, I think the truth comes home very directly that the agency known as the "newspaper syndicate" has done much to infuse this commercial aspect into our literary affairs. We may choose to believe that by the syndicate plan the writings of certain authors of renown have been made possible to people whose means do not allow them to buy magazines and books. This is, in a measure, true. But it is likewise true that the best works of the highest-class writers are hardly ever seen in the newspapers. There have been exceptions, but they are rare—exceedingly rare. For the most part the newspaper syndicate is the sewer of the author,—and I make this statement advisedly. I have the best



reasons for stating that fully 70 per cent—and I am keeping within modest bounds—of the short stories and novels published in the modern newspapers are those which have been refused for book or magazine publication, or have been adjudged by the authors themselves as being unworthy of anything more than the fleeting publication which they suppose the newspaper of a day offers. The higher-class authors do not first offer their best wares to the newspaper syndicates: they employ them either as a last resort or as a “special channel” for “a certain class of their work,” or as a means of advertising their names. And in either one of these rôles the syndicate is a positive injury to good literature. I am not attempting to make war upon the newspaper syndicates by these words, nor am I trying to cast reflections upon the judgment of newspaper editors. The syndicate is in business for money: for literature it cares very little. It is the author’s name it is after, pure and simple. The newspaper editor simply takes the best of what is offered him, and often and again, in his heart, he knows that it is a poor best. But we are all more or less susceptible to the attraction of a famous name, and the average “supplement” editor of the newspaper is not an exception to the rule.

Here, again, both producer and purveyor are equally to blame. The syndicate manager attracts by the larger sum which his numerous newspaper customers make it possible for him to pay, and the author falls into the temptation. But “the newspapers are not so particular,” he argues; “all they want is my name:” and he gives the syndicate man what he likes, and that is generally the story which has been refused by the magazine, or which he hesitates to offer to it. Such a course works only harm to the author. Unless he employs the newspaper syndicate in the same spirit as he does the magazine or the book, he does his reputation and his better class of work an injury. But he likes to feel that the story which he gives to the newspaper is but casually or hastily read, and that it is soon forgotten, and he takes the chance of publishing material over his name which he is often ashamed to have mentioned to him in conversation. But it is the reaching out for the dollar that actuates him, and, there being in the syndicate plan a good many dollars for even the poorest work of an author of repute, he sinks art into trade.

It is easy enough to sit down and sound the praises of the average Sunday newspaper, and many of us do so simply because we dare not say anything else. We fear to speak honestly and frankly. But when the truth is told of the average literary supplement of the Sunday news-

paper, the best that can be said for it is, that if it does not hold exactly the refuse of literary workers, it represents nothing more than the lowest mediocrity of the names which it prints to its "features." And despite the feeling that these words will be misunderstood in a great many quarters, I say them frankly and knowingly, in the hope of opening the eyes of newspaper editors. And the sooner the newspaper editor realizes the true character of the material he prints to which are attached famous names, the better it will be for him, for his paper, for his readers, and for literature generally.

This glitter of fame has worked the deepest injury to literature. And the manager of the syndicate, or the supplement editor of the Sunday newspaper, is not alone to blame in this respect. The magazine editor and the book publisher are equally criminal. We have all of us by far too present the feeling that a certain effect can be had by the juggling of a great name, despite the material behind it. An author becomes famous, and every editor and publisher seeks him. The one stumbles over the other in the mad race to secure his next piece of work. The tension becomes so great that prices reach an abnormal height. The one outbids the other. After a while it becomes simply a question of personal achievement. This is what in these days we call "enterprise." Of the merit of the material which is being bid for so high, not one of the clamoring throng knows anything. That part which of all other parts is most interesting and most vital to the public is lost sight of. The author becomes bewildered amid the many applications that come to him, and, in order that he may not encounter the displeasure of his bidders, he promises right and left, and in a little while a mass of stuff issues from his pen that is simply stuff and nothing else. It does him no good, it does his greedy editors and publishers no good, it does the public no good. On the contrary, it works harm all around.

It is not making all this right to say that this restless and clamorous condition of affairs has made certain things possible which twenty years ago were impossible. Competition, rightly directed, is always healthful and developing, but a mad, reckless, and senseless competition is injurious. And this is the kind of competition now raging in regard to literary wares. It has nothing healthy about it, nothing stable. The whole thing is on a false basis. It is misleading to the author, it is unfair to the public, and it is rapidly becoming ruinous to the publisher. It is a mad race, honeycombed at every step with pitfalls into which authors, editors, and publishers are tumbling each year. It began with



misconception, and it must sooner or later end in misconception if nothing worse.

All this—despite the fact that it may seem to have about it the distinct flavor of the green-room of literature—concerns itself with the public in a very direct way. If the financial groundwork of an institution is unstable, its productions will be of like character. The monetary basis of literary wares is unquestionably wrong, and the public suffers because of it. The literature given to the people is born of the mart and not of the study. Everything about it has the flavor of money, money, money. And instead of the conditions growing any better, they are getting worse. The true reason for much of the weakness of our American national literature is to be found in the conditions which surround the author of to-day, and which he has allowed to surround him and enter into his work. To his credit, it should be said that he does not desire it, nor does he relish it. It has been forced upon him. And there is where our literary purveyors are to blame. The commercial element is too dominant with them. But the author has fallen under the pressure, and there is where he is to blame. The course for each is plain. The remedy is in the hands of both. The dollar is the curse of our literature of to-day. It has become the juggernaut of the author. It is the modern literary king.

EDWARD W. BOK.

## THE CHIEF INFLUENCES ON MY CAREER.

To write about one's self may perhaps be considered an evidence of bad taste, yet who can treat the subject so well?—for while an author relates the concerns of his heart, we seem to hear but our own affairs; while he dwells on himself, we remain occupied with our personal thoughts. It is an excellent frame of mind in which to understand one another. I am therefore very happy to accede to the invitation of *THE FORUM* to write something concerning the influences that have gone to form my career.

Yesterday, as I walked by the bank of the Seine, the spring sunshine enlivened the quays and their noble outline of stone; the scudding clouds gave to the brightness of day the charming spontaneity of a smile; and, while the crowd swept past, I abandoned myself to the sweetness of undefined reverie. I never pass along these quays without a feeling of joy and sadness, for I was born here, and here I spent my childhood. Seen thus in the sunshine, are they not one of the most beautiful sights in the world? Here one sees the Louvre,—chiselled like a precious stone,—the trees, and the books; one breathes under a lovely sky, amid the memory of the centuries, the sweetness and excellence of living. These quays have a culmination of delight in that art and nature are here united in the beauty of friendship. Even the sky is loveliest here,—now of a uniform blue, lightly touched with a thousand delicate hues, or enriched with purple, flame, and gold all melting into one; or again of a gray so tender that unexpected tears spring into the eyes. Here the sun throws his rays upon the boxes exposed by the old book-dealers for the profit of artless scholars and old priests. How charming it is to gaze at the water as it runs under the arches of the ancient bridges, witnesses to so many stirring events! It seems as if their very stones could speak, and in truth they do talk to the archæologist. But the water is a babbler who talks to all the world. Cool, limpid, and laughing, it gayly bears the boats which cover it with silvery ripples, and, quivering, reflects the willows and the beech-trees which make



its banks verdant. On these banks, where the old books mingle with the landscape, I was brought up by the lowly and simple ones of whom I alone preserve the remembrance.

Of the Quai Voltaire, where I acquired a taste for the fine arts, I have preserved enchanting recollections. The greater part of my adolescence was passed in that house where, half a century earlier, Dominique-Vivant Renon, gentleman-of-the-chamber to the king, director of the fine arts, member of the Institute, and baron of the empire, withdrew with his collections and mementos to spend the garnished elegance of his old age. The restful façade of this residence, pierced by the light arches of the tall windows, recalls, by its aristocratic simplicity, the period of Gabriel and of Louis. I see myself again a little child looking at the boats as they passed, and drinking in life with delight. The Seine that flowed before me charmed me by the grace natural to the waters,—the motive of matter and the spring of life. Ingenuously I admired the delightful wonder of the stream which bore the boats by day, reflecting back the sky, and at night became covered with precious stones and luminous flowers. And because I loved it, I desired that that beautiful water might remain always the same. My mother told me that the rivers flowed into the ocean, and that the waters of the Seine ran without ceasing; but I repulsed this idea as unreasonably pitiful. In this, perhaps, I lacked the proper scientific spirit, but I embraced a dear illusion, for in the midst of the evils of life there is no greater affliction than the universality with which things pass away.

At evening, at the family table, under the lamp which burned with infinite mildness, I turned over my old Bible with the ancient prints, which my mother had given me, and which I devoured with my eyes before ever I was able to read. It was an excellent old Bible, dating from the commencement of the seventeenth century; the engravings were by a Dutch artist, who had represented the terrestrial paradise in the guise of a landscape in the neighborhood of Amsterdam. The hills were covered with oaks grown awry in the wind from the sea. The meadows, admirably drained, were intercepted by rows of mouldy willows. An apple-tree with mossy boughs represented the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. The animals in view were domesticated, and presented the idea of a farm with a well-regulated poultry-yard. There were the oxen, the sheep, the rabbits, and a fine horse of Brabant, clipped and groomed, waiting to be harnessed to the carriage of the burgomaster. All this enraptured

me. I do not speak of Eve, who was portrayed as a Flemish beauty; but here were the lost treasures. I was still more interested in Noah's ark. I can yet see the spacious and circular hull surmounted by a cabin made of planks. O, marvel of tradition! Among my toys was a Noah's ark of an exact similitude, painted red, with all the animals in pairs, and Noah and his children standing round them. It was a great proof to me of the truth of the Scriptures. "*Teste David cum Sibylla.*" At the period of the tower of Babel the personages in my Bible were sumptuously clothed according to their condition: the warriors in the pattern of the Romans of Trajan's Column; princes with turbans; the women looking like those of Rubens; the shepherds in the fashion of brigands; and the angels modelled after those of the Jesuits. The tents of the soldiers resembled the rich pavilions seen in tapestries; the palaces were in imitation of the Renaissance. There were the nymphs of Jean Goujon in the fountain in which Bathsheba bathed. That is the reason these pictures gave me the impression of a profound antiquity. I doubted whether even my grandfather, severely as he had been wounded at Waterloo,—in remembrance of which he always wore a bouquet of violets in his button-hole,—could have known the tower of Babel and the baths of Bathsheba.

O, my old Bible with its engravings! What delight I felt in turning over its pages in the evening, when the pupils of my eyes already half swam with the rapturous undulations of infantine slumber. How I saw God there in a white beard! How sincerely I believed in Him!—although, between ourselves, I considered Him inclined to be whimsical, violent, and wrathful; but I did not ask Him to render an account of His actions,—I was accustomed to see great personages behaving in an incomprehensible manner. And then I had at that time a philosophy! I believed in the universal infallibility of men and matter. I was persuaded that there was a rational reason for everything, and that such a vast affair as this world was governed with seriousness,—a wisdom which I forsook with my ancient Bible! What regrets have I not since had! Only consider. To be one's self quite little, and to be able to attain to the end of the world after an honest walk. To believe that one has the secret of the universe in an old book, under the lamp, when the room is warm! To be in no trouble, and yet to dream! For in those days I dreamed, and all the personages in my old Bible came as soon as I had lain down, and passed the footboard of my bed in procession.



Yes, kings bearing sceptres and crowns, and prophets with their long beards draped under an eternal gust of wind, passed before me with dignified good nature while I slept. After the procession they went to arrange themselves in a box of Nuremberg toys. But I did not understand why God had prohibited that good Flemish Eve from touching the fruits of the tree which gave pleasant knowledge. I know it now, and I am very near believing that the God of my old Bible was right. That wise old man, a lover of gardens, said to Himself no doubt: "Science does not make happiness, and when men come to know much of history and of geography they will grow sad." And He was not mistaken. If, peradventure, He still lives, He must felicitate Himself on His foresight. We have eaten the fruit of the tree of science, and it has left the taste of ashes in our mouths.

In the daytime, in the midst of the jack-snipes, the trefoil, and the daisies which at that time might still be gathered on the wild and blossoming declivities of the Trocadéro, I played at hoop at the foot of the statues on the Pont d'Jéna. I entertained no particular opinion concerning these statues; I saw vaguely that they were men who held horses of stone by the bridles. I knew not if they were beautiful or ugly, but I was very sensible of the fact that they were enchanted like the light of the sky which laved me deliciously, and the salubrious air which I breathed in joyfully; like the trees on the solitary quays; like the laughing waters of the Seine; like the whole round world. I felt that very surely, but I did not doubt that the enchantment was in myself, and that it was I, so young, who filled the universe with a radiant sprightliness. The myth of an earthly paradise is a grand truth, and I am not astonished that it has entered into the conscience of the people. It is true that each in turn we commence again the adventure of Adam, we waken to consciousness in the terrestrial paradise, and our childhood is spent in the pleasantness of a new Eden. In these blessed hours I have seen thistles pushing out from under a heap of stones, in the sunny lanes where the birds sang, and I say truly, it was paradise. It was situated, not between the four rivers of Scripture, but on the hills of Chaillot and on the banks of the Seine.

But the pictures I made of living people were confused. Among my earliest recollections I recall very vividly, when not more than four or five years old, having seen Louis Rubois, then very old, who was my father's friend, and who had written an additional couplet to the six stanzas of the "Marseillaise" of Rouget de l'Isle. I ad-

mired him extremely, certainly not on account of the additional verse of the "Marseillaise," but because he pushed my hoop in such manner as to make it sweep back to the point of departure. This dexterous artifice was all that I knew of him. A more distinct physiognomy to me was that of Barbey d'Aurevilly. My grandmother, who knew him slightly, and whom he greatly astonished, pointed him out to me on our walks as a singularity. This gentleman, wearing over his ear a hat with a border of crimson velvet, whose waist was compressed in a redingote with a full skirt, walking along and beating with his riding-whip the gold galloon on his tight-fitting pantaloons, did not inspire me with a single reflection, for it was not a natural instinct with me to search out the reason of things. I observed, but not a single thought troubled the clearness of my gaze. I was satisfied that people existed who were so easily recognizable, and certainly M. d'Aurevilly was one of that sort. I preserved an instinctive friendliness for him. I united him in my sympathy with an invalid who walked on two wooden legs and used a couple of canes, and who said good-day to me; with an old professor of mathematics who had only one arm, and who, with rubicund face, smiled in his satyr's beard at my nurse; and with a huge old man who, since the tragic death of his son, had worn clothes made from canvas. These four people had the advantage for me of being, beyond every one else, perfectly distinct, and I was satisfied with this attitude. To this hour I am unable to separate M. d'Aurevilly from the recollection of the professor, the invalid, and the madman whom he has gone to find again in the world of shadows. They were but a part of the statues of Paris for me, those four, like the statues on the Pont d'Jéna. The only difference was that the four walked, and the statues did not. As for the rest, I never dreamed of it. I did not know very well what was meant by life, and, after having considered it a good deal since, I avow that I comprehend it scarcely any better now. But since I have been carried back to the delightful abysses of souvenirs, I will remain there yet another moment.

And here, first, I see again the little "*potuche*" who, with his nose in the air and his books on his back, goes early to school, and studies the correct things in those rooms wherein such a quantity of ink has been spilt and such a quantity of chalk-dust has been scattered over the blackboard. The place to which he repaired was the Stanislas Academy, then rural and full of oddities. The time spent there was not burdensome. I have delightful recollections of



it. First of all, that of having been young, which is charming: the universe is as old as ourselves; it is born, lives, and dies with each one of us. It is we who make it; and when there are no longer any men there will no longer be any universe. It is thirty years since I tasted the blossoming newness of the world. To speak honestly, my school was not then what it has become to-day. The house was not so large or so handsome, but it was well arranged for little people like myself. The scholars were few, and, as we were not an army, the discipline was not warlike. We were given a little liberty, we took more, and life was very tolerable. My school has altered greatly since then; for work is done there nowadays. We were indolent in our time, and I did not wear out my Homer and Virgil. The level of the studies was not high, and for my part I contributed nothing to elevate it. Among the sixty scholars, fifty squandered their time. The other ten became well-informed, or at least well-mannered, for the ancient Stanislas succeeded above everything else in inculcating the principles of good breeding, thanks to Livy and Sallust; thanks also, I think, to his handsome shade-trees and his spacious courtyard, but especially to his director the Abbé Lalanne.

He was a charming old man, this Abbé Lalanne. He was ugly, but it was a pleasant ugliness. He was ugly like St. Vincent de Paul. With that he had the air of being of stone,—not at all hard or cold, but like those old stones from which the saints are carved in the churches: those stones that have taken on a strange sweetness from the caresses of the moon; that seem to be softened by the dews of morning; that are mossy, and look benevolent. His wrinkled brow, his huge nose, his gray cheeks, an enormous chin, seemed to be hewn from one of those stones; and his eyes, of a clear gray, bright and young, appeared like two flowerets in a ruin. Lively and weak, eloquent and a stammerer, it was given him to please by mere whimsical contrast. He was venerable, but provoked a smile. His was a great and tender heart, a soul just and holy, and a spirit at once lively, impatient, and ingenuous. In him good sense became united with the humorous. He was a poet who took much more pleasure in versification than Lamartine, but who met with less success. He composed little tragedies which we played on feast-days under a shed. I recollect about 1858 that we gave a recitation of a *Pharamond* in the costumes of the period. This holy man made the verses in his simplicity as a joiner planes a board. But he was an incomparable educator, though a little irresolute and wavering. He lived in a

pure atmosphere, and he inspired only what was good and grand. I had the best of masters, and I was the worst of scholars.

Our teachers were a sort of monks in redingotes, with whom I never succeeded in being friendly. It was not their fault, but, like the old Duke Pasquier, I do not love the monks. I have retained the most painful remembrance of my first year of Greek. We were given forthwith those little pieces of Æsop, so well known and so insignificant. These moral myths inspired me with a distaste that I still feel. After Æsop we were given Homer, and in the "Iliad" we were inundated with knowledge and delight. The "Iliad" is like the sea. Men contemplate the ocean with pensive admiration, while the children play at the brink of its expiring waves: thus does the divine Homer astonish and entertain the young ones. At the first lesson I saw Thetis rising like a white cloud above the waves. Then enchantment followed enchantment: Nausicaa and her companions; the palm-tree of Delos; the sky; the earth; the tearful smile of Andromache,—I understood and I appreciated them all. I will not dwell longer on the memories of the time when, wholly a child, I discovered Greece, further than to recall for a moment those happy hours in which, with my head thrust into my dictionary at my ink-besmeared desk, I saw divine figures with arms of ivory falling against white tunics, and in which I heard voices blended in harmonious lament. These prodigies issued forth from my Sophocles, for whom I neglected everything else.

I returned from school each day to my home, where I listened to the gossip of the little circle gathered at evening in my father's bookshop. There I saw M. de Barante, then more than an octogenarian. At school we read with avidity his "History of the Dukes of Burgundy," and I looked at the author of these interesting recitals with all the agitation and awe of a youthful admiration. But he was an excellent man, kind and mild, and loved to render service to those about him. His manner recalled the line:

"Rien ne trouble sa fin : c'est le soir d'un beau jour."

I now see again, as he was about the year 1860, the blue-eyed, bald-fronted, grave, and gentle Louis de Ronchaud, since then Director of the Museum of the Louvre. Again I hear him speak, in tones of sincere affection, of the beauty of Greek and Florentine art. His conversation formed one of my earliest delights. I did not understand all he said, but when one is young it is not necessary to under-



stand everything in order to admire everything. I felt that he was in possession of both the good and the beautiful. I was convinced that he would share the table of the gods and the couch of the goddesses; but the following day in school I comprehended that my modest professor did not belong at all to that celestial race, and I despised him for it. I was shocked to find him so ignorant of the beauties of antiquity. Thus, through the influence of M. de Ronchaud, I remained away from certain classes to spend the time in the Louvre before a metope of the Parthenon. But, as Renan has said, it is possible to be saved by different methods.

As to my holidays, I passed the greater part of them with Leclerc the younger, who at that time sold antique armor in a little shop at the lower end of the Quai Voltaire. Leclerc the younger was old. He was small, erect, and lame like Vulcan, and, girt with an apron of serge, from morning till night he polished the weapons which, henceforth harmless, were to accomplish their peaceful destiny in the panoply of a castle. His shop was full of halberds, morions, sallets, gorgets, cuirasses, and spurs, and I remember to have seen there a target of the fifteenth century, entirely colored with gallant devices. Those who have not seen such a memento of chivalry must fail to comprehend its marvellous romance. Toledo blades, Saracen armor in its infinite grace,—those oval helmets from which fell a network of steel meshes as fine as muslin,—and shields of damascened gold, inspired me with a lively admiration for those terrible emirs who fought with the Christian barons at Ascalon and at Gaza. If the truth were told, the helmets and shields of Leclerc the younger did not really date from the Crusades; but I was prone to see in the shop of my old friend the coat-of-arms of Villehardouin and the scimitar of Saladin.

But the paradisaean years of a tender and sagacious childhood are passing, and the moments grow short when the eyes of fifteen color the old universe with the tints of Aurora. The years of youth which are now approaching had a taste often bitter, but whose perfume yet remains sweet in the remembrance. At that time I had no desire to write. I led a solitary and contemplative life, and as I was studying nothing I learned much. In fact it is while walking that those discoveries are made which are at once moral and beautiful. On the other hand, what one finds in a laboratory or in a work-room usually amounts to very little, and it is to be observed that professional scholars are more ignorant than the generality of other people. How often, alone of a morning, have I followed the sinuous paths in the

Jardin des Plantes, among the deer and the sheep who thrust their heads between the shrubberies begging for bread. And in that old garden, peopled with animals, I seemed to find again the terrestrial paradise of my old Bible. Very frequently, however, five or six of us met, attracted by an affinity of taste and sentiment. As we had nothing to do, we made over the world. I recall with delight our walks in the garden of the Luxembourg and under the sombre trees in the Avenue de l'Observatoire. And in all seriousness I must tell you that the wind blowing among the leaves chanted more harmoniously then than it does to-day. More noble and beautiful the sun went down among the golden mists of evening. I would ask all my friends of that time, Were not those days better than these? A spell was on us, and we were happy because we were young. I do not know what mystery enveloped us, nor what zeal inspired us. For myself, I was not satisfied unless I expounded the universe as my day's task under the plantains of the Luxembourg. Some of us have preserved the memory of those youthful conversations, the lengthy talks in which Paul Bourget, almost beyond adolescence, brought to bear his fine analysis and eloquent inquisitiveness. It was something marvellous to hear him, in our walks, talk of the poetry of Shelley and of the philosophy of Spinoza. He entered then with disquieting boldness the intellectual domain which he has since conquered. A constructor of romances, he promised us another and a more impartial "Adolphe"; a poet, he made admirable verses elegant and ingenuous like himself,—verses full of an assumed languishment and an airy philosophy; a critic, he excelled in tracing the history of thought, and was incomparable in the analysis of the genius of a writer and a philosopher. Already divided between the cult of metaphysics and the love of worldly graces, his discourse passed readily from the theory of the will to the subject of feminine attire,—a foretoken of the romances he has since given to the world. There was no perceptible difference in age between himself and the big scholars whom he instructed in Greek, Latin, and philosophy, but already vigor of mind and the habit of reflection had made him the master. His ideas were controlled by an elegant severity which was the admiration of our little circle. To our debates, frequently prolonged far into the night, he brought a greater philosophy than the others. How many times have we not reconstructed the world amid the silence of the deserted avenues in the twinkling light of the stars! And now these same stars listen to the disputation of other youths



who in their turn reconstruct the universe. Thus the generations ever dream dreams equally sublime and vain.

We were all enthusiastic determinists. One or two among us were neo-catholics, but they were full of uneasiness. The fatalists, on the contrary, displayed the serenity of a confidence not preserved, alas! We know well enough to-day that this romance of the universe is as deceptive as all the rest, but then the works of Darwin were our Bible. With ardent faith we said: "A man has come who has emancipated men from vain terrors." I cannot refrain from the recollection of those frequent visits which, with Darwin under our arms, we made to the Jardin des Plantes. As for myself, I entered as I would a sanctuary the rooms of the museum crowded with every species of organic form, from the stone lilies, the crinoids, and the long jaw-bones of the great primitive sauria, to the arched backbone of the elephant and the hand of the gorilla. In the centre of the last room rose a Venus in marble, placed there as symbolic of an invincible and tender force, the multiplier of all animated life. Who will restore to me the emotion, artless and sublime, which agitated me before that delicious type of human beauty? I contemplated it with an intellectual satisfaction accorded to presentiment. The various organic forms had insensibly guided me to this one. How I imagined that I understood life and love! How sincerely I thought that I had surprised the divine plan!

We had at that period in the Latin Quarter an impassioned sentiment for the natural forces; the works of Taine having greatly contributed to this frame of mind. He was a determinist with abundant evidence and a richness of illustration which created on the intelligent youth at the end of the Second Empire an impression deep and difficult of comprehension to-day. The working of this powerful mind inspired us, toward 1870, with an ardent enthusiasm, a species of religion which I called the dynamical cult of life. That which it gave was method and observation, fact and thought, philosophy and history,—science, in fact. His theory of civilization amazed us. Personally, I considered it excellent, nor was I mistaken. But I did not then know that every well-constructed theory is equally excellent in the sense that they are the indispensable shelves on which to arrange facts in the order of detail. In the neighborhood of my twentieth birthday I did not understand it so, however, and would have been provoked to anger at the suggestion that the system of Taine, like every other system, was a mere piece of furniture. Neverthe-

less, it was exactly that. An excellent artificer had constructed it by measure. My admiration has not diminished, and I preserve my early enjoyment of this masterpiece of intellectual art. I uphold the veracity of the system as I did at twenty, because it is logical. A philosophical verity resembles the degrees of latitude and longitude indicated on the maps. These circles make us acquainted with the precise position of the various degrees on the globe. In my sixth year, when I first saw a map of the world, I imagined that the lines traced there corresponded to tangible realities. I searched for them in my walks in the gardens of the Tuileries, but I found no trace of them. In scientific order this was the first occasion on which I was deceived; the idea that the theory of civilization was not an absolute truth constituting the second or third repetition of deception.

About this time Baron Haussmann, unknown to himself, had in the service of the prefecture a number of long-haired poets and small journalists, and here in the office were read aloud the *Châtiments*, and here was glorified the painting of Manet. Paul Verlaine recopied here his Saturnian poems on the paper of the administration. Like the rest of us, he had completed his studies in various lyceums, and was to take his bachelor's degree after having sufficiently studied the classics to thoroughly misunderstand them. And as instruction leads to everything, he afterward entered an office in town. I do not say this in reproach. It was the existence of François Coppée, of Albert Mérat, of Léon Valade, and of numerous other poets who were prisoners in an office and who went into the country only on Sunday.

This modest and monotonous existence, favorable to dreaming and the patient labor of versification, has been shared by the majority of the Parnassians. Almost alone in this circle, M. José Maria de Hérédia, although deprived of the greater part of the treasures of his ancestors the *conquistadore*, still managed to make the appearance of a young gentleman and to smoke excellent cigars. His cravats were as splendid as his sonnets. But of the sonnets only were we jealous. Unanimously we despised wealth. We loved only glory, and we still desire it if in somewhat more discreet and an almost secret fashion. We asserted—I do not know very well why—our pretension to impassivity. The great philosopher of the school, M. Xavier de Ricard, maintained with fervency that art should be as cold as ice, yet we did not so much as perceive that this *doctinaire* of impassivity did not write a verse which was not the vehicle of the violent expressions of his passions, political, social, and religious; his



broad and apostolic brow, his burning eyes, his ascetic meagreness, his generous eloquence did not enlighten us. It was a glorious time, —that in which we lacked common sense.

Very often we found ourselves in the Rue Rousselet, narrow and dirty, but bordered with gardens, and full of souvenirs dear to the heart of a true Parisian. It was here that Madame de la Sablière came to live when she renounced the world and devoted herself to the service of the sick. This charming woman, who had greatly loved many things in life, carried nothing to God in her penitence but the ruins of her heart and of her beauty. At twenty steps from this chamber, where, two hundred years ago, the friend of La Fare wept over the still smoking ruins of her wasted life, before a window opening upon the garden of the Brotherhood of Saint Jean de Dieu, how many vows all fresh with youth and hope have I not uttered! Here lived my friend Adolphe Racot, then full of dreams and projects, cordial, good, and vigorous, whom journalism and many romances killed. It is now some years since he died, but in those days we had before us the infinite. From that window we could see the house where François Coppée, in a little garden near his modest and flowery lodging, composed verses that were as true, simple, and amiable as himself. Paul Bourget, his forehead gloomy with metaphysics under his adolescent head of hair, was constantly there. Coppée and Bourget visited Barbey d'Aurevilly, who then inhabited a little chamber in the same Rue Rousselet where he lived for thirty years in noble poverty: they brought him that most delicious thing, a youthful admiration.

But I have drifted too long amid the delights of remembrance, and I have sufficiently extolled the splendors of a life of poverty and liberty belonging to another time. I must retrace the precipitous currents of the twenty years that have gone, and return to the realities of to-day. The sun sinks to rest upon the Seine, evening falls upon the quays, and the phantom I have evoked is lost in the shadows. Adieu! that other self whom I have lost and whom I shall never find. Happy is he who can see again the image of his early youth and not experience a single sentiment of regret, of bitterness, or of disillusion.

ANATOLE FRANCE.

## THE CENTENARY OF KEATS.

SEEING that John Keats was born on the 29th of October, 1795, and that the editor of *THE FORUM* desires that some attention be paid in its pages to the centenary of that birthday, one not unnaturally reverts to the well-known and amazing saying of a famous contemporary of the poet, whose centenary falls but five weeks later than his own, but who out-lived him sixty years: "Poetry, except in such cases as that of Keats, where the whole consists in a weak-eyed, maudlin sensibility, and a certain vague, random tunefulness of nature"——. So stands it written, as an adequate appraisal and final dismissal of Keats's poetical claims, in Carlyle's "Essay on Burns."

The first sensation of the modern reader who comes upon this remarkable appreciation is of mere amazement. After that passes, it gives place to various reflections. One of the first of these is how much less courage it took to make this deliverance in 1828 than it would take in 1895, when the subject has fulfilled "his century, the term commonly fixed as the test of literary merit." Even a Carlyle, writing now, and in the same irritation against a poet whose poetry did not enable him to "get forrader" in his attempt to reconcile Scotch Calvinism and German philosophy, would scarcely venture to dismiss the claims of so established a poet in so summary a manner. The manner, indeed, is that of the "Quarterly" and "Blackwood," and, to the generation of readers of poetry that now is, seems of an incredible and revolting insolence. But, as Hooker has reminded us, "the manner of men's writing must not alienate our hearts from the truth, if it appear they have the truth." Readers of Carlyle will be loth to believe that the sentence has no meaning, and they are interested to know both what he means, and what of truth there is in his meaning. Let us hear him out, to the end of his sentence at least, omitting the abusive or disparaging epithets, as much for the sake of clearness as for his own:

"Poetry, except in such cases as that of Keats, where the whole consists in sensibility and tunefulness of nature, is no separate faculty, no organ which can be superadded to the rest, or disjoined from them; but rather the result of their general harmony and completion."



Thus disembarassed and completed, the judgment ceases to be monstrous, and becomes at least intelligible. Indeed it raises clearly enough the question which, in one form or another, has vexed all the subsequent commentators,—Was the poetic gift of Keats, after all, anything more than sensibility and tunefulness?

Any readers who are attracted by the title of this paper may be presumed to be familiar with the admirable Introduction of Matthew Arnold to the selections from Keats given in Professor Ward's anthology. They will remember that the tone of the Introduction is apologetic as well as eulogistic; that the critic feels that the admirers of Keats are, so to speak, on their defence. This is not wholly the result of the critic's customary literary method of abasing his subject in order that he may subsequently exalt him, willing as the critic in this case shows himself to give the devil's advocate every latitude, and near to a canonization as the final exaltation comes. It is in part perhaps the traditional contempt of Englishmen for a man and poet who allowed himself to be "snuffed out by an article." It is true that the tradition that Keats was the victim of his reviewers had been finally and forever disposed of by Lord Houghton's "Life" a generation before Mr. Arnold wrote; but a tradition that had been published and accepted by Shelley, and condensed into an epigram by Byron, died very hard. The odds are that "the man in the street" to-day, if he happen to have heard of Keats at all, will have heard that he was killed by unfavorable criticism on his poems. But there was something more than the tradition to account for the apologetic attitude. There were not only the love-letters which came to light long after the publication of Lord Houghton's biography, but there was much in the poems themselves that gave countenance to the tradition, and that represented the poet as an enervated weakling and voluptuary: and neither of these testimonies could be gainsaid, since they were his own. Carlyle's sentence was based purely upon the poems, and, loudly as it may proclaim the deficiencies of its author, the reader of Keats, when he has recovered from his amazement, has to own that he sees what it means. Even Mr. Swinburne—who in this instance rather curiously concerns himself with the character as a man of a poet whose verses he admires—makes his concessions concerning the poems with rash generosity. "The 'Ode to a Nightingale,'" he says, in his energetic way, "one of the finest masterpieces of human work in all times and for all ages, is immediately preceded, in all the editions now current, by some of the most vulgar and fulsome doggerel ever

whimpered by a vapid and effeminate rhymester in the sickly stage of whelphood." The only edition before me, except that of Lord Houghton, in which the "Ode to a Nightingale" is preceded by the "Ode to Melancholy," is one in which it is preceded by the juvenile "Imitation of Spenser," which Mr. Swinburne can scarcely have meant, and which certainly is not adequate to infuriate anybody: and indeed Keats wrote nothing to which the description can with scientific exactness be applied.

The citations are at any rate evidence that the admirers of Keats feel that they are bound to be his defenders also, and his defenders against himself, when they contend that, if he had lived, his unsurpassed and scarcely equalled power of expression would have found an ampler field, a larger form, a more adequate subject-matter. "Our greatest poet since Shakespeare by his promise," as Wordsworth by his performance, Mr. Arnold calls him. His own modest epitaph upon himself has been already cancelled by posterity. Shall we substitute for it an adaptation of Franz Schubert's: "The art of music buried here a rich possession but yet fairer hopes"? This question inevitably recurs with the centenary of the poet, and of course it is not really answerable. We are all at one with Mr. Arnold when he says that Keats "is with Shakespeare" in the felicity and magic of his expression. Indeed no discerning reader can ever have read Keats without being struck by the magical quality of expression which he shares with Shakespeare alone. But is there evidence in what he did that it lay in him to match Shakespeare also in what Mr. Arnold calls "the architectonics of poetry, the faculty which presides at the evolution of works like the 'Agamemnon' and 'Lear' "? "For this," the critic says, "he was not ripe," and leaves us with the intimation that it was only his unripeness that constituted his incompetency to equal the great monuments of poetry. How far is the intimation justified by the poetry of Keats?

One need not have read very much verse to be assured that there are poets to whom poetry is a means only of expressing what might be expressed otherwise, and poets to whom poetical expression is an end in itself. It is the same indeed in other arts. The vocation of some painters consists evidently enough in a visual excitability by forms or colors, and of many musicians in a sensuous delight in tones. A musician has even been heard to say that he preferred to hear songs in foreign languages because his understanding of the words disturbed his enjoyment. There are poets, to whom the title can by no means be denied, whose poetry is in like manner a technical mastery. In the



existing state of English literature one may parody Oxenstiern, saying: "Go and see with how little wisdom poetry may be written." For felicity of epithet and magical music of words may become to the maker of verses what the tones of his Stradivarius are to a violinist. Nay there are two fairly well recognized "schools" of violin-playing itself, of which one respects the meaning of the composition, and the other merely beauty of tone. The poet who is independent of his matter may carry his technical perfection so far that we may find it hard to deny him the title of a great poet; but we may still refuse to admit that he is a great man.

Tennyson is reported to have said of himself that he did not particularly envy Shakespeare his power of expression, but to have added, "The difference is, there is nothing in me." I do not vouch for the authenticity of the anecdote, but it is very suggestive. The young Shakespeare—the Shakespeare of the poems and the sonnets—it is whom Keats most vividly recalls. Walter Bagehot, doing injustice to their art, dismisses the sonnets with something less than his usual discernment in saying that "as first-of-April poetry they are perfect"; but upon the "Venus and Adonis" he makes a remark that is very relevant to our purpose:

"The type of such productions is Keats's 'Endymion.' We mean that it is the type, not as giving the abstract perfection of this sort of art, but because it shows both its excellences and its defects in a very marked and prominent manner. In this poem there are no passions and no actions, there is no art and no life; but there is beauty, and that is meant to be enough, and to a reader of one-and-twenty it is enough and more."

It would be enough, but it is doubtful whether many readers of one-and-twenty find enough beauty in "Endymion" to make them read it through, as Shelley partly justifies the "Quarterly" reviewers by intimating that he could not. The beauty is in purple patches that are not frequent enough or splendid enough to entice the reader from one to the other. "Venus and Adonis" is full of episodes, but in "Endymion" there is scarcely a clue of narrative, that the reader has patience to follow, from which the episodes diverge. Shakespeare had always a story to tell, and, with all his excursiveness, kept the journey and the journey's end in view, while Keats's excursions, both in "Endymion" and in "Hyperion,"—superior in coherency and consecutiveness as that is,—are actual meanderings "and find no end in wandering mazes lost." In "Lamia" the utility is shown of the discipline he had imposed upon himself in a study of Dryden, and in the restraint of a

metre which bound him to coherency if not to consecutiveness. It is the one of the three that is nearest to a narrative poem and not an assemblage of passages, while its passages are finer than those of either of its predecessors. "Isabella," again, lacks unity, lacks reality, lacks illusion,—except in some isolated phrases lacks charm. It is in the "Eve of St. Agnes" alone, the shortest of all, that his charm is fully felt, and that he has produced a tale in verse that can fairly be ranked with the verse of the lyrics. And even the "Eve of St. Agnes" is not a tale in verse, but rather a succession of pictures,—pictures still vivid in the memories of readers who cannot recall what it was that happened; the picture of the beadsman in the chill chapel; the picture of *Porphyro* in the shadow of the arch; the picture of *Madeline* bathed in the "warm gules" of the transmuted winter moonlight. These succeed each other till the "Prospero" who evokes them breaks his wand and brings us back with a word from his world to our own,—

And they are gone : ay, ages long ago  
These lovers fled away into the storm.

In truth, the poet had no more a story to tell than he had a message to deliver. If he could not present a story in the form of narration, even less could he present it in the form of action. The dramas are not only complete failures for their purpose of stage-plays. It seems plain that Keats undertook the form not from any vocation, but from the consideration, as patent then as now, that a successful drama is the most profitable of literary ventures. No more artistic consideration would have induced him to go into a partnership in which he was to put into verse the speech of characters created in situations devised by his collaborator. The event justified him in saying, when another dramatic subject was proposed to him, "I will do all this myself"; for the fragment of "King Stephen" has far more life and movement than "Otho the Great." But it is not from the point of view of the London manager alone, whose point of view the poet tried to take,—it is also from the point of view of the modern reader that the plays are failures. We have only to ask what would have been their fate if their author had written nothing else, to be assured that it would have been swift oblivion. Neither the completed work of collaboration, nor the fragment of Keats's own, denotes any real instinct for dramatic construction or for dramatic characterization. The fame of their author's lyrics keeps them in print, but does not keep them really alive. The interest of them resides scarcely even in passages, but in detached Elizabethan lines.



Even among the lyrics it is necessary to distinguish. True songs Keats did not write,—songs that sing themselves in the memory, or have appealed to musicians by their “cantabile” quality. Of his dozen essays in that kind not one is comparable, in aptness for its purpose,—not to say with the songs of Shakespeare or of Burns,—with the songs of Scott or the “stanzas for music” of Byron. The “Meg Merrilies,” which Mr. Swinburne has praised for “the simple force of spirit and style which distinguishes the genuine ballad manner,” yet lacks the lilt of the genuine ballad movement. This movement Keats has once attained in a ballad too complex and modern in the sentiment, too curious and “precious” in the diction, to exemplify the genuine ballad manner, but which is nevertheless one of the most perfect of his poems,—the beautiful “Belle Dame sans Merci.” It is noteworthy that while none of Keats’s songs are sung, this lyrical ballad has approved itself to a composer as the libretto for a piece of programme music for the orchestra. It is in the more artificial forms of the sonnet and the ode that Keat’s lyrical gift was really shown, and it is these that make him immortal. The sonnet is indeed a form that has become so artificial as to have been employed in our language for three centuries as a technical exercise in versification. That Keats labored it with diligence there is external as well as internal evidence to show, such as the competitions with Hunt and with Shelley, in which the oldest and least famous of the three was so clearly the victor that it is only his sonnets upon “The Grasshopper and the Cricket,” and upon “The Nile” that are much remembered or very memorable. But that Keats attained a complete mastery of the form, and wrought in it with perfect freedom, is attested by the sonnets that are of the same rank with the odes. When Mr. Swinburne says: “He has certainly left us one perfect sonnet of the first rank, and as certainly he has left us but one,”—I for one am so much at a loss that I do not know whether the critic means to designate the sonnet on Chapman’s Homer, the “Last Sonnet,” the “Four Seasons” or the—

“When I have fear that I may cease to be.”

In all these things there is no indication of the “architectonic” power which Mr. Arnold seems ready to ascribe to Keats. In spite of his affinity to Shakespeare in right of his magical power of words, it is not Shakespeare whom Keats most resembles, and much less Milton, to whom he owed only the same obligations with every writer of English verse since Milton’s time. It was not for nothing that his

first published lines were an imitation of Spenser, and that Shakespeare's master was Keats's master too. Let it be enough for the disciple to be as his master. Keats was an Elizabethan born out of due time, but it was not in "the pell-mell of Shakespeare's men and women," but in the fairyland of Spenser, that he lived and had his being. When he says "he looks upon fine phrases like a lover," he is Spenser's disciple. When he sings—

"Lo, I must tell a tale of Chivalry

For large white plumes are dancing in mine eye,"—

—it is in Spenser's world that he is dreaming. When he exclaims, the year after Waterloo,—

—"the silver flow

Of Hero's tears, the swoon of Imogen,

Fair Pastorella in the bandit's den,

Are things to brood on with more ardency

Than the death-day of empires,"—

—he is again Spenser's successor. And when finally he writes, "I have loved the principle of beauty in all things," he is still the scholar of the poet of whom Taine says that "he has succeeded in seizing beauty in its fulness because he cared for nothing but beauty."

Here, in fact, seems to lie the secret of Keats's charm. His "sensitivity" was a sensibility to beauty so delicate that, to robust natures, it may well have seemed morbid, and his "tunefulness" a capacity of expressing it which we may well agree that no man but Shakespeare has quite matched in English words. Upon both these things,—upon sensibility to beauty and upon power of poetical expression,—Ruskin must be admitted as an expert witness, and upon both he has had occasion to give his testimony. "Turner's sensibility to beauty," he says, "was perfect; deeper far, therefore, than Byron's; only that of Keats and Tennyson being comparable with it." And in another place, of Keats's art: "I have come to that pass of admiration for him now that I dare not read him, so discontented he makes me with my own work." The perfection of Keats's art, the sureness of success with which he translated into words feelings that but for him those who underwent them would have abandoned as inexpressible, make rather startling the suggestion that there was anything to which he was inadequate because for it "he was not ripe." Indeed it is the very ripeness of Keats's art at its best that distinguishes it above the work of so many generations of his elders, and makes it so astonishing as the work of a youth, so far is it removed, in its security and ease of mastery, from the struggles for expression of immaturity, from the



mere glibness of precocity. It is the sense rather of over-ripeness than of unripeness that it gives, of a sensibility hectic and excessive. When the comparison with Shakespeare is pushed to an intimation that if Keats had survived he might have challenged Shakespeare's supremacy, one may well recall another saying of the French historian of English literature, that in Shakespeare's case and in Shakespeare's time "the solidity of the muscles balanced the sensibility of the nerves; that genius was then a blossom, and not, as now, a disease."

One cannot conceive of Keats, with his equipment of "sensibility and tunefulness," as designing another "Agamemnon" or "Lear," but one can conceive of him as dreaming another long and beautiful and happy dream like the "Faëry Queen," and describing it with the magical craftsmanship he shares with Shakespeare. That craftsmanship it was permitted him to show only in what, after all, are fragments. Mr. Palgrave, in his "Golden Treasury," has chosen what he deems the best lyrics of Keats. They are eleven in number. It does not seem to me that in the selection he has shown quite his usual sure and almost infallible tact. There is certainly nothing included that we could do without, but there are omitted the "Eve of St. Agnes" (doubtless on account of its length), the fragment "To May" (doubtless because it is a fragment), but also the odes "To Psyche," "To Melancholy," and "To a Grecian Urn,"—for reasons which to most lovers of Keats must be quite incomprehensible. Add these five, and there are sixteen poems, none of great length, which I think are all that these lovers of Keats will agree upon as quite indispensable to themselves and to the poet's fame, interesting and in part beautiful as many others may be. Of the odes, one cannot do better than copy Mr. Swinburne's saying: "Greater lyrical poetry the world may have seen than any that is in these; lovelier it surely never has seen, nor ever can it possibly see." We cannot look forward to any time, when English poetry is still read, when these things are not held to be among its glories; nor can we doubt that the second centenary of John Keats will be at least as noteworthy as the first throughout the English-speaking world.

MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER.

## COÖPERATION AMONG FARMERS.

FOR the past three years I have been active in a movement intended to unite the orchardists of California in marketing their fruit. The importance of this movement may be understood from the fact that the orchards and vineyards of California now probably represent a larger investment than any other industrial interest, and that, unless certain permanent reforms in the trade can be effected, there is danger that a large portion of the capital invested will be lost. The mortgage indebtedness is very serious; the general depression in values has temporarily wiped out the equities of the nominal owners; and while a partial recovery is doubtless to be expected in due time, it is not believed by the best informed that, under present conditions of marketing, our orchards and vineyards can continue to maintain those who occupy them in their present standard of comfort. We are endeavoring by a general popular movement to remove the evils which oppress us.

The difficulty in the case is not failure of crops. Our trouble has been to get our product to the distant consumer at prices low enough to secure a good demand, and from the gross proceeds to reserve for the producer sufficient to sustain him in reasonable comfort. The fruit business cannot, like the wheat or pork trade, be expanded or contracted from year to year; orchards and vineyards, once tended to maturity, will yield their product, which cannot be changed or curtailed. Our fruits are not like those of most Eastern farmers,—a by-product from an acre or two, requiring no attention until harvest: to cultivate them properly is the serious business of our lives. Fruit-raising, as pursued in California, is the severest and most exhausting of agricultural occupations, though the poetic side of it appeals so strongly to the imagination as to cause a constant drift into the business of those physically and financially unable to prosecute it successfully. There are also serious difficulties growing out of our position, thousands of miles by overland routes from our principal markets, and exposed to competition from producers much more accessible to them; in fact it is only the excellent quality of our product that enables us to compete at all.

In all our fruit industries we are laboring under the disadvantage



of an output produced under an unnatural stimulus, and increasing faster than new markets can be created. The stories of enormous profits derived from fruit-raising, so widely circulated by Californian land-sellers, are all, I presume, true; I have inquired into many of them and found them correct. For example, in 1893, from ten acres of orchard, one of our largest growers sold 55 tons of dried prunes at 5 cents per pound,—a yield, as trees are usually planted, of 110 pounds of dried fruit to the tree, with a money value of \$660 per acre, gross. The gentleman, however, has hundreds of acres of prunes among which the yield per acre of that ten acres could easily be duplicated, and perhaps exceeded, by single acres; but he has never taken the pains to publish their *average* yield. The acceptance of such stories by the unthinking as typical of the profits of Californian fruit-raising has induced an unnatural growth in the industry. Instead of 110 pounds of dried prunes to the tree, the average yield of prune-trees, during their bearing years, is probably less than 15 pounds, and the average number of crops secured before the death of the trees probably does not exceed ten.

Whenever there is general trouble in an industry, the majority of those engaged in it blame every one concerned in it but themselves; those in serious distress tend to become denunciatory and violent; and it is only under such circumstances that coöperation on any large scale can be attempted with much hope of success. Of course the real cause of the trouble in our fruit business is bad judgment on the part of a large number—doubtless a majority—of those engaged in it, in supposing possible, from any agricultural employment, average or continued profits like those which a few in California have certainly received in some years from fruit-raising. Indulging in these hopes, they ran recklessly into debt, and now they suffer. The fruit business is a staple one which will outlive its difficulties; but the troubles which speculation unfailingly brings forth led directly to the coöperative movement which I shall describe, and makes its success possible, though not certain.

While our own bad judgment was the real cause of the trouble, it was not so considered by those in the business, and when the expected incomes were not forthcoming we believed that we were being robbed,—first by the transportation companies, and next by the middlemen necessarily employed in placing our product in distant markets. The fact that the transportation companies always receive a larger share of the gross proceeds of our eastward fresh-fruit shipments than do the

producers is accepted without question as evidence of robbery, in forgetfulness of the fact that on many products, including fresh fruit, the cost of a long transcontinental haul is necessarily greater than the cost of production, and without considering that if the present freight rate of \$1.25 per hundred pounds were cut in half, as we are now demanding, the consequent reduction in Eastern retail prices, if any, would hardly be noticeable, and quite insufficient to materially extend our markets,—except in so far as increased profits to middlemen impelled them to greater activity, which of course is desirable. As to the “middlemen,” there are of course among them, as among farmers, the honest and the dishonest; but a dishonest middleman does more injury to an industry than a dishonest farmer, as his operations are larger. One difficulty lies in the fact that the standard of honesty in the commission business is not fixed. The most honorable men in the business habitually do things which in law constitute felony, but which universal custom excuses, if not justifies; but loose practices by the honest open the door to worse practices by the dishonest or the reckless. The profits of the commission men and the amount of dishonesty are doubtless greatly exaggerated in the minds of an exasperated people seeking a scapegoat, but at the same time there are certainly evils in our methods of distribution which can be remedied by concerted action, provided that such action be wise and vigorous and lasts long enough to produce the desired result. We are endeavoring, with varying success, in the different branches of the fruit industry, to secure and sustain such concerted action. So far the wine-makers and the orange-growers have succeeded best. The movements with which I have been connected have as their object the far more difficult task of uniting for common action the thousands of deciduous-fruit growers scattered over the entire State. Some detail in description is perhaps essential to a proper understanding of our efforts.

I was one of many hundreds of fools in California who imagined that an orchard could be made profitable to an owner while engaged in other business, and, having learned otherwise in that school whose instruction fails not, I determined to devote myself to my orchard. In ten years of maintaining an orchard in which I myself did no work, I learned many lessons, of which the only one pertinent to this paper is that when I came to sell my fruit I did not know what to ask for it. For a time we could sell, some at one price, and some at another, in the old-fashioned way, to buyers who circulated among us, making the best bargains they could and collecting the goods for shipment.



While we could sell our product in this way we did not complain, although we on our farms could know little or nothing of the conditions of distant markets, and the dealers, better informed than we, and not burdened with the risk of production, in the long run made money while some of us did not. As our output increased there was an increasing difficulty in selling for cash; our years of foolish bragging about our enormous yield having created among dealers everywhere a profound distrust of our ability to dispose of it, and a conviction that prices would rapidly fall. Those who had been buyers refused to handle our product except on commission; the agents of commission houses circulated among us, buying outright, sometimes at low rates, from those in most need of money, and soliciting consignments from others; and, as our product increased, the State became flooded with agents of Eastern houses, many of whom, by flattering promises and liberal advances, took advantage of the poor and inexperienced. The result of these methods applied to a rapidly increasing output thousands of miles from market was undoubtedly very bad indeed. Growers generally came to believe that their depressed markets were solely the result of the malignant operations of designing and reckless men who had conspired to rob them.

It is difficult to make general statements in regard to our fruit business which shall be at once concise and correct, as different branches are necessarily conducted by different agencies and different methods. What I have just been saying applies especially to the dried-fruit trade, which is the largest interest; but the fresh-fruit trade is in even worse condition. Fresh fruit which yields the producer 2 cents per pound must cost the Eastern consumer 8 to 10 cents per pound, on account of the cost of handling and transportation. Most of our fresh fruit, however, fails to yield the producer even one cent per pound. In many cases the grower not only contributes the packages and commissions, but has to pay some portion of the freight on fruit thus donated to its consumers. My next-door neighbor tells me that on the net result of his last year's eastward shipment he owes his commission merchant \$40. He raised his fruit, packed it, and paid \$40 additional for the benefit of the consumers. A grower in one of our best districts has framed in his sitting-room—unless his necessities have compelled him to use it lately—a check for \$10, representing his net proceeds of one carload (2,400 pounds) of fruit,—substantially one cent per twenty-pound crate, or about one-ninth of what his packages alone cost! These facts are not trivial; they are the source of our social discontent.

In the spring of 1892 some of the progressive orchardists of our neighboring county of Santa Clara issued a call for a mass meeting of fruit-growers at San José to consider whether it were not possible to remedy these evils. At that meeting I heard, for the first time, the details of management of a successful coöperative association of orchardists known as the "West Side Fruit-Growers' Association" of Santa Clara. This concern—then one year old—had purchased grounds and appliances, and had dried and marketed the fruit of its stockholders to their satisfaction. Encouraged by their success, the mass meeting referred to was called for the purpose of creating a larger and wider organization for the purpose of marketing the fruit of that and similar societies which might be formed, and the product of individuals drying their own fruit. The meeting resulted in the establishment of such a concern, known as the Santa Clara County Fruit Exchange, whose sales in 1893, with that of other similar associations subsequently formed in that county, amounted to considerably more than \$500,000, and which was able, in a very severe year, by the publication of information and by preventing consignments, to give a strength and stability to the market which it had never before known. I served this Exchange as an officer and director for a year.

In October, 1893, our State Horticultural Society met at San José to observe the workings of these institutions; and, having noted the details of the commercial operations on a large scale conducted by plain farmers, the Society in its enthusiasm resolved that a State Fruit Exchange should be founded, whose duty it should be to organize the fruit-growers of the entire State for similar purposes, and appointed a committee to carry out the plan. This committee, in pursuance of its instructions, organized and incorporated the California Fruit Exchange, with headquarters at San Francisco, first, however, calling a mass meeting for a more general indorsement. This meeting, at which nearly all the fruit-growing counties were represented, indorsed and accepted the work already accomplished, chose permanent directors for the first year, and formally recognized the State Exchange as "the authorized representative of the fruit-growers of California."

The movement which I have briefly described is by no means the beginning of coöperative fruit-marketing in this State. The California Fruit Union was incorporated some years ago for marketing fresh fruits, and for several years its sales exceeded \$1,000,000 annually, and served a most valuable purpose. A State Dried-Fruit Union was organized a year or two later, but was a failure. The raisin-growers of the



San Joaquin Valley have made great struggles to organize, but for lack of means to supply the necessary plant have been compelled to unite with commercial packers in organizations whose main purpose it is to secure the same price for the same grade to all growers, and to keep goods in this State until sold. These organizations have never been successful. The orange-growers of Southern California succeeded in so organizing that for the last two years the coöperative associations have controlled the bulk of the oranges.

The exact functions of our coöperative fruit societies hardly need a description. They are simply fruit-drying and commission houses, transacting their business precisely like other commercial firms engaged in the same business. They are owned by the neighboring farmers, who by stock subscriptions supply the necessary capital, and they usually handle the fruit of their stockholders only. The number of stockholders varies from 25 or 30 in the smaller societies, to 500 or 600 in the Santa Clara County Fruit Exchange. In Southern California from 80 to 90 per cent of the orange-growers belong to the exchanges; about 90 per cent of the wine-makers belong to the wine-makers' corporation,—the most effective of all, as it nearest approaches the ordinary commercial "trust." The coöperative societies charge a commission just as competitive firms do; but, instead of charging a fixed commission, the total expense is computed at the end of the season and charged upon the total output. When an owner is paid in full before the close of the season, he is charged the usual commercial rate; and if the rate charged is more than the cost, he receives a rebate at the close. As the societies never buy, and consequently need little capital, no attempt is made to increase capital from the profits of business. Thus far the cost of selling deciduous fruits coöperatively has been about the same as by selling through commercial firms. This has doubtless been a disappointment to the majority, but they have had their profit in other ways. With experience they should be able to make a small saving, but there is really no great profit in a commission business honestly conducted: the main profit of coöperation is the suppression of irregular practices.

But while the operations of the local societies do not materially differ from those of commercial houses, the California Fruit Exchange is something different, and of a much higher character. The question with us is whether it is not above the comprehension of the majority of those whose support is essential. This we are patiently waiting to discover. This Exchange seeks to unite all orchardists of California for certain common purposes, but not itself to manipulate or sell the prod-

uct. I have stated that the cost of coöperative selling is equal to that of selling through commission houses. This is partly due to inexperience and the lack of executive vigor, which must always be a feature of coöperation, but mainly to a vicious duplication of expense, or to the omission of expense which is essential to proper management. For example, the operation of selling fruit is simple enough if you only know what price to set so as to move your product when you wish to, and yet secure the highest price which conditions warrant. But to learn the facts upon which sound judgment as to these transactions can be based is a labor of infinite detail, requiring decided ability; for in a coöperative marketing society, in which all products of the same grade are mingled and sold together, and the same net proceeds paid to all, the management is compelled so to frame its policy from the beginning of the season to the end as to ensure the best results to all its members. This requires a fund of information, a touch with the market, and a breadth of view not attainable by a small society of farmers; nor have our strongest deciduous-fruit societies ever yet spent enough money in securing the necessary information to enable them to become as good judges of the probable course of the market as our best commission men or the great merchants. One function of the State Exchange is to do this work at the common expense, and for the benefit of all, better than any single society could afford to do it. In the same way the advertising of our common product, the opening of new markets, the testing of new methods, the securing of uniform and the best methods of grading and packing, are all essential to the profitable management of our crops, and should be done by a common agency maintained at the common expense. It is also doubtless true that, loudly as we farmers denounce trusts and declaim in favor of coöperation, as a matter of fact that form of coöperation which comes nearest to doing for us what is accomplished by the most successful trusts is the form which will best suit us, and what we really seek;<sup>1</sup> but to obtain any such result requires con-

<sup>1</sup> It is amusing to observe the unwillingness of farmers to acknowledge that the principle of our organizations is identical with that of the great commercial trusts. Of course, the fact is that such coöperation as we are engaged in is simply the organization of one class to compete more effectively with others. The reason why the great commercial trusts are objectionable, in spite of the economic saving involved in their methods, is that they are strong, and, being strong, will probably abuse their power just as we would could we attain a like strength. Our societies are not thus objectionable, because, with human nature as it is, we can never be strong enough to be dangerous; the most we can expect is to protect ourselves against the better organized classes. We are no better than the commercial classes; we simply have less ability and less strength.



trol of the output, which can be gained only by organization. It is therefore to the interest of those growers who are organized, to induce others to join them in efforts for the common benefit; and this duty is part of the work of the State Exchange, and the first entered upon. While there was never any intent that it should engage in a direct commercial business, it was really to do so should occasion demand.

The difficulty of maintaining the State Exchange has arisen from the fact that its operations required immediate outlay, while its benefits, although obvious, could not be computed in definite percentages on any main product. It could be sustained only by a light tax spread over a large output, and few were willing to subject their fruit to the tax, since they believed that the work would be done for them for nothing if they did not contribute.<sup>1</sup> Subscriptions for stock have been made to a considerable extent, and the capital so raised has been expended in promoting local organizations, in the expectation that these organizations would unite with the older ones in subjecting their fruit to a uniform tax for the support of the State Exchange, and in replacing the capital spent in their organization. Thus far, however, the local societies, once organized, show a disposition to ignore the common parent, and leave it without the means to do the work which they cannot do well themselves. I do not know whether this state of things will continue; we think it will not, but that the close union desired will finally come about as designed: if not, the result must be the gradual disintegration of the weaker societies, for the reason that they cannot manage their marketing so wisely or so cheaply as the commission houses. The commission houses will therefore necessarily get the business, and this will leave the stronger societies too weak to have much influence in the market. We think that, as experience reveals this condition, the desired union will be brought about.

While the California Fruit Exchange aims to unite all branches of the fruit industry in that State, its operations thus far have been mostly directed to the organization of deciduous-fruit growers. The well-organized orange-growers express their readiness to unite with other branches for certain purposes as soon as the latter have so organized themselves as to control the necessary revenue. The raisin-growers of the San Joaquin Valley are individually ready to join, but have not thus far succeeded in effective organization. Coöperation outside the wine and orange interests does not yet command the sup-

<sup>1</sup> We find in coöperation what is predicted for socialism,—most of our energy is spent in getting shirks to do their part.

port of the largest growers ; to a man, they desire to see it go on, but they will not aid the movement except by talk. Their reasons are various. Some are so involved by indebtedness to commission houses that they are not really at liberty to coöperate ; others are of the opinion that in the struggle for existence they will survive and be better off if they do not help others to survive with them. And so it results that our deciduous-fruit organizations represent mostly small growers not very firmly held together, and controlling possibly one-fifth of the total output.

There can be no question, however, of the immense value of the coöperative movement of the past three years to the fruit-growers of California. Besides the strong organizations of the wine-growers and the orange-growers, there are some thirty or forty societies of deciduous-fruit growers—by far the strongest being those of Santa Clara County—which are gradually learning how to work together effectively through the State Exchange. But aside from the creation of these organizations the educational advance is astonishing. Where, three years since, there was almost absolute ignorance of the processes of marketing, there is now a general intelligence which renders the manipulations and deceptions which were formerly common utterly impossible. The competition of the coöperative societies has led to such an improvement in the service rendered by commission houses as alone to repay an hundredfold the cost of the coöperative effort, and in these and other indirect ways the benefits of coöperation are felt and acknowledged by all. There is danger, however, that growers, finding no present saving in the cost of marketing, will not persist in coöperation until the managers of societies have learned the business so well that they make the small saving in expense which is certainly possible by coöperation.

My duties as manager of the State Exchange have brought me into close contact with our local organizations, old and new, and, with my previous experience as an officer of the Santa Clara County Exchange, have given me a wide range of observation of the practical working of what now promises to be a distinctive feature of modern social life. As a result of this observation I cannot say that I have yet reached many definite conclusions, but I have noted some things, and may be able to make some reflections of value to social students.

Coöperation is socialism in the sense that what we are seeking to do is in the direct line of the socialistic theory. We seek to cause the same labor, when expended with equal judgment, to bring to all the



same reward. If we farmers can by voluntary association successfully accomplish our aims, we shall dispense with much unnecessary labor and uncertainty, of which our products now bear the cost, to the decided profit of the producer or consumer, as the case may be; we shall direct our labor into the most productive channels, and we shall do, and get the profit of doing, for ourselves, many things which we now hire others to do. If a community can organize and *keep itself organized* for marketing its products, it may be able to organize for other industrial purposes; and State socialism, if it ever comes, will be but enacting into law the terms of the established life of the community, which is what I suppose Socialists expect. The fact that we are attempting this on a larger scale than elsewhere seems to make our movement an interesting subject for study.

For the present I believe that we must confine coöperative effort to very simple matters, which are familiar to most of those coöperating. Coöperative stores, coöperative mills, coöperative canning companies, I constantly warn farmers against touching. They are almost always promoted by some one desiring a place for which he is not fit, and usually come to grief. I draw the line at all coöperative enterprises involving the purchase of material or merchandise to be sold again. These are unsafe for farmers in their present state of development. The objects of our societies are very simple: they are, first, to inform ourselves, before selling, of the condition of the market, —remembering that our market is thousands of miles away; second, to increase our market by proper advertising at the general expense, and by ensuring honest and uniform packing; third, to ensure the sale of our own labor to as great an extent as possible, by doing for ourselves whatever we do not find it more profitable to hire others to do; fourth, to obtain for our product in each year whatever the conditions of the market warrant; fifth, to eliminate from the process of marketing all unnecessary labor; and sixth, to prevent speculation by refusing to sell until our product is ready, and then selling at the market price, keeping our goods in our own possession until sold. This is all that we try to do, and we find even this sufficiently complex for farmers to deal with.

It is evident that if one capable person owned all the orchards in California, the above are in the main the lines upon which he would work. The question to be solved is whether some thousands of growers can so organize as to attain these ends. It is plain that our product will be more wisely marketed under a single direction, provided that direction be competent; and this raises the crucial question not only of

coöperation but of socialism. Can a community so organize as to bestow the management of its larger industrial affairs on the fittest? While, as I have said, it will be to the advantage of all to have the business of all managed by the most capable, it will be a distinct disadvantage if it falls into the hands of the incompetent; and it is said that socialism would be the reign of mediocrity. In competitive society this of course arranges itself: whoever feels an aptitude for business seeks it, and if business prospers in his hands it increases, and his reward is correspondingly great. In a coöperative or socialistic society, what are to be the inducements to the most competent to devote days and nights to study, and to submit to the constant strain of strenuous exertion by which alone the rewards of business success can be attained, and by which alone business can be successfully managed? Of course, no one who is competent to deal with these subjects, and who has had occasion to deal with them, has failed to consider this problem; but if any solution has been given I have failed to meet with it, and it comes home to me with the greater force as I am now face to face with a concrete example of it,—and the illustrative value of an actual case may excuse the necessary personal allusion.

I am holding a position <sup>1</sup> for which I am incompetent, and which I do not desire. Hundreds of orchardists are looking to me for advice which I am incompetent to give, for the lack of such knowledge and experience as will support strong convictions. I am supposed to be as competent as any one available, or we should secure a better man; we need the service of one trained not only in commercial life, but in our special line, and although we know many who could do what we need done, we know no one who is not now better situated than he would be in any employment we could give. The farmer has no conception of the labor and expense required to obtain the knowledge wisely to direct large affairs, nor any notion of the strain of business. He does not know—and will not believe—that it is far more exhausting to dictate letters and decide business questions all day than to split rails for the same length of time; nor that those to whom large affairs are entrusted must mingle, out of business hours, with others doing business in a large way, and that this involves serious expense. We could get a capable man in my place in a week if we could pay him and ensure him permanence in office; but at the annual meeting a party

<sup>1</sup> Since writing this paper I have resigned as manager of the Exchange, but in revising it I have decided to let this paragraph stand as giving a more lively presentation of the difficulty than I could now write.



would be quite sure to develop in favor of "economy" and against "fat salaries," and our capable man, if he were not displaced, would be made very uncomfortable and very uncertain of his future.

Coöperation, like socialism, seems to offer no career to capable men; it does offer a career to the demagogue, and to the half-competent to whom the stipend which the farmer will consent to pay is something not otherwise attainable. This is the first difficulty we have to meet. Socialism has hitherto been destructive only; let constructive Socialism begin by proclaiming the principles upon which its rewards for competence and responsibility shall be apportioned, and its methods of ascertaining relative competence. In competitive society the capable man fights his way to the control of large affairs, and to the profit and respect which attends it. Himself an expert, as he needs assistance he selects it wisely, and from his assistants the ablest are likely to continue his business or to found new establishments. In coöperation the management is chosen by those less competent than the management needs to be, and often not qualified to judge either of the qualifications required or of the fact of their possession by the men of their choice. I do not see how it can be otherwise in any form of socialistic society. A study of coöperation should foreshadow the possibilities of socialism. The good of the community requires that important affairs be managed by able men. The management of a coöperative society is hampered from the start by difficulties never encountered by the managers of ordinary commercial houses. It must not only transact the business entrusted to it, but must hold its constituency together to get the business. In competitive society the agent is at least sure of the support of his employers; in coöperation his employers are quite likely to desert him at any minute, and then hold him responsible for the consequences of their own desertion.

Like others of my age, I know many men; and the chief difference I find among them is the number of facts pertaining to or affecting his own business, that each knows accurately. When two men, however different their walks of life, know each substantially the same facts, I find almost no difference in the conclusions they derive from them. It seems to me that men differ less in logical faculty than in any other. The farmer knows almost nothing of the facts or routine of commercial life, and, being ignorant, is easily deceived; being often deceived, he becomes suspicious; and, being more often deceived by those who profess to serve him than by others, he is especially suspicious of that class. This renders it very difficult to hold them together in coöpera-

tive work. The enthusiasm of a public meeting may easily cement them, but they are prone to fall asunder while the mortar is still green. Those who prey upon popular ignorance and weakness must necessarily dislike the progress of coöperation, which they invariably seek to defeat, not by attacking its principles, but by impugning the motives of those actively promoting it,—and to such insinuations or open charges farmers lend very ready ears. It is not unreasonable that they should, for there is now no commercial reason why capable men should take charge of coöperative affairs; and those who can be moved to do so by sentimental reasons are not at all sure to be commercially competent. In fact, as matters now stand, I think the chances two to one that if a coöperative leader is capable, he is dishonest, and that, if he is honest, he is incapable.<sup>1</sup> In a blind sort of way farmers feel this, and the great infirmities of human nature—lack of exact knowledge and firm will—make them easy to deceive and then easy to lead.

These are some of the fundamental difficulties with which we have to deal in coöperation, as they appear to one who is earnestly trying to surmount them. There are troubles of detail, of course, with which this paper has no concern. We are dealing with these difficulties in California to the best of our ability, and the aggregate of encouragement is very large; but so, alas, is the aggregate of discouragement. What the outcome may be, of course we know not, but we who have hope and courage expect to succeed.

The world cannot afford to commit its large affairs to mediocrity, nor can it afford, as the price of competence, the power to oppress. Whoever will devise plans whereby coöperation may be assured of competent and honest direction, shall deserve of his fellow men a monument higher than Mount Ararat.

EDWARD F. ADAMS.

<sup>1</sup> I suppose I must be considered a leader in coöperation, but in confessing, as I have above, my incapacity, I have selected my horn of this dilemma. Besides, I am sure that some are both capable and honest.



## A GENERATION OF COLLEGE WOMEN.

VASSAR COLLEGE reached its thirtieth birthday in September, 1895. Its brief existence practically covers the whole period of advanced education for women. Vassar opened its doors in September, 1865; Smith and Wellesley were established ten years later; Bryn Mawr, ten years later still; and the chief co-educational universities—Boston, Cornell, Michigan, and others—date from the neighborhood of 1870. Woman's opportunities for degree-taking are too numerous and too widely known to be even recounted at the present time; but there is a matter of kindred and greater interest about which almost no information has been collected. This is the subsequent career of the graduates. What becomes of the students after leaving college? What is the probable future of the girls who are now marching in battalions to our different educational institutions?

From the "Vassar General Catalogue," the "Alumnæ Register," and the "Vassar Miscellany" (the college monthly) it is possible to gather tolerably complete information about the occupations of a thousand and more women who have received the degree of A.B. As Vassar is the oldest of the woman's colleges, and as these institutions have many more points of likeness than of unlikeness, its record may be taken as broadly typical of others.

The scientific student will at once see the difficulty of reaching exact conclusions. In the first place it is impossible to write the history of a living institution, especially of one so young as a woman's college. Again, it is beyond human power to get absolutely correct data for any census. Figures will always lie, no matter how carefully percentages are deduced. But as the average mortal likes to see "where he is at," it is hoped that the following statements may be of interest as throwing light upon one of the most important of contemporary movements. If the reader will only agree not to learn the facts by heart in order to quote them ten years hence, the writer may hope to convey a fairly correct impression.

Vassar College has graduated twenty-nine classes, containing 1,182 members. As the class of '95, numbering 100, has made no record of any sort, it is obviously unfair to include it for statistical purposes;

hence the following computations will be based upon a total of 1,082 graduates, embracing all the classes between '67 and '94, inclusive, and including all alumnae who have been graduated one year or more.

The first question everybody is impatient to ask is, Do college women marry? Before I bring forth the fatal facts, let me tell the story of the young man to whom an eccentric uncle bequeathed a fortune on condition that he lived and died a bachelor. As it could not be determined until after the young man was dead whether or not he would fulfil the conditions of the will, the court decreed that the legacy could not be paid. In like manner, as most of the Vassar women are not yet dead, it is impossible to present other than tentative matrimonial statistics. The record to date is this: Of 1,082 alumnae, 409 have married,—a trifle less than 38 per cent of the whole. As the "Miscellany" reports marriages every month, this percentage will be inaccurate before even another class has been graduated. A truer proportion may be found by taking the records of some of the earlier classes. The first class ('67) numbered four members: of these, three have married,—75 per cent. The class of '68 had twenty-five members: fifteen of these—or 60 per cent—have annexed another name to that on their college diploma. Of the thirty-four members of '69, there are twenty-one married, or not quite 62 per cent. The class of '70 presents nearly the same record: of the thirty-four members, twenty-two are married, or, as Miss Coffin of '70, a gifted artist, stated at the last alumnae luncheon: "Our matrons—in our class two-thirds of the whole number—have allayed the terrors of man lest he be left a forlorn bachelor wandering at the foot of the mountains of science and art, while woman, in her maiden robes, disappears from sight in the clouds of the summit." The last of these four classes has just celebrated its quarter-centennial. According to Mr. Charles Francis Adams, by the time a man has been twenty-five years out of college he has either failed or won in the battle of life. Assuming that a woman's occupation and prospects would be settled by that time, it may be stated that, in the first four classes of Vassar, sixty-one of the ninety-seven members—or about 63 per cent—have married: a little less than two-thirds of the whole number. A college woman's chances of marriage, then, are about two to one: but even this will not do for an absolute statement; for, as matrimony can be entered upon at a greater age than almost any other profession, it is quite possible that the semi-centennial of these classes may show an increased percentage in that direction. The average age of students upon graduating from Vassar



is twenty-two years and some months. The late Maria Mitchell used to say, "Vassar girls marry late, but they marry well." Let us hope that time may not disprove her observations.

The time-honored profession of teaching ranks next to matrimony in engaging the attention of Vassar women. Of 1,082 graduates, 408—or 37.6 per cent—are recorded as teachers. Some of these have taught only two or three years; perhaps less than half the number have made the profession a life-work. Upon referring to the records of the first four classes we find but eighteen out of the ninety-seven members—or about 18.33 per cent—now engaged in teaching. Many Vassar women have attained high rank in the educational profession. Vassar has furnished professors and instructors to Vassar, Smith, and Wellesley Colleges; an instructor to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; instructors to several co-educational colleges; a dean to Barnard College; and principals and teachers to normal and high schools and to academies. In private-school work Vassar's influence has been large. Within the last few years the colleges have transformed the girls' private schools of this country, and much of this result is due to Vassar women, many of whom now control schools of their own.

Next in number to those who have engaged in imparting knowledge stands the group of women who have gone on acquiring knowledge for themselves. There is scepticism in some quarters about the value of college degrees. Many people outside educational circles regard the titled recipients as the man did his dog. A stranger approached the carefully specialized specimen of the canine race and asked, "Is that a bird-dog?" "No." "Is he a watch-dog?" "No." "Does he know any tricks?" "No." "What in thunder is he good for, then?" "Nawthin', but to take prizes at dog-shows." It is true that the magic letters, A.M. and Ph.D., stand for acquisition rather than achievement, but their value in the realm of scholarship is high, and woman's colleges would have proved but half their point if they had not shown the ability of their students to take rank in the graduate as well as in the undergraduate world. The graduate record of Vassar to June, 1895, is as follows: fifty have received the degree of A.M.; eight have received the degree of Ph.D. (five of them from Yale); three, the degree of S.B. (Institute of Technology); two, that of LL.B.; and one, that of LL.D.,—sixty-four in all. As far as can be ascertained, twenty-two are at present studying for advanced degrees. There is one student at each of the foreign universities at Heidelberg, Leipsic, Göttingen, Geneva, Dresden, and

Brussels; and in our own country, Radcliffe, Yale, and the University of Chicago each claims several students. Four Vassar women also hold fellowships at the University of Chicago. Many other graduates have pursued special studies for longer or shorter periods at American and foreign universities. If we count in those who have pursued advanced courses of a strictly professional nature, we must add the physicians. There are twenty-five who have taken the degree of M.D. There are seven more who are now studying medicine at the Johns Hopkins and New York medical colleges, and at Chicago and Michigan universities. The general statement can then be made that eighty-nine graduates have taken the degrees of A.M., Ph.D., M.D., S.B., LL.B., and LL.D., and that twenty-nine are now pursuing advanced studies with that end in view. This is a total of 118, or nearly one-ninth of the entire number of Vassar alumnæ.

Literary work ranks next in order. Forty-seven graduates (not including writers of scientific papers, who are classed by themselves), have furnished matter for the printing-press. Nearly every magazine and review in this country, and some in England, and most of the prominent American daily and weekly papers, have published contributions from Vassar women. The forty-seven workers are divided as follows: twenty-four write for magazines and newspapers; six write for newspapers alone; there are five regular journalists; four authors of novels and children's books; four editors of papers; two editors of collections of poetry; and two authors of books on physical training. If Vassar has not yet startled the world with a genius "On Fame's eternall beadroll worthie to be fyled," she has at least contributed something to cultivated contemporary thought.

The medical profession has already been mentioned. Of the twenty-five graduates who have taken the degree of M.D., probably most are practising physicians, though in some cases the additional title of MA has kept the married doctors from practising outside their own homes. Seven medical students are reported. It seems rather strange that Vassar graduates are not more largely represented in the profession of medicine, which offers to women such wide opportunities for usefulness and comparatively large pecuniary returns. The only explanation that I can suggest is that women who have a decided bent for medicine do not seem to have the time or the money for a college course. In looking over the catalogues of woman's medical colleges, one finds the A.B.'s in a noticeable minority.

The sixth department of activity includes teachers who give other



than book instruction. Under this head I have grouped eight teachers of music, two of painting, three of physical culture, two of industrial work, and one in an institution for the blind,—sixteen in all.

The authors of scientific papers occupy the seventh place in point of numbers, but they include some graduates of the first distinction. The writers are twelve in all. Mrs. Christine Ladd-Franklin ('69), who has been a fellow at Johns Hopkins University and has received the degree of LL.D., is a phenomenal mathematician, and her papers on such subjects as the Pascal Hexagram, Methods of Determining the Horopter, the Algebra of Logic, etc., have appeared in the most advanced scientific periodicals and in the publications of Johns Hopkins University. Mrs. Ellen Swallow-Richards ('70), who properly belongs under the list of chemists, has published much in the line of chemical and mineralogical investigation. Mrs. Annie Howes-Barus ('74) did an important work in collecting the Health Statistics of Alumnæ, which dealt the final blow to the old theory that a college education is injurious to a girl's health. Mrs. Barus is now investigating the Development of Children. Dr. Mary Sherwood ('83), who took her degree at the University of Zürich, and is now resident gynecologist at the Johns Hopkins Hospital, has had contributions in the reports of that institution,—the only ones from a woman's pen. Miss Margaretta Palmer ('87), who completed the definitive orbit of Maria Mitchell's comet, has had papers printed in the "Transactions" of Yale Observatory; and Miss Ida Welt ('91), a young chemist of great promise, has had *Researches on Dissymmetrical Hydrocarbons* published by the Academy of Science of France.

Many and varied are the other occupations pursued by Vassar women, each with a small individual following. Librarianship has recently been elevated to the dignity of a profession, and six graduates have adopted it. There are five artists and five farmers. Included in the latter list is Mrs. Francis Fisher-Wood ('74), known in several other ways, who is the proprietor of the Kingwood herd of Jerseys, and manufacturer of a choice brand of sterilized milk for the special feeding of infants. There are four chemists, two of whom deserve further mention. Mrs. Swallow-Richards ('70), beside her advanced scientific investigations, has done practical work which deserves the gratitude of every housekeeper. Her pamphlets on Home Sanitation, The Chemistry of Cooking and Cleaning, etc., have been widely circulated. Mrs. Richards is also the founder of that famous pioneer institution, the New England Kitchen, of Bos-

ton. Miss Welt ('91) has distinguished herself in the universities of Geneva and Paris, and is said to be the only woman chemist in the latter city. Three graduates have become missionaries,—two to Japan and one to India. A fourth is the wife of a missionary to China. In this connection may be mentioned two other women of influence in foreign lands. Stematz Yamakawa ('82) was the first Japanese girl to graduate from an American college. As the wife of Iwao Oyama, the Japanese Minister of War, she has had much to do with the progress of her native land. Miss Emma W. Comfort ('89), formerly of New York city, is the wife of Crookshank Pasha, of Egypt. Three graduates have devoted themselves to the most modern forms of philanthropic work. Two are at the head of college settlements,—Miss K. B. Davis ('92) in Philadelphia, and Miss S. G. Chester ('88) among the mountain whites of North Carolina. Miss Susan F. Swift ('83), one of the most brilliant of Vassar women, is a major in the Salvation Army in London,—the only American woman to hold such a position. There are three astronomers. Prof. Mary W. Whitney ('68) is Maria Mitchell's successor at Vassar. Before taking that chair she had studied much in this country and abroad, and had been connected with the Harvard Observatory. Miss Hannah F. Mace ('90) is assistant to Professor Newcomb in the United States Naval Observatory at Washington. Three graduates have acted as editorial assistants in the making and revision of dictionaries. Their work has been on the *Century*, the *Standard*, and the *International dictionaries*.

Other occupations which claim only one or two members each will be found in the tabulated statement shown on the next page. It should be remembered that this represents the activity of Vassar women collectively rather than individually. The same name is often included under two divisions, especially those of matrons and teachers. Occasionally the same person will appear in several lists, being perhaps a matron, a teacher, a recipient of advanced degrees, a chemist, and a writer of scientific papers. Some graduates have been prominent in so many ways that it is difficult to determine their life work.

Vassar women are doing much work not susceptible of tabulation. Many graduates are members of school boards, and trustees of various institutions; some have been admitted to distinguished scientific societies; several graduates, in addition to teaching or literary work, have delivered successful courses of parlor lectures. There are probably very few, especially of the so-called women of



leisure, who are not active in several forms of club and philanthropic work. There are no statistics available, but the influence of Vassar in these directions is not less important because unclassified.

Vassar, because of its large membership, exercises almost a dominating influence upon the Association of Collegiate Alumnae; and in all matters pertaining to the welfare of their own *alma mater*, Vassar graduates have ever shown a lively interest. Alumnae representation on the Board of Trustees was obtained in 1888; and since that time three graduates have shared in the councils of that honorable body. The Vassar Students' Aid Society, founded by a member of '81, yearly distributes hundreds of dollars in assisting students of promise to enter and remain in college. Vassar alumnae have contributed to the college two scholarships of \$6,000 each; they have built an alumnae gymnasium at a cost of \$28,000; they have nearly completed the Maria Mitchell Endowment Fund of \$50,000; and they are now at work on a \$10,000 fund for the library, besides minor gifts. The sum of \$100,000 is not large as such things go, but when one considers that it has been contributed in small amounts by more than one thousand women in different parts of the world, it represents a devotion more valuable than money.

It is said that some years ago a gentleman had a cherished only daughter whom he was desirous of keeping always with him. He made some inquiries of a young Vassar alumna and found that but five or six of her class had married. "I think that I will send my daughter to college," said he, "for then there is some chance of her

## TABULATED STATEMENT.

Number of graduates (not including class of '95).....	1082	Astronomers, dictionary-editors, and secretaries, each.....	3
Matrons.....	409	Organists, mathematical computers, and heads of College Settlements, each.....	2
Teachers (including college professors).....	408	Actor, bank director, book-keeper, boarding-house keeper, copyist, companion, concert pianist, governess, government clerk, lecturer, matron of reformatory home, manager of manufacturing business, manager of newspaper, major in Salvation Army, reader, singer, superintendent of public instruction, superintendent of cooking, treasurer of lumber company, each.....	1
Recipients of advanced degrees (A.M., Ph.D., S.B., LL.B., and LL.D.).....	64		
Literary workers (including authors, editors, and journalists).....	47		
Physicians and medical students.....	32		
Studying for advanced degrees..	22		
Teachers of arts.....	16		
Writers of scientific papers.....	12		
Librarians.....	6		
Artists and farmers, each.....	5		
Chemists and missionaries, each.....	4		

staying with me." He accordingly sent his daughter to Vassar, but to his disappointment he found that not only is a college education not an absolute safeguard against matrimony, but that, if a college woman does not marry, she is exceedingly likely to do something else. Many graduates do not engage in a gainful occupation, but there are very few cases in which the impulse derived from the four years' training does not make itself felt in some form outside the round of old-fashioned domestic activities.

FRANCES M. ABBOTT.



# The Forum

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## CONDITIONS FOR AMERICAN COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL SUPREMACY.

THERE is much surprise in France and throughout the continent of Europe that a nation so great, so rapidly growing, so richly endowed in character and in material resources as is the American people, should allow its development to be trammelled by frequent and severe crises, and that it should either be unable to discern their causes or lack decision to remove them from its path. The European accustomed to the study of financial phenomena is struck by two facts peculiar, at present, to the United States : on the one hand, the issue of an enormous volume of paper money,—redeemable in specie, it is true, by the public Treasury ; on the other hand, the hesitation shown by the American people in according legal monetary preëminence to gold, and the dreams of bimetallism, national or international, in which they indulge. On these two points—paper money issued by the state, and the question of silver and bimetallism,—I am about to submit some observations which the American situation suggests to a sympathetic European observer.

### I.—STATE ISSUES OF PAPER MONEY.

That a state involved in a great war should issue—directly, or indirectly through the agency of a privileged bank or a syndicate of banks—considerable amounts of paper money, and that it should suspend the payment of this paper in specie, is not an unusual phenomenon ; it is in fact a common practice, and even a necessity which can-

not be avoided by a people engaged in a struggle of vital importance. If a great war were again to break out in Europe or elsewhere, we should surely see the belligerents, from the moment war was declared, if not before, make large issues of paper money, directly or indirectly ; and these would be not for the operations of commerce, but for those occasioned by the war,—the purchase of arms and supplies, and the payment of troops ; and their only security would be the pledge of the national faith and national good sense.

As early as the close of the eighteenth century, England, during her prolonged conflict with the French Republic, caused advances to be made by the Bank of England in such amounts that specie payments were suspended in 1797. More recently, at the time of the Franco-German war in 1870, France did the same. The Bank of France advanced to the Treasury enormous sums, exceeding *F.* 1,500,000,000 (approximately \$300,000,000), and was forced by these loans, and by operations of a special nature locking up its assets, to suspend specie payments under sanction of law.

Russia, Austria, Italy,—all nations that have had great wars to carry on in the course of the present century,—have been obliged to create resources for themselves in this way by the issue of paper money directly by the state, or indirectly by a bank or a syndicate of banks. There has been only one exception,—Prussia, in her war against Austria in 1866, and in that against France in 1870. This exception was due in part to the fact that Prussia had had the prudence to establish a fund in specie for war purposes,—a fund which, though it would be regarded as very modest at the present time, was of considerable magnitude then ; and in part also to the fact that the Prussian victories from the beginning of the war permitted her armies to live, in some degree, on the enemy's country, and enabled the Treasury to make loans on normal terms. It is probable, if a great war should now take place between Germany and any other country, that circumstances would not be so favorable to her, and she would be compelled to take immense advances from the Imperial Bank, and, like France, to resort to legal-tender paper money. Thus the United States, in creating resources by means of paper money in the great war of secession, only did what was done by England in her struggles with the French Republic and Empire ; by France herself in 1870-71 ; by Russia, Austria, Italy, and other countries ; and would be done again in the future by any European power entering on a struggle on which its destinies might depend.



Resources thus obtained by issues of paper money have, however, been considered by every well-governed European power only as a provisional expedient, to be abandoned as soon as possible. France and England both, during this century at least, possessing and maintaining a solid monetary circulation, have under such circumstances devoted themselves, immediately on the reestablishment of peace, to the suppression of the paper money issued to meet war expenditures. By 1819 there was no trace left of this paper money in England. In that year the Bank of England, which had issued it, regained a completely normal condition. The only notes it had outstanding originated in its discounts and other commercial operations, and represented its commercial paper and its specie reserve.

After the disastrous war of 1870-71, France regarded it as the most urgent, if not the chief object of its financial policy, absolutely to repay to the Bank of France the advances made to the government during the war, amounting to *F.* 1,500,000,000, or \$300,000,000. One of the greatest services rendered to the country at that time by M. Thiers was the energy with which he insisted that this debt must be paid before all others. Yet it bore interest at only 1 per cent per annum, and at that time the French government was borrowing at 6 per cent on bonds in perpetuity. Nevertheless it was thought, and with reason, that it was far better for the country to discharge this debt at 1 per cent, and to get back to a completely normal monetary circulation. M. Thiers secured an appropriation of *F.* 200,000,000 (\$40,000,000) a year for the redemption of this paper. This policy was followed by his successors, and the *F.* 1,500,000,000 lent to the state by the Bank was repaid in successive annual instalments by the month of March, 1879, eight years after peace was declared. At the present moment not a trace of that fearful conflict remains in the French monetary system.

In the United States, after the war of secession, the point of view taken by England after the peace of 1815, and by France after the peace of 1871, was not adopted. Yet the American paper-money issues—greenbacks—had the same origin as the English and French issues, namely, to secure provisional resources for the Treasury in time of war, when it was difficult if not impossible to obtain them immediately and of sufficient amount by public loans. The fact seems to have been overlooked that these greenbacks were a temporary expedient that ought not to be long continued after peace was established. The American government showed a zeal most praiseworthy in itself,

in reducing its bonded debt; but it neglected to redeem its urgent floating debt, as in like circumstances had been done by the English and French governments. It appears, indeed, that at one time the government realized that its paper currency ought to be abandoned. If I mistake not, a law of April, 1866, directed its redemption in monthly instalments. That was the true financial policy, but it was soon abandoned. The belief obtained that the situation would be sufficiently improved and strengthened by the resumption of specie payments in 1879. This, in my judgment, was a great and vital error, the evil influence of which has been, and is yet, seriously felt in the entire monetary and financial situation of the United States. A government is ill-fitted and ill-equipped to maintain paper money in circulation, even if the paper is redeemable in specie. The redemption alone is in itself a great trouble and a continual embarrassment.

A fiduciary currency—that is, paper accepted by the public with confidence, representing specie, and payable in specie on demand—must not be a rigid, uniform currency. It ought to be elastic and variable, following the movements of both domestic and foreign trade. The means constantly required to adapt the fiduciary currency of a country to its changing needs are in part personal, in part material, in their nature. By this I mean that on the one hand the persons who distribute and direct the fiduciary currency must have special and rare qualities,—experience, tact, and nimbleness of mind; and that on the other hand these persons must possess certain powers and methods for regulating the supply and demand of both the fiduciary currency and metallic money.

Now it is apparent that the government and the functionaries who represent the government, and who must act by fixed and always identical rules, have neither the personal nor material means to keep a fiduciary currency flexible, so that it will now contract, now expand, and combine in harmony with specie, especially gold, and so prevent either an excessive and dangerous exportation of gold or its exaggerated and superfluous accumulation. It is only men used to business and banking from early youth, and interested, moreover, in maintaining affairs in a healthy condition, who can have sufficient experience, insight, and decision to take the required steps at the right time for the increase or reduction of the fiduciary currency according to the actual and always changing needs of the country. An immovable rigid fiduciary currency is an absurdity. In the calmest years this currency must vary according to seasons and circumstances. Thus in the year



1893—the last for which the report is at hand—the circulation of the Bank of France oscillated between a minimum of *F.* 3,255,000,000 (\$651,000,000) and a maximum of *F.* 3,589,000,000 (\$718,000,000), or a difference of *F.* 334,000,000 (\$67,000,000). In somewhat more disturbed years the differences are much more marked. Thus, in 1891, the minimum of the circulation of the Bank of France was *F.* 2,616,000,000 (\$523,000,000) and the maximum reached *F.* 3,123,000,000 (\$624,000,000), representing a difference between the highest and the lowest points of about *F.* 507,000,000, or \$101,000,000. This capacity to contract or expand can hardly exist in a system of fiduciary currency distributed by the state. It is only professional bankers, constantly mingling in the daily current of the country's business, who can, with competence and tact, acquit themselves of the task of furnishing this substitute for money in the proper proportions, varying as these do from day to day.

The inconvenience of state regulation of fiduciary currency is most striking in connection with the maintenance of the specie reserve. This reserve is absolutely indispensable to any country if it is desired that transactions shall have a solid basis, and contracts for a term of some years shall be possible. In most countries, the banks, either public or private, maintain the specie reserve. Obligated to pay their notes in specie on demand, it is their permanent interest that the specie reserve shall not be exhausted. Moreover they have very effectual means for protecting it. Gold may be required for export to settle debts that have either a commercial or financial source, resulting in the latter case from either public or private loans. Gold must always be furnished for export, otherwise business with other countries will be restricted and at times rendered impossible, and the credit of the country will be impaired. But when gold exports become too extensive, and particularly when they seem caused by a speculative movement, and threaten the metallic reserve of the country, the banks have an excellent means of obviating and removing the evil,—an advance in the rate of discount.

There has been and still is much discussion of the means of protecting specie reserves. In reality there is only one way in which good results may be obtained in this direction. To raise the rate from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  or 3 per cent to 4, 5, or even 6 per cent (in former times it has touched 10 per cent in England) is the only rapid and adequate way to protect the specie reserve and prevent excessive exports of gold. At the present day, when the bonds uniting nations in financial and economic matters are much closer than formerly, and the organization

of international payments is much more flexible and ample, there is no longer any need of a rate so high as 9 or 10 per cent. A few weeks' maintenance of the rate at 6 per cent usually suffices, at least in Europe. From 1880 to 1895, at the time of the *krach* on the Paris Bourse in 1882, and of the downfall of the Barings in 1890, the Bank of England was forced to advance its rate to 6 per cent only three times, and the greatest number of consecutive days for which this rate was maintained was 52,—from the 30th of December, 1889, to the 20th of February, 1890. On the other hand the rate of 5 per cent was reached twelve times in the same period, and was maintained at one time for 127 days consecutively.

An advance in the money rate in order to arrest the out-go of specie, particularly gold, is sure to succeed if the government does not disturb the natural course of operations by artificial measures. Such an advance checks the imports of merchandise, and, on the other hand, stimulates exports. It draws capital from abroad to seek the better returns which are the consequence of this advance. It induces a certain number of the holders of public and other securities to part with them, and influences foreign capitalists to purchase them.

Thus whenever the banks, public or private, are charged with the protection of the metallic reserve of the country, they accomplish it with certainty by this sovereign method of raising the money rate. In a normal condition of international financial relations, this advance may be moderate, and the country experiences only slight detriment, a light and momentary embarrassment, not to be compared to the shock and the discredit resulting from an out-go of gold the end of which cannot be calculated. On the contrary, when the state issues the fiduciary currency, as in the United States, it has no real means of protecting the metallic reserve. It cannot raise the discount rate, for it does not discount commercial paper. It is under obligation to pay gold to all who demand it, without any power to regulate or reduce the demand. It is absolutely disarmed. Its sole resource is to secure specie by loans abroad. But as these loans have no effect on the general current of business, their proceeds are soon exhausted, and they must be renewed. This incapacity to protect its reserve is the chief reason why a state is not fitted to issue fiduciary money.

Let me add that the great banks of one country can easily negotiate temporary loans from the banks of another country. Thus, at the height of the troubles caused by the failure of the Barings, the Bank of England borrowed £3,000,000 in gold from the Bank of France. This



sum was borrowed for a maximum period of six months, on 3 per cent bonds of the British government. In France there was some criticism of this operation, but the public generally, and all intelligent people, approved it. The Bank of England benefited by it, and so did the Bank of France, since it received interest for several months on *F.* 75,000,000 that it did not need. It is needless to say that the loan was repaid exactly according to its terms. Previously, in the crisis of 1837-39, the Bank of France had lent *F.* 50,000,000 (£2,000,000) to the Bank of England.

Facilities for protecting the metallic reserve are as completely lacking in the state as they are abundant in the banks. Quite out of the daily current of affairs, and incapable of exercising any direct influence upon them, governments are destitute of any means of checking excessive exports of gold. They can do so only by absolute prohibition, which would cause much worse evils than it could prevent.

It seems to be the opinion of Mr. Cleveland and his Cabinet that the government of the United States should cease to issue and distribute fiduciary money. It should remit this task to the banks. The transition would be easy in the present state of American credit. The question whether it would be better to create a public bank on the model of the Bank of England and the Bank of France, or to resort to a syndicate of banks complying with certain conditions, would take too much space now to examine. Either solution, however, is practicable.

## II.—BIMETALLISM.

The hesitation shown by so rich a country as the United States to adopt the single gold standard and reduce silver to the rank of subordinate or subsidiary coin is most surprising to Europeans. It is true that the United States are among the largest producers of silver. In 1892, according to the Report of the Director of the Mint for 1893 (p. 55), they produced 58,000,000 ounces of this metal, of a "coining value" of \$74,995,442, and a market value which to-day is less by one-half than the coining value. Compared with other industries, the silver-mining industry of the United States, according to these official figures, is but a trifling affair. Thirty-seven and a half millions of dollars, market value, and double that at coining value,—what are these sums compared to the immense products of every sort of the United States? Less than  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the total product if we take the market

value ; less than 1 per cent even if we take the coinage value. And to give an artificial value to such an insignificant portion of its immense product, the United States would compromise all the rest ! That appears manifestly unreasonable.

It is to be noted, moreover, that should the entire civilized world adopt the single gold standard, the production of silver would not be suppressed nor its price reduced much below what it is to-day. When it shall be abandoned to its natural destiny, and there shall be no more talk of international monetary conferences, or of legal measures to "rehabilitate" it, it is probable that silver will settle down to a price that will still make its production remunerative. To-day silver is worth about 30 pence per ounce instead of the 61 pence which is its fictitious "coining value." If all civilized nations should adopt the single gold standard, and reduce silver to the position of subsidiary money, its price would probably fix itself between 25 pence and 28 pence per ounce, and, this level once reached, it would be nearly stable. The development of the uses of silver in the arts, its use as money in the extreme Orient and in parts of Africa, will suffice to maintain an important outlet for it.

Thus the interest of the United States as a producer of silver is wholly secondary in comparison with the immense advantage the country would have in the possession of a solid metallic currency resting on the metal adopted by the chief civilized countries, and which, by its great value and small volume, is alone suited to the uses of a rich people.

Placed between Europe and Asia, the United States can aspire to take from England, in the course of the next century, the commercial and financial supremacy heretofore enjoyed by that country. For this triumph it will not suffice to possess in abundance coal, iron, cotton, intelligent workmen, and bold and enterprising employers ; it will require equally, perhaps indispensably, a monetary system that is definite, rational, and unchangeable. It is beyond dispute that the uninterrupted *régime* of the single gold standard in England since the beginning of the century ; the certainty that gold can always be procured in London ; the security and precision resulting for every bill of exchange on London and for all British engagements,—all these conditions flowing from the monetary system of Great Britain have contributed in a marked degree to assure to that country its financial hegemony. At the present moment throughout Europe, and even in France, prudent people try to have a part of their fortune in pounds



sterling, because it is known that pounds sterling are the only true money, that is to say, money that is not exposed to change by new legal arrangements. It is not known exactly what the dollar will be, or the mark, or even the franc. The whims of legislators may change them in the future, as they have changed them in the past. On the contrary there is a rooted confidence among men engaged in finance the world over, that the pound sterling will always be a piece of gold of 7 grammes and 988 milligrammes, 916.66 fine, and that England will never commit the blunder of putting gold and silver on the same footing as money. Thus the pound sterling, all the world through, especially when long contracts are to be made, is not only the money *par excellence*; it is the *only* money, and in it alone can be placed almost absolute confidence.

If the United States are to attain a commercial, and still more a financial position, equal to that of England, the dollar must be given the qualities of the pound sterling; that is, there must be no sort of doubt that it is a gold dollar, and that never for any reason or under any pretext that which is called a dollar shall be paid in silver. Then all nations will have the same faith in the dollar that they have in the pound sterling. As the United States have a territory infinitely more vast than that of England, a territory full of the most varied resources and in which capital can find great opportunities of profit, that country will become the chosen land for the capital of the whole world. The old nations, with narrow territory already almost completely in use, such as (besides Great Britain) France, Belgium, Switzerland, and recently Germany,—all these strenuous producers of savings that they no longer know how to employ will direct their overflowing capital toward the United States. All that is lacking is a completely solid monetary system to enable the American people to profit by a large part of the capital accumulated in such enormous quantities by the old nations of Europe.

We need not here pause to consider the argument so often advanced —although it has never been demonstrated—that the fall in prices for the last quarter of a century is due to the proscription of silver by the monetary legislation of the principal European nations. The fall in prices had one, or rather two, manifest causes, the considerable increase in the production of most commodities, and the progress in industrial methods and in the application of science to this production. That is the real cause of the decline in prices, and it is chimerical to hope to raise them artificially. On the contrary, efforts must be made

to extend markets, by removing obstacles that disturb relations and exchanges between nations, and to prevent combinations extending over long periods. One of these obstacles is the uncertainty in monetary matters kept up by the partisans of what they call the "rehabilitation" of silver. New international monetary conferences may be called together, but it may be safely predicted that after lengthy discussion concerning the fall in the price of silver, and the evils, real or imaginary, that have resulted from it, they will adjourn without reaching any conclusion.

Every reflecting mind must see that the bimetallist agitation has less chance of accomplishing anything to-day than it had four years, or ten or fifteen years ago. In the first place, most of the great countries have accustomed themselves to the single gold standard, established either by law or by practice. For more than twenty years this system has been applied in Germany, and for almost twenty years (since 1876) in France, Belgium, and Switzerland. All these countries are naturally far less disposed to-day, than they were at the beginning of the fall in silver, to take artificial measures to raise the price of that metal. To-day a fixed ratio between gold and silver, and equality in monetary function between the two metals, is an arrangement long since vanished. It seems an antiquated institution, abandoned for a quarter of a century. Any restoration becomes more difficult with the passage of time. Such is the fate of silver,—a dethroned monarch. In 1876, in 1880, in 1885, even in 1890—though far less at the later dates—there were people disposed to maintain it in its former functions, or to restore those functions when they had been only recently lost. But to-day an entire new generation of adults has arisen who never knew silver in complete possession of the functions of money.

The difficulties in the way of the restoration of silver are infinitely greater than they were twenty years, or ten years, or five years since. In 1876 silver had lost only about 12 per cent of the monetary value accorded to it by the Latin Union. To many minds it appeared not impossible to overcome this disparity, and yet at that time there was not among the European powers a single serious advocate of silver. It was the same in 1878 and 1880, when silver had lost 14 to 15 per cent; and the same again in 1886 and 1887, when the loss had reached 25 per cent. To-day, when it exceeds 50 per cent, the difficulties would be twice, thrice, four times, or ten times greater than at the earlier dates. If no understanding could then be reached, how can any arrangement be possible now?



A third circumstance that must render futile all attempts at an international monetary conference is the failure of the efforts made by the United States through the Bland and Sherman Acts. If the laws of February 28, 1878, and July 14, 1890, despite all the sacrifices imposed on themselves by the American people, succeeded only in increasing the monetary disturbance, it will be understood why European nations have become more and more sceptical as to the influence that international legislation could have in this matter.

There is not a single European country, in a normal financial condition, that attaches the slightest importance to bimetallism. From time to time some Minister utters in Parliament a few equivocal words on the subject, seeking to avoid stripping the bimetallists absolutely of all hope. But America must not be duped by these ambiguous expressions. At bottom, not a country, not a government of Europe has the least wish to make the least change in the established monetary system,—that is, in the preëminence of gold, and the secondary and circumscribed function of silver. If from time to time the bimetallists obtain some vague Ministerial promises to study the monetary problem, it is due to the habit, common to all European statesmen, of avoiding offending or definitely estranging any group of voters, even one of slight importance.

Let us briefly consider each of the principal nations of Europe in succession. Germany made remarkable sacrifices, after the war of 1870-71, to establish the single gold standard. For a long time the opinion of men of affairs in Germany, particularly the merchants of Hamburg, had urged this solution; but the means to execute it were wanting. Germany was not at that time a rich country. To-day the industrial and commercial development of Germany has become widely extended, and she is not going to lose all the fruits of the reform of 1873. A commission may be named to keep the agrarians patient,—the rustic Prussians who dream that the double standard will raise the price of their products and lighten the burden of their debts; the Emperor may call for reports on the question. But we may be sure that Germany, justly proud of having established the gold standard, having gone to heavy expense for that object and derived from it large advantages, will not give up the firm monetary situation, the establishment of which was coincident with the restoration of the German Empire and the development of German commerce.

It is the same with Austria-Hungary. That empire also has greatly increased in wealth in late years. She has made the readjustment of

her currency on the basis of the single gold standard the chief aim of her financial policy. To this end she has accumulated many millions of francs in gold, and is on the point of completing this great reform. She is not going suddenly to abandon it and fall back into the trammels of the double standard.

I shall say nothing of Russia, with her traditional fondness for withdrawing within herself and avoiding all international engagements. Her financial situation also is much improved. At an early day, especially with the enormous increase in the world's gold product, it will be easy for her, if she wishes, to resume specie payments on the basis of the single gold standard.

As for England, we know the very decided declaration of Sir William Harcourt, the Liberal Chancellor of the Exchequer, as to the impossibility of England's making the slightest change in her monetary system, one of the chief elements of her power. No one takes seriously the remarks of Mr. Balfour on the subject of bimetallism. The member for Manchester, now a Minister, is known to every one as a man full of fantasies, whom neither paradox nor change of opinion dismays.

It would be a mistake to count on France for official support of the bimetallic movement. There has, indeed, during the last two years, been a certain agitation by the agricultural associations for the "rehabilitation" of silver. But this agitation is quite superficial. The body of the public is absolutely ignorant of the very meaning of the words "monometallism" and "bimetallism," "single standard" and "double standard." The financiers and the capitalists—that is to say, the only persons competent to express an opinion—are almost unanimously for the single gold standard. There may be cited, it is true, the name of M. Magnin, the Governor of the Bank of France, who has accepted the honorary presidency of a bimetallist committee. But this is an individual exception. The Governor of the Bank of France is not named by the Directors of the Company, or, as they are termed here, *les régents*. He is a politician who owes his place to the government, and has, as a matter of fact, very limited influence. The most important members of the *Conseil de Régence* of the Bank of France are very decidedly in favor of the single gold standard. Bimetallism in France has lost nearly all its adherents of note. Thus M. Léon Say, a former Minister of Finance and a distinguished economist, who ten or twelve years ago was inclined to be a partisan of the double standard, has recently published in the "*Journal des Débats*" three very strong articles against bimetallism. All that can be expected from France in



such a matter is a passive attitude; but it would be a mistake to suppose that she will press the "rehabilitation" of silver.

Moreover, within the last two or three years, the partisans of the double standard in every country have lost their principal argument. This was based on the reduction in the production of gold since 1870. Production, indeed, had been colossal from 1850 to 1870, after the discovery of the placers of California and Australia, reaching an average in that period of *F.* 670,000,000 (\$134,000,000). After that period, commencing with 1871, it had gradually fallen to about *F.* 500,000,000 (\$100,000,000) in the years from 1881 to 1884. This considerable decrease in the production of gold, coinciding with the proscription of silver in various European countries, furnished the bimetallists with their principal weapon. All the pamphlets of MM. Cernuschi and Émile de Laveleye, the great European champions of silver, were filled with considerations as to the gradual diminution of the gold product, the struggle for gold, the appreciation or increased value of gold, the money famine that was already manifesting itself and must become more and more apparent. These gentlemen were clearly lacking in the critical spirit; had they possessed a grain of it, they would have taken note of the remark I made ten years since, that the colonizing movement in Africa and Asia, and, it must be added, in America and in Oceanica, must have brought and must continue to bring to light considerable auriferous wealth.

The lamentations of MM. Cernuschi and Laveleye, and numerous others less known, did, however, make some impression upon numerous people. Certain statisticians admitted—erroneously, I think—an appreciation of gold, and in part attributed to it the fall in prices. Even Mr. Giffen, the zealous statistician of the British Board of Trade, adopted this opinion to a certain extent. To-day it has lost all value. The event, confirming my predictions, which, however, were easily framed, has shown that the colonization of little-explored countries leads to the discovery of very productive gold mines. Since 1888 the production of gold has advanced considerably. In 1894 it exceeded *F.* 800,000,000 (\$160,000,000) in place of the average product of *F.* 500,000,000 (\$100,000,000) from 1881 to 1883. This production leaves far behind the average of the great auriferous period of 1850 to 1870. A new age of gold is opening, which will strikingly eclipse that which followed the Californian and Australian discoveries about 1850. The production of gold is increasing in all countries,—in the United States, Australia, and Russia; and it tends to become prodigious in South

Africa. An able English banker of high repute, Sir Edgar Vincent, returned a few weeks since from the Transvaal, and gave it as his opinion that that country contained *F.* 25,000,000,000 (\$5,000,000,000) in gold, to be extracted in twenty years. In 1895 the product of the Transvaal alone will probably reach *F.* 250,000,000 (\$50,000,000), and will probably reach *F.* 500,000,000 (\$100,000,000) in four or five years, if not sooner. In a few years South Africa will produce as much gold as was produced in the entire world in 1883 or 1884. In the meanwhile the old auriferous countries, very far from being exhausted, are augmenting their production and revealing new deposits to prospectors. It is probable that Siberia will in its turn come upon the scene as a great gold-bearing country, when the trans-Siberian railway shall have been completed, as it will be in a few years.

If we reflect that from 1492 (the year of the discovery of America) to 1893,—four centuries,—the production of gold, according to the most trustworthy statistics, was only *F.* 43,000,000,000 (\$8,600,000,000), and that the Transvaal alone is presumed to be capable of producing in twenty years *F.* 25,000,000,000 (\$5,000,000,000), we shall understand how little question there can be—by the end of this century or the first quarter of the next, at the farthest—of the scarcity of gold, of the scramble for gold, of the appreciation of gold, and all the other formulæ that swarmed as scarecrows through the writings of the bimetallists from 1880 to about 1890. The situation is completely reversed. Within two or three years the world will yield more than *F.* 1,000,000,000 in gold, probably even *F.* 1,200,000,000 (\$200,000,000 to \$240,000,000) annually, and this will continue for twenty-five or thirty years, if not for fifty or more. Under these conditions it may rather be feared that gold will become too abundant, and may in turn depreciate. Already numerous economists and statisticians foresee a new period of recovery and advance in prices. Their expectations may be premature, but it cannot be denied that they have some foundation.

For my part I do not look for a very decided advance in prices, because all agricultural, industrial, and scientific progress tends to render commodities generally more abundant, less costly, and more freely offered, and because, on the other hand, the rate of the increase of population tends to fall away in most countries. But I believe, if not in a rise in prices, at least in a return of steadiness in them. I am also of opinion that the enormous quantities of gold likely to be produced within a relatively short time may be absorbed without excessive disturbance by the civilized nations, especially if Russia, as is possible,



wishes to resume specie payments on the basis of the gold standard; and if South America, becoming better governed and more prosperous, and following the example of Chili, desires to make the gold standard the sole basis of its monetary system. In any case the bimetallists for the next quarter of a century will be deprived of their chief argument of former times,—the one they regarded as decisive,—the scarcity of gold. A too great abundance of this metal is rather to be feared. Not that there is any fear that gold, in relation to the mass of other commodities, will ever fall as silver has fallen. Although the latter has declined one half in price within twenty-five years, its production has not ceased to advance, and has, even during 1894, been remunerative. It would not be the same with gold. This metal is now very abundant in new countries, but its production is costly. In the Transvaal, which is so much talked of, few mines yield a net profit of more than 30 to 35 per cent on the gold extracted. There can hardly be, therefore, a real depreciation of gold, because too great a fall in its value in relation to the mass of other commodities, and particularly human labor, would stop the working of a great number of mines. The increase in the production of gold since 1888, and especially since 1893, and the probability of a still greater increase within the next ten years, must blast the hopes of the bimetallists. If the production of one metal only—the one most convenient for use as money, most sought in the arts, the only one at present employed in international payments—shall amply suffice for all the needs of the civilized world, why should there be joined with it a less convenient metal, more despised in the arts, and to the use of which modern custom is opposed? The bimetallic movement must be regarded as bound to collapse and vanish.

In these conditions there is but one course worthy of a great nation like the United States. It is not to persist in trying to “rehabilitate” silver; it is definitely to recognize the preëminence of gold and to make of this metal the sole keystone of the American monetary system. Silver will never be anything but subsidiary money for the Western nations. The United States Treasury will, without doubt, lose a part of the sums it has so imprudently sunk in the purchase of silver. But this loss is unimportant for so rich and progressive a people; it is of no consequence compared with the solidity the gold standard will give to the American monetary system and to American credit.

So soon as the capitalists, small and great, of Europe, shall know that the United States have definitely adopted the gold standard and relegated silver to a subordinate monetary rôle, the savings of Western

Europe will flow toward that country. Freed from the fear that he may some day be repaid in depreciated money, every person with savings in all Europe will be happy to find a return of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to 4 per cent in good American securities, and of 5 to  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent in the shares of well-established American enterprises. Then the immense territory of the United States will find its vast resources rapidly and completely put in the way of exploitation. The abandonment of notes or paper money issued by the state; the definitive adoption of gold as the sole standard,—these are the two necessary conditions on which the United States can secure a financial position as important as that they now hold in agriculture and in industry. On these two conditions they can some day approach and equal Great Britain as a financial power. If, on the contrary, they persist in their system of government paper money and in the “rehabilitation” of silver, their industrial and commercial development alike will be trammelled, and they will undergo marked and permanent experiences of financial weakness.

PAUL LEROY-BEAULIEU.



## THE NATURE OF LIBERTY.

### I.

AT a certain period of my life I was witness of such a psychological experience in a whole people as we may sometimes happen to observe in a single person. I lived in Venice during the last years of the Austrian oppression, amidst that mutinous emotion of the Italians which they called the Demonstration. No instances can give a due sense of its intensity, but I may suggest something of its pervasiveness when I say that it touched the whole business and pleasure of life. Prosperity and felicity were measurably postponed to the fulfilment of the yearning for freedom in all classes. With the intelligent this was an aspiration ; with the ignorant it was a delirium ; with every one it was a passion. The intelligent imagined liberty as unification with free Italy, and expected the fruition of their highest hopes in that event. The ignorant prophesied all good of the glad time when Garibaldi should come.

So far as I could see, the poor were affected very little or not at all by the oppression. They were scarcely in danger of arrest for their political opinions, which they aired freely, at least to any listening foreigner. They could not be annoyed by the sequestration of the liberal newspapers or the prohibition of Italian books, for they mostly could not read ; and for the same reason they could not be humiliated by the fact that there was but one journal in Venice, and that this was supervised by the police. They could not be wounded by the censorship which forbade them to publish anything unfriendly to order or favorable to freedom. They were not defrauded when the authorities made the libretto of "I Puritani" read *Gridando lealtà*, instead of *Gridando libertà*, for without money to pay their way into the theatre they could not know whether the chorus shouted for loyalty or for liberty. The spy did not dog their steps ; the police did not visit their wretched abodes in midnight perquisition for compromising papers or other proofs of conspiracy. They suffered no hardships from the difficulty of getting a passport into Italy ; for they would have had no means of

using it unless they walked. They were not hampered in business by the vexatious delays of the government in granting leave for novel enterprises ; the taxes did not burden them, for they had no property. They might draw a bad number in the conscription, but they would be liable to this misfortune under any government. They had no more incentive to patriotism than the poor have anywhere ; but nothing in the Venetian Demonstration was more positive than the attitude of the Venetians who had nothing to gain by it.

I need hardly say that I was in full sympathy with it ; for I was young, and I was the commercial representative of a people whose ideal was freedom. I honored the Demonstration with all my heart, and although in my official quality I could not recognize it, I personally shared in it so far as to walk only under the arcades while the Austrian band played in St. Mark's Place ; to shun the acquaintance of the military ; to keep away from the cafés frequented by officers, and to make a merit of reading books forbidden by the censorship : they did not always repay me for the trouble I took to get them.

All the time I was haunted by a certain misgiving. I felt, in spite of myself, that the Venetians, though they longed for liberty so magnanimously, longed for it without a true sense of its nature, and I began to ask myself certain questions concerning the nature of liberty. I had always believed that it was something political ; that this thing which so many had hoped for, lived for, died for, was an affair of annual, biennial, and quadrennial elections ; and I was dismayed to find that if I imagined the Venetians in the possession of universal suffrage, under a government of their own creation, I still could not imagine them as happy as they expected to be. I could not even imagine them as free as they expected to be, especially the poorer sort. But I consoled myself with thinking that their error was the error of a people who were not educated to a true knowledge of liberty. By and by, I thought, when they had been free long enough, they would conceive of it aright, and would be satisfied to take it for what it was worth, as I never doubted all the Americans were. They would be content with liberty in its true sense, as we were ; and even if they were not content, they would be free, and that was the great thing. They would be able to vote for this one and against that one ; to make their own laws, or choose legislators to make them ; to speak or print anything they liked ; to go and come without asking for a passport ; and this would be sufficient, although it was not all they had expected of liberty. It did not then occur to me that the Venetians had a right



to expect from a free state what they unconsciously and yet really expected : security from want and from the fear of want. If any such notion had been suggested to me I should have laughed it to scorn, but I am not sure now that their formless and tacit expectation was so ridiculous.

## II.

We are still deluded with the antique ideal of liberty, which lords it over the imagination in politics, as the antique ideal of beauty lords it over the imagination in æsthetics. This ideal of liberty is the creature of rhetoric very largely ; so far as it ever had reality it was the prepotence of a slaveholder who freed himself from tyranny by violence. In his conception, liberty was narrowed to his city or country ; it was a Hellenic or a Roman privilege, and not a human right. It was, to be sure, the condition of things unexampled and unexcelled. It gave us literature, sculpture, and architecture still unrivalled ; it gave us law which is still the norm of legislation ; it gave us a form of society which is the vision of the future state. But the liberty which flowered in the culture of Athens, the legality of Rome, and the socialism of Sparta, was rooted in slavery crueller than the cruellest oppression of any modern despotism. It was the denial of the aspiration for freedom in those whose captivity it rested upon ; and as an ideal it has been the fruitful mother of atrocities. Yet still it is in this image that the notion of liberty first presents itself to the mind, just as the thought of beauty first presents itself in the antique ideal. It appears something final, absolute, a good in itself. But liberty is never a good in itself, and is never final ; it is a means to something good, and a way to the end which its lovers are really seeking. It is provisionally a blessing, but it is purely provisional ; it is self-limited, and is forever merging into some sort of subjection. It no sooner establishes itself than it begins to control itself. The dream of infinite and immutable liberty is the hallucination of the Anarchist, that is, of the Individualist gone mad. The moment liberty in this meaning was achieved, we should have the rule, not of the wisest, not of the best, not even of the most, but of the strongest, and no liberty at all.

So far as we can have any consciousness of it, liberty is merely choice. When a man is not free to choose, he is not free at all. When he is free to choose, he may choose to do wrong, but then he lapses into slavery himself or he enslaves some one else. Where there is mainly a choice of wrong there are no longer rights, there are only advantages.

In its noblest and simplest terms, this liberty which we can feel only as choice, is the power of self-sacrifice. Self-sacrifice can be the act only of those who are free; others may be sacrificed, but these alone can sacrifice themselves.

This self-sacrifice begins with the first step in civility; and it is the end of the savage's self-assertion. The earliest use that the citizen of a liberated state makes of his freedom is to give up some part of it for the common good, to exchange his advantages for rights, to find his own happiness in the well-being of others. It is for this that he pledges his life, his fortune, and his sacred honor. He outlaws himself from an unjust order only that he may inlaw himself with a just order; and he employs that instant of volition which is the whole appreciable existence of liberty, not to secure advantages, but to impart them. Freedom has really no higher function; and it can appear to its possessor only in some moment of evanescence. We are always fancying it something permanent, that can be preserved by a jealous vigilance. But we can enjoy it only in imparting it; we can each of us preserve his own freedom only by guarding the freedom of all; and we must not imagine our state free, so long as there is one oppressed man in it. We are false to our trust and in danger of losing our treasure if we content ourselves even with the greatest good of the greatest number; we must not mean less than the greatest good of the whole number, nor cease to strive for it.

In fine, liberty, whose supreme expression is self-sacrifice, is only another name for choice; the essence of choice is freedom; and in adverse conditions a man has no choice; he does this or he does that because he must, not because he will. But we shut our eyes to the effect of conditions, and expect people to rise above them, to overcome the attraction of gravitation. We say—

“ Honour and shame from no condition rise ;  
Act well your part, there all the honour lies.”

But no one who thinks can believe this. If a man is in conditions which hinder him from doing what he will, he can no more have honor than he can have shame. The vices of a slave are hateful, but we do not blame the slave for them, and we do not praise him for obedience, meekness, abnegation, which are virtues in the free man. The free man has duties, but the slave has none, and he has no responsibilities. Liberty is not only the power of self-sacrifice: it is the responsibility of self-sacrifice too. If you are free, you are responsible



for what you do with your gifts, and for their use in behalf of others. But if you are not free, it is your master who is responsible.

## III.

As to what empowers you to self-sacrifice, renders you responsible, makes you free, it is commonly supposed to be the citizenship of a free country. But this is very questionable; freedom by no means follows from such a citizenship. In the first place there seem to be as yet no free countries in the world; there seem to be only freer countries; and not every citizen of a freer country is a free man. He is a free man if he has the means of livelihood, and is assured in their possession; if he is independent of others. But if he is dependent upon some other man for the means of earning a livelihood, he is not free. Freedom in fact, which in its highest effect is self-sacrifice, and of the skies, is chained to the earth in the question of necessity, as certainly as the soul is chained to the earth in the body. It is only occasionally a political affair, a civic affair; it is constantly a social affair, a pecuniary affair, an economic affair. It is true that in a tyranny the richest are not free; but in a democracy not only is no man free without the means of livelihood, but the richer man is always freer than the poorer man, as he is in every state.

The failure of most revolts, even such as have permanently displaced an oppression, has been their failure to recognize this fact. If the Venetians had agreed with Garibaldi when he came (he did not come in person, of course), or with Italy when they were united to it, that thenceforward all should be guaranteed the means of livelihood, they would really have all freed themselves. If the French revolution had established these conditions, the first republic would still be one and indivisible. But the Venetians fancied it was enough to drive out the Austrians; the French thought to end all injustice by beheading the aristocrats. Even the Americans believed they had ordained universal freedom when they had thrown off their old allegiance to England, abolished titles, given every one the suffrage, and made their prince elective.

In each case something was gained, but it was not liberty for all. Italy is now a freer country, or at least a freer government, and I do not suppose there are many Italians who would wish back the old despotisms; but probably most Italians under their crushing burden of taxation are now less free than they were under their alien masters. The Venetians during their Demonstration believed that if

the Austrians were driven out the people would be free, just as the French during their revolution believed that if the aristocrats were killed the people would govern. But I fancy none of the gay visions of the Venetians has been quite verified ; they have got general progress, but not general prosperity ; it is well that the Austrians are away, but the mass of the Venetians are sensibly no freer, have no more freedom of choice, no more power of self-sacrifice, than when the Austrians were in Venice. We believe that a republic is a freer country than a monarchy ; certainly a president is less absurd than a king, as a personification of the popular will ; and doubtless such liberty as men now have is safer under democratic forms and with an elective chief. At the same time it looks very much as if the great mass of people in every existing state were sacrificed to others without the power to sacrifice themselves.

## IV.

We used fondly to figure the American who earned his bread in the sweat of his brow and voted with his party, as a sovereign, and we invited him to regard himself in that light. Really, however, without the means of livelihood in his own hands, but in the hands of another, he is scarcely the regal shape we figured him. The working-man out of a job can have little joy of his vote ; and if he is very poor, if he is not making both ends meet, he can hardly will good to others, the sovereign act of the freeman, because he has none to will. It is true that he may rebel, that he may renounce his employment when he has one and does not think himself justly paid ; but without the means of livelihood he has no choice except to seek some other employment, and this choice is scarcely freedom. He may, of course, become a tramp, and in the loose play of our circumstances he may not suffer more than many others who remain patiently at work. But then it is our circumstances that befriend him, not our conditions ; these are the same for him as the working-man's conditions everywhere. The only moment of sensible or positive political sovereignty for him is that of voting ; but in that moment he parts with his sovereignty, for a term of months or years, with respect to the men who shall make his laws, judge them, and execute them. He chooses, he elects, he gives, and—

—“ the Gods themselves cannot resume their gifts,”—

—much less a poor devil who has voted with his party and has nothing to eat.



For such a citizen of the freer state, liberty can scarcely be said to exist in the sense that it exists for the more fortunate. He cannot choose, he cannot sacrifice himself for others, for he is already sacrificed; he can impart no advantages, for he has none; and he can have none till he has bettered his fortunes. He remains in the savage necessity of self-assertion, in the warfare which manifests itself in strikes, riots, mutinies, murders. The poor man knows, if the rich man does not know, that the poorer man has always less liberty than the richer man, just as certainly as that he has less money. If he has not the means of livelihood in his own hands, he cannot come and go when he will; he cannot command his time; he cannot choose the kind of work he will do, as the richer man measurably can; he is often enslaved to hateful and loathsome services for others, such as each should do for himself. Till a man is independent he is not free; as long as he must look to the pleasure or the profit of another man for his living he is not independent. His employer may not mean to oppress him: he may be his oppressor very unwillingly, as when his own adversity obliges him to cut down his hireling's wages, but he oppresses him then, however unwillingly, and he oppresses him when he casts him off to seek some other support, not knowing whether he can find it or not. This fact often comes home to the humane employer, especially in the case of hirelings who have served him long and well, and more than any other it tells with the conscience against the whole relation of "hireling and him that hires." The hireling may have all those rights, which are inseparable from the old ideal of liberty, and which we vainly suppose are the proofs of liberty. He may have the right to speak freely, print freely, pray freely, vote freely; but he cannot manfully use his right, though warranted in it by the constitutions and the statutes of all the States, if he is afraid another man may take away his means of livelihood for doing so.

It is needless to say that the personal equation will have much to do with the character of the event. Many—perhaps most—employers are of a make so noble and of a self-respect so fine that they would abhor to interfere with the constitutional rights of their hirelings; and there are hirelings so brave that they would starve, and see their wives and little ones starve, before they yielded their rights. But slavery was none the less an evil because most slaveholders were kind and good people, or because there was now and then a heroic slave. The man who is in danger of want or even in dread of want is not a free man; and the country which does not guard him against this danger and this

dread, or does not assure him the means of livelihood, is not a free country, though it may be the freest of all the freer countries.

In other words liberty and poverty are incompatible; and, if the poverty is extreme, liberty is impossible to it. We pretend otherwise, such of us as are not so directly oppressed by the conditions; but those who feel the burden know better. From time to time they express their dissent in their uncomfortable way, but, tacitly or explicitly, they always dissent from our optimistic pretence. It is possible that the American who earns his bread in the sweat of his brow and votes with his party has known all along that he was not the sort of sovereign we fancied him.

## V.

The violent unrest which we call labor troubles is nothing more nor less than an endeavor for the liberty which the working classes think they see the employing classes possessed of. It seems to be a question of more wages with them, and primarily it is a question of more wages, but ultimately it is a question of more power, more ease, more freedom. It is a question of business, of the means of livelihood; and how to secure every man in the means of livelihood, and so guarantee equal freedom to all, is the great problem for statesmanship to solve. It has been supposed hitherto by the comfortable sentimentalists that every man would secure himself in them; but the inefficiency of the individual in this direction has been shown so widely that the problem remains; and it is still, as it always has been, the instinctive expectation of the working-man everywhere that society would yet somehow warrant him the means of earning a livelihood, and so constitute him for the first time a free man.

His expectation seems more or less absurd to his employers, for they have come to believe themselves the only fit repositories of his means of earning a livelihood. But his expectation is deeply grounded in human nature, and more than once in history it has found pathetic expression. We need not go far back for instances. When the serfs were liberated in Russia they expected that the land would belong to them because they alone had worked the land. In fact, Stepniak tells us that the landowners themselves would scarcely have felt wronged if they had been expropriated from the acres they had never touched in behalf of the peasants who had tilled them. At the end of our own war, when the slave's dream of freedom came true, he believed that the gift of liberty would be followed with the gift of forty acres and a mule



to every head of a family. When his fond delusion became known to the nation which had broken the chains of the oppressed and bidden them go free and see what they could do to keep from starving, a roar of derision went up from all the millions of American humorists. We thought it much less comical to give our acres, not by forties but by millions, to certain railroad companies. Now that turns out to have been a great joke, too, and we are laughing again, but on the wrong side of our mouths.

In the meantime the fact remains that liberty is for those who have the means of livelihood. With them, however, it is always in danger of ceasing to be liberty and of becoming tyranny. In view of this danger some say that those things which are essential to liberty cannot safely be trusted in private hands; for the individual may use them not only to assure himself of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, but he may use them to jeopardize another in life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. These philosophers have imagined that all should own the means which form the opportunity and safety of each, and so far no one else has imagined any other way out of the trouble, though few are ready to take this way.

## VI.

Opportunity is one phase of liberty, safety is another. The safe man is the only free man; and it is not enough not to be in danger, one must not be in fear of danger. Want and the dread of want are the same in moral effect; and when we have liberty in the form of opportunity we must have it in the form of safety, or we have it not at all. If we wished to keep liberty simply as opportunity, we should lose it, for there is nothing vital, nothing lasting in opportunity. We can enjoy liberty only in its ultimate form of safety, and we can not any one of us, or any part of us, be safe, unless all the rest are safe, for the insecurity of others is the perpetual menace of our own security. We must somehow be equals in opportunity and in safety or we cannot be free.

This equality is the logic of liberty, and liberty cannot stop short of it without ceasing to be. It can confer no lasting good, no final blessing, until it has been exchanged for such equality; and to effect this exchange is the supreme office of liberty, as self-sacrifice is its supreme manifestation.

W. D. HOWELLS.

## THOMAS BRACKETT REED AND THE FIFTY-FIRST CONGRESS.

WHEN the Fifty-first Congress began its existence in December, 1889, the Republicans, for the first time since 1883, had a small majority in the Lower House, and they proceeded to organize by the election of the Hon. Thomas Brackett Reed of Maine as Speaker.

Like every other legislative body that has ever existed the Fifty-first Congress made occasional mistakes, and Mr. Reed and its other leaders are wise enough to have profited thereby, so that their mistakes will not be repeated ; but the work of that Congress, taken as a whole, was better done and was better worth doing than has been the case with any other Congress since the troubled times immediately succeeding the Civil War. It is an honor to have belonged to it, or at least to have belonged to that majority in it whose acts determined its course and settled its place in history. The party had been elected on certain definite issues. Honestly and in good faith it set to work to solve the governmental problems presented to it according to the promises it had made before election. It was not in its power to solve them with complete success ; but according to its opportunity it did solve them, by meeting them boldly and by doing the best that was possible to do under the circumstances.

A cleaner and more upright body of men in deliberation and in action than those who controlled and led the Fifty-first Congress has rarely been seen in any legislative body. They stood squarely on the party platform as to the tariff and other party matters. In addition they passed a number of admirable bills of a non-partisan character. Certain of these bills—the copyright bill for instance—went through the Senate and became laws ; others, as the bankruptcy bill, failed, but for this the House was in no way responsible.

Nevertheless, though its legislative work was honorable and praiseworthy, the title of the Fifty-first Congress to a definite place in American history rests on other grounds. Above the question of what a Congress does comes the far higher question whether Congress can do anything at all. It was this question which the Fifty-first Congress



solved in the affirmative under the leadership of Speaker Reed, and its solution was of far greater permanent importance to the welfare of the United States and to the successful working of American institutions than any possible bill upon the tariff or the currency, or upon any other subject which may have seemed at the moment to be all-absorbing. The action of the Fifty-first Congress settled, and, as has since been proved, settled once for all, the fact that the national legislature was indeed a legislative body, and not a mere impotent debating society. By their settlement of this question Mr. Reed and his party colleagues not only won a title to the gratitude of every American who wishes well to America and who believes in free institutions, but laid under deep obligations all believers in representative government throughout the world. If a representative government can be reduced to the condition of the Polish Diet, then a representative government is the handmaid of helpless anarchy. Unless it is definitely settled that the legislature of the land has the power to legislate,—a power that cannot be taken away by revolutionary methods on the part of a disaffected minority,—there is no use in having a legislature at all. The party opponents of Mr. Reed and his colleagues in the House, and the people and the press, whether Democratic or so-called Independent, that supported them, stood as traitors to the cause of American institutions and of representative government; but Mr. Reed, and those who made him Speaker, stood for the very principles through whose triumph alone it is possible to retain that orderly liberty which is our national pride.

The Fifty-first Congress found before it as its great problem not what it should legislate about, but whether it should be allowed to legislate at all. Of recent years the practice of filibustering, or obstruction by the minority, in legislative bodies, had grown until it bade fair to put a complete stop to the wheels of government. All bodies of the kind must have rules under which they can be governed; and those rules must provide that the will of the majority shall prevail, save where it is explicitly provided to the contrary. Even minorities originally accepted these propositions as axiomatic; but gradually, all over the world, sharp parliamentarians who were sufficiently unscrupulous or sufficiently fanatical found that by taking advantage of rules intended merely to give proper freedom of debate they could not only hinder, but could entirely prevent legislation. The evil had grown steadily, and parliamentary bodies were rapidly being reduced to a position of utter impotence.

In the United States, Congress had, session after session, shown

itself to be more unwieldy and less able to enact even such legislation as the majority of the members desired. The evil grew very rapidly while Mr. Carlisle was Speaker. In the last session of the Fiftieth Congress, over which he presided, the House was kept absolutely stationary for nearly two weeks by a single Congressman, Mr. Weaver, who, because he could not get some of his own wild schemes advanced, proceeded effectively to block all legislation by continually proposing, in alternating succession, two or three separate motions ; and when one was voted down or disposed of, immediately taking up another. Every intelligent student of our institutions saw the evil, and all those men who, without being politicians themselves, are fond of advocating more or less ideal political reforms in the magazines, were unanimous in their assertions that the practice of filibustering must be stopped, and that the first and vital reform in Congressional procedure ought to be the devising of a method by which legislation would become possible. Practical politicians took the same view. Those men who were not only practical politicians but also experts in political science, who combined a theoretical acquaintance with a practical experience of the actual evil of the system, were more determined than any others on the subject. Mr. Reed himself had written a magazine article in which he practically outlined the very system which he afterward put into operation.

Up to the time of the election of the Fifty-first Congress this had not been a party question. All sensible men, Republicans and Democrats alike, reprobated the existing system, and insisted that a change should be made. But when the Democrats found that they were in a small minority, and when, moreover, they realized that on certain points, such as the question of the tariff and of the supervision of elections, the successful party intended to legislate radically and in entire accordance with the platform on which it had been elected, they at once began to threaten that no legislation of which they did not approve would be allowed to become law. Their leader in the House, the Hon. Roger Q. Mills, definitely took this position, not merely in speech, but in a Review article. Putting aside any question as to the propriety or impropriety of the measures which the Republican party sought to pass, this proposition was simply an assertion that the will of the people, as shown in the Congressional elections of the preceding fall, should be nullified, and that the majority should not be allowed to control the Congress which by popular verdict had been delivered into their keeping.

Such a principle, if adopted and carried out to its logical conclusion, could have meant but one thing—the destruction of representative



government. In the light of such a contest, for a principle so vital, it was really a very small matter what the Congress was to do in the way of enacting laws. The all-important thing for it to decide was its power to enact laws at all. The Fifty-first Congress met, Mr. Reed won the fight in the Speakership caucus of his party, and was formally inaugurated as Speaker. Immediately the battle began, to determine whether or not he and his party were to be allowed to use the power to which they were entitled by every consideration, moral and legal.

Before saying anything further about the struggle it is necessary to make clear one matter concerning which trouble has arisen by confounding officers of the same name with widely different duties. Many of our people show a tendency to turn to English precedent in any question of governmental procedure. These people knew that there was a Speaker of the House of Commons in England, and a Speaker of the House of Representatives here. Inasmuch as the names were the same they concluded that the duties ought to be the same, and that where the practice differed the American practice must be wrong; the last conclusion being an instance of the curious colonialism of spirit which still survives in a small section of our educated people.

Now, in reality, the Speaker of the House of Representatives corresponds as remotely to the Speaker of the House of Commons as the President of the United States to the President of the Swiss Republic. The Speaker of the House of Commons is not a party man at all; he is merely a moderator; he does not even change when parties change. He is unconcerned with promoting party policy. In the American House, on the contrary, the Speakership is the most important political office in the gift of the people, with the exception only of the Presidency. When the Congress and the President are of opposite political faith, then the Speaker is the man holding the highest political office in the power of his own party to bestow. He is responsible for the legislation of his party in the Lower House. He presides over the debates; but his great function is the leadership of his party. In some ways his duties correspond quite as closely to the duties of the English Prime Minister as to those of the English Speaker. Accordingly it is impossible to establish any common standard of judgment in dealing with him and the English Speaker.

Speaker Reed since the Fifty-first Congress has published a manual of general parliamentary law, under the title of "Reed's Rules." In the introduction he says:

"If the student has once fixed in his mind the idea that parliamentary law is not a series of arbitrary rules, but a plain consistent system founded on common

sense and sanctioned by the experience of mankind, he will have gone far toward understanding it."

When he was first elected Speaker he proceeded to administer his office in entire accord with the principle he has here enunciated with so much clearness and brevity. The favorite weapons of the filibusters were two: to refuse a quorum, and to put dilatory motions. These indeed must always be the main weapons in filibustering, unless recourse is had to actual consumption of time by indefinite speech-making. The last can always be met by the adoption of a rule to take a vote at a certain hour or to limit speeches to a certain length. The only way to meet the question of dilatory motions is for the Speaker to refuse to put them. To get a quorum it is necessary to compel the attendance of members; but under the old rules of the House of Representatives a quorum consisted of those voting, not of those present. Speaker Reed met the movement of the filibusters with common sense and resolution. He refused to put motions which were evidently merely dilatory. He announced that he would count as present those who were present, whether they voted or not.

In no single instance was there even an accusation that Speaker Reed refused to put any motion made in good faith. Every motion which he refused to put was one avowedly made merely for dilatory purposes. Every man whom he refused to recognize was a man who avowedly desired to speak simply for the purpose of creating delay and of obstructing the action of the House. Those whom he counted as present actually were present. Indeed the last point of absurdity was reached when many men, including, for instance, Congressman, afterwards Governor, Flower, were loudly denouncing the Speaker for counting them present at the very moment when they were addressing him at the tops of their voices and declaring themselves constructively absent. Later, the Supreme Court of the United States decided that Mr. Reed was right in his position of counting a quorum, and the Democratic Fifty-third Congress adopted, in their substance, the rules which he had first promulgated to prevent the employment of dilatory tactics, and improper delay and obstruction generally. Yet at the time, egged on by their supporters outside, the Democratic minority went to all lengths in denunciation of the Speaker and in the effort to nullify his wise decision.

But neither the clamor from without nor the furious opposition within the House had any effect upon Mr. Reed: he remained inflexible in his purpose. In no House has there ever been given



greater opportunity for honest debate, and a wider latitude for the opinion and action of the minority, so long as that minority did not trespass on the rights of the majority; but with all his courtesy, and with all his fairness, Mr. Reed refused to be swayed by any threat or by any attempt at hostile action. He insisted upon the adoption of his principles; he wore out and beat down all antagonists by his magnificent courage and superior power.

A distinctly regrettable feature of the case was the way in which the acts of the filibustering minority were championed and defended by the party press hostile to Mr. Reed. I am sorry to say that I must include not merely the out-and-out party organs, but many that were professedly independent. Indeed, the attitude of certain newspapers that had been loud in their claims to independence of action, loud in their denunciation of partisanship, and in their asseverations that they stood for decent government without regard to party, was particularly objectionable. Filibustering has now become a recognized term by which to describe tactics of delay and obstruction in a legislative body. Of course such tactics are wholly indefensible except on revolutionary grounds. They are essentially improper. It should always be understood that it is discreditable to indulge in them save under circumstances which would justify any revolutionary proceeding; and such circumstances cannot occur once in a generation. Nevertheless, these tactics have become common of late years, and the party adherents of the filibustering minority are inclined to look not merely with complacency, but with hearty approval, upon efforts to break a quorum, to prevent a vote being taken, or to bring to a complete halt the legislative wheels; caring nothing for the disadvantage to the government, so long as a temporary party advantage can be gained. Of course if such methods ever become chronic representative government will be at an end. People cannot have free institutions if they lack the wisdom, self-command, and common sense to make use of them; and the people who condone and approve filibustering show that they lack all these qualities, and to that extent have forfeited their claim to be considered capable of governing themselves. This was especially true of those who took part in and those who applauded the filibustering in the Fifty-first Congress. It was lamentable and discreditable to see how many of the men who had been clamoring for political, and notably for legislative, reform, were included in this number. A great many of these men, many of whom had been writing on behalf of just such changes of procedure as Mr. Reed introduced, were opposed to him on

the tariff; and they actually permitted a difference upon purely economic questions to blind them to the propriety of Mr. Reed's course as a presiding officer, instead of doing as they should have done, had they themselves possessed the courage and independence which they professed to demand in others. Instead of upholding Mr. Reed in a struggle in which his success was of vital consequence to the future well-being of republican institutions, they joined, and even led, the chorus of fanatical attacks upon him, showing themselves willing to do lasting damage to the cause of good government provided only they could at the moment score a party triumph.

Read in cold blood now, the appeals of the Congressmen on the floor and of the writers and speakers outside the House against the "tyranny" of Mr. Reed, and in favor of "free debate," seem so absurd that it is hard to discuss them with patience. One of the difficulties in meeting their arguments arose from the very fact that their arguments were not worth meeting. The mere definition of the three branches of our government was a sufficient answer to everything that they had to say. Congress is the legislative body. To legislate means to make laws, not merely to talk about them. The laws should be made after debate, but the debate should be wholly subsidiary to the actual voting, and should be conducted in good faith with this object in view. Under the Reed rules there was ample opportunity for debate. In fact the pages of the "Congressional Record" show that there was more debate in the Fifty-first than in any preceding Congress.

When the debates of a legislative body occupy a series of volumes so large and so numerous as those of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, it is not worth while to answer the assertion that debate was strangled in that Congress. The published writings of all our great political leaders, from the days of Washington and Hamilton to those of Lincoln and Seward, could easily be contained many times over in the volumes which record the debates of the Fifty-first Congress.

Under Speaker Reed's rules in that Congress there was ample opportunity for all proper debate; but when there had to be a choice between speech and action, the choice fell on action. Whenever this choice had to be made, it must be remembered that the fault lay wholly with Mr. Reed's opponents, and not with himself or with his supporters. When the former by their foolish filibustering forced the majority to undertake repressive measures, they were themselves responsible for these repressive measures. They had abundant time for all legitimate discussion of every measure put through by the Re-



publican majority. When they abused the ample privileges accorded them, Mr. Reed and his party associates would have failed in their duty to the nation had they not seen that the abuse was checked and punished. Because of Mr. Reed's course as Speaker he became the most conspicuous leader in a party which contained at the time at least three other men who by their position and prominence were entitled to strive for national leadership; and he won his position by the extraordinary ability and iron courage with which he championed a radical revolution in our methods of applying the principles of parliamentary procedure. For a year he was the most prominent figure in our public life, and his actions and deeds were quoted, with approval or disapproval, in every parliamentary body throughout Christendom. They were the theme of almost every publicist in every free country where the parliamentary system, that is, where government by a legislative and deliberative body, obtains.

Then in the fall of 1890, the Republican party went down with a crash. In the Fifty-first Congress Mr. Reed was Speaker, and at the head of a small but singularly compact and united majority. In the Fifty-second he found himself the leader of a minority that included but a fourth of all the members of the House. With the greatest ostentation the triumphant party proceeded to undo the work he had done and to restore the ancient order of things. They could do as they wished, for they outnumbered their opponents three to one; and for the two years of their Congressional existence, though they showed themselves inefficient and unwieldy in comparison with the Fifty-first Congress, they were still able to make matters move.

In the Fifty-third Congress they came back with a large, although reduced majority; but the effervescence of their victory had vanished, and they were forced by grim necessity to acknowledge that they had attempted an impossible task when they undertook to restore the cumbersome system of parliamentary procedure which Mr. Reed had assailed and overthrown. Already the Supreme Court of the United States had decided that as regards the most savagely criticised of Mr. Reed's rulings he was in the right and his critics in the wrong; and now the hostile Democratic majority, utterly unable to accomplish anything, and seeing the House reduced to mere unwieldy helplessness before their eyes, were forced to abandon all their positions and to take up and re-enact the Reed rules. In other words, the defeated leader actually saw his foes while still in power obliged to adopt the very principles because of which they had persuaded the people to oust him from control.

It was a kind of triumph such as rarely befalls any man ; and it was followed by another triumph which rendered it complete. At the general election in 1894 the Republicans were returned to power by a vote far greater than they had ever yet received in their forty years of existence as a national party ; and Mr. Reed was re-elected Speaker of a House which contained a greater Republican majority than any previous Congress had shown.

It is indeed hard to realize that when Mr. Reed put through the rules which have come to be known by his name he was not only denounced furiously as "czar," as "tyrant," as what not, but that the minority took the unusual step of refusing to join in the customary vote of thanks to him when he left the Speakership. The subsequent actions of his opponents were his final vindication, as well as the most severe condemnation of what they themselves had done. The Reed rules represented the mere application of common sense, courage, and honesty to parliamentary procedure. So evident did this become that his very opponents while still in power were themselves forced to adopt his rules, and the people, by an overwhelming majority, undid the wrong they had done and replaced him as Speaker ; only in a position far more secure and far more triumphant than when he had first held the chair, for he had back of him an enormously increased majority. There have been times when a statesman has triumphed after defeat because he himself has changed ; but in this case it is not Reed who has changed—it is the popular feeling. His position remains unaltered. He consistently maintained the righteousness and justice of his proceedings, and his bitter political enemies were forced by the hard logic of events to acknowledge that they had been wrong and that he had been right. Rarely in the history of American politics has any statesman received so dramatically complete a vindication.

Speaker Reed rendered a great service to his party by his action as Speaker of the Fifty-first Congress ; and, by the fact of having rendered this service, placed himself at one leap among the foremost of the party leaders ; but he rendered an even greater service to the American Republic. In order that a republic may exist there must be some form of representative government, and this representative government must include a legislature. If the practices to which Mr. Reed put a stop were allowed to become chronic, representative government would itself be an impossibility. Not for many years has there been a man in our public life to whom the American people owe as great a debt as they do to Speaker Thomas B. Reed.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.



## THE ETHICS OF PARTY LOYALTY.

IF a popular mandate could ever be inferred from the results of a single election, it is certain that the demands of the majority of voters in the State of New York were clearly formulated and emphatically expressed in the political revolution of November, 1894. The sweeping Republican victory, carrying the Governorship and both Houses of the Legislature, meant—if ever votes were cast upon a distinct political issue—that the Republican party was pledged, and that the people of the State had accepted the promise, to enact with as little delay as possible the reform measures demanded by the people of New York city to give effect to the popular revolt against the men and the methods of Tammany Hall.

With any sort of efficient and responsible leadership, with any real and effective party discipline, that result would have been reached early in the session. Yet for lack of a capable leader, backed by a sanction strong enough to enforce the fulfilment of party pledges, the great opportunity was worse than thrown away. The Republican majority weakened and split, and the session ended to the relief of the people and the lasting discredit of the party throughout the State. The reform measures unconditionally promised and confidently expected were "hung up" month after month, and those of them which attained final enactment were passed in emasculated form to suit the views of a wholly irresponsible, outside boss, whose real opinions on any of the great political questions of the day are absolutely unknown, whose work is done in secret, and who never comes directly before the people to answer for the way in which he stands between them and their rights.

On the Democratic side, in national politics, like causes in the past have produced like effects. If there ever was a time when a national party came back to power on the strength of a single, definite issue, and with instructions from the people clearly expressed, it was so with the Democrats in 1892. The negative and corrective part of their programme they were able to and did carry out with commendable promptness in the succeeding session of Congress. The Silver Pur-

chase Clause of the Sherman Bill was repealed; the Federal Election Law was wiped from the statute book, and the administration of the Pension Bureau was reformed. But when the positive and constructive work of the session began the inherent weakness of the party organization cropped out, disintegration set in, party pledges were forgotten or flagrantly broken, leaders lost their grip, and even the show of deference to authority was flouted. What should have been a great political battle, fought out on strict party lines and ending in a great Democratic triumph, degenerated into a series of guerilla attacks and marauding skirmishes, where individual preferences and private interests swept all regard to party loyalty or fidelity to political pledges out of sight. The Democrats of the United States were forced to look on in bitter impotence while a victorious majority, controlling both branches of the national legislature, with the party's leader in the President's chair, broke into a set of log-rolling cliques which traded votes on every schedule. Finally, loyal party men in the great Democratic city of New York were treated to the humiliating spectacle of members of Congress, elected by Democratic votes upon a distinct party issue and pledge, refusing their support to what was at least an honest attempt to redeem that pledge, repudiating their political obligations and openly seeking to defeat a party measure at the insolent dictation of a local boss, whose views upon the tariff, if he ever had any, were about as clear and important as those of a Bowery "tough" on the Nebular Hypothesis.

So far as any comparison between the two great national parties is concerned, it must be conceded, and Democratic politicians had better face the fact, that their opponents have shown, on the whole, a capacity for more effective organization and better discipline, when in control of a Congressional majority. They have been able more often to enforce cohesive action, when union was necessary to ensure at least a measure of deference to the popular will and the party's promises. It is little to say, and the superiority is slight and comparative only; but it counts for something when contrasted with the conspicuous fact of recent Democratic majorities — their lack of a leader, sufficiently backed by public opinion within his party, who could hold together his heterogeneous following long enough to enforce agreement and pass constructive measures of national policy. In opposition the Democratic party has from time to time been capable of united action for purposes of destructive criticism and attack. But when called upon to formulate a constructive programme, to frame a measure of



finance or a tariff bill, the moment an effort was made to subject its majority to the only real test of effectiveness—affirmative action—at that moment the majority split into fragments and pulled in as many ways as there were parts—*tot homines quot sententiæ*.

In the national election of 1888 the Democrats were defeated upon an issue about which there could be no mistake. A definite, clear-cut question was put before the people with characteristic frankness and honesty by Mr. Cleveland in his famous tariff message of December, 1887, and he went out of office with the clear understanding that the policy of revenue reform—the broad lines of which he had formulated and which his party had adopted—was not acceptable to the majority in those States whose electoral votes decided the contest; and the Republicans went into power definitely pledged to an opposite policy. To their credit, be it said, the tariff legislation of 1890 was a fairly honest attempt to give definite shape to the policy of high protection, and to carry out the pledges of the preceding National and Congressional elections.

It is manifestly easier to hold together the forces of a minority than those of a majority. The attitude of opposition is for the most part an attitude of negation and attack; it has its foundation and strength in sentiments which every member of the minority may be counted on, with reasonable certainty, to share. The leaders of a majority, on the other hand, from whom positive and affirmative action is demanded, are forced to rely upon and employ motives of a radically different nature, the control of which is far more difficult because of the fact—sociological rather than merely political—that men when called upon for affirmative action are notoriously of more heterogeneous opinion than when asked to join in a policy of fault-finding and attack. All men will unite to condemn abuses; few are willing to subordinate their personal opinions when asked to produce a remedy. In opposition concerted action is, generally speaking, a matter of course. When given the power and called upon to use it the weakness of a multitude of counsellors becomes apparent. The same causes which have their roots deep down in human nature, and which gave coherence and homogeneity to the efforts of the Republicans in the Congresses of 1888 and 1894, made it possible for the Democrats to act with effective unanimity in 1890 and 1892. It was that cohesiveness in opposition which gave to each party in turn a temporary success, and to each, in turn, from lack of unity came defeat.

That parties are not divided to-day upon lines which indicate real

political differences is due, not to an excess, but rather to a deficiency of party discipline. What both the great political organizations in this country need to-day is that sort of party discipline which encourages the development of a real political leader and endows him with control sufficient to secure from his followers the support which is his due. Democracy, in its insistence upon the right of the individual to unhampered freedom of individual action, often loses sight of the right of society to the best results of concerted action—results attainable only by recognizing the fact that, notwithstanding the equal rights of men before the law, there are and forever will be inequalities of talent, ability, training, and opportunity. These are the conditions from which leaders and leadership are necessarily evolved. And when the best results can be secured only by concerted action under a recognized head, the cultivation of a spirit of deference to authority, and the suppression of that assertive Americanism which insists upon equal weight for all opinions, become a prime necessity and the first duty of statesmanship. There is no more delusive and mischievous notion than the idea that, in a Democracy, all men should at all times stand on a level, and that leaders are out of place. What we need on both sides of the political field is a leader of judgment, force, sagacity, and will, backed by a public opinion within the party strong enough to hold up his hands and enforce his authority.

This want of legitimate party discipline, defeating so often the will of the voters and preventing the accomplishment of what they demand, emphasizes the fact that men who are actively engaged in political life—in the control and management of parties and organizations—ought to be held to a much closer rule of party loyalty. If this be not insisted upon, what a recent English reviewer has called the “fissiparous” tendency of parties to disintegrate into factions is sure to result, with the inevitable evolution of the wire-puller and the boss.

“The sole way of enabling a popular assembly to exercise representative power with safety is to divide it into great, coherent, disciplined party organizations. When such organizations exist they will necessarily be guided by the ablest men, who become responsible for their guidance, who can count upon the habitual support of a large body of followers, and who therefore represent a permanent, calculable force in the political field.”<sup>1</sup>

Whenever this factional disintegration, the inevitable consequence of a lack of leadership and party responsibility, sets in, and the divergences

<sup>1</sup> Lecky's “England in the 18th Century,” Vol. III, p. 117.



of politicians fail to represent genuine differences in principle, the result, as Mr. Lecky has pointed out, is that—

“—such a state of affairs always brings with it grave political dangers and is peculiarly unfavorable to real earnestness in public life. Faction represents party, personal pretensions acquire an inordinate weight, and there is much reason to fear lest the tone of political honor should be lowered and lest the public spirit of the nation should decline.”

This lack of real leadership, this want of party discipline of sufficient strength to enforce the keeping of party pledges, even at the risk of personal loss, begets another and a deeper evil—the irresponsible boss. He is the leader who becomes, *outside* the legislature, more powerful than any of the so-called leaders within it. He is the political dictator whose work is done under cover, whose methods and opinions are beyond the reach of criticism, and who controls the course of legislation, often in the very teeth of public opinion, except on those rare occasions when public clamor rises to the height of a popular revolt. Sir Henry Maine writes :—

“In wide democracies, political power is divided into morsels, and each man’s portion of it is almost infinitesimally small. . . . In popular governments resting on a wide suffrage . . . the leader, whether or not he be cunning or eloquent, or well provided with commonplaces, will be the wire-puller. The process of cutting up political power into petty fragments has in him its most remarkable product. . . . The political *chiffonier* who collects and utilizes the fragments is the wire-puller.”<sup>1</sup>

Sir James Fitzjames Stephen has remarked the same politico-sociological fact :—

“The man who can sweep up the greatest number of fragments of political power into one heap will govern the rest. . . . In a pure democracy the ruling men will be the wire-pullers and their friends.”<sup>2</sup>

International comparisons based upon superficial points of resemblance in matters social, political, or literary are quite likely to mislead when meant to illustrate, and are very apt to show that *saugrenu* quality, or spirit of “impudent absurdity,” which Matthew Arnold called the bane of international criticism. So when we talk of party government and party discipline, and attempt to illustrate by analogies drawn from the field of English politics, it is well to bear in mind Mr. Bage-

<sup>1</sup> “Popular Government,” pp. 30, 31.

<sup>2</sup> “Liberty, Fraternity, Equality,” p. 239.

hot's concise summary of the essential distinctions between English and American political systems. He writes:—

“Constituency government is the precise opposite of parliamentary government ; it is the government of immoderate persons, far from the scene of action, instead of the government of moderate persons close to the scene of action ; it is the judgment of persons judging in the last resort and without a penalty, in lieu of persons judging in fear of a dissolution and ever conscious that they are subject to an appeal.”<sup>1</sup>

The decision of an American legislative caucus which has no real sanction to enforce it, and the action of an English Cabinet meeting which carries an obligation more binding than any known to American political life, are two radically different things ; and though there are signs not far from the surface which indicate that Englishmen are beginning to chafe against the enormous power and absolute secrecy of their political machine, we, on the other hand, are forced to admit that our own loose system of heterogeneous and irresponsible legislative committees—owing no common allegiance and under no authoritative head—is unfit to meet the needs of the times. Both Macaulay and Lecky have described the English Cabinet “as one of the most momentous and least noticed consequences of the Revolution.”<sup>2</sup> Yet a man of such a nice sense of personal honor as Sir Robert Peel declared himself entirely satisfied with a system which requires a member of the Government to support measures which he disapproves, and even to use upon the floor of the House the very arguments which he has vainly combated in council. “I should be sorry to think,” he once said, “that the practice carries any stain with it.” Even so enthusiastic an admirer of the British Constitution as Mr. Bagehot was forced to say of this declaration : “It may not carry a stain, but it is a painful idea.”<sup>3</sup> It is a system which has, indeed, obvious demerits and more than one English student of public affairs has pointed them out. Sir Henry Maine, commenting on the extraordinary way in which the Cabinet has gradually drawn to itself all the powers of the Crown, assuming the enormous right of initiating legislation and controlling the whole course of government, calls it “the great modern paradox of the British Constitution.”<sup>4</sup>

No more striking instance of the difference between English parlia-

<sup>1</sup> “Bagehot's Works,” Vol. IV, p. 169.

<sup>2</sup> Lecky's “England in the 18th Century,” Vol. I, p. 243.

<sup>3</sup> “Bagehot's Works,” Vol. III, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> “Popular Government,” p. 236.



mentary party discipline and the lack of it in American legislative bodies could be cited than the extraordinary way in which party leaders on both sides, in the last session of Congress, were overridden and party lines broken on the question of appropriations. The chairman and the majority members of this important committee joined with the Republican leaders in protesting against the sugar bounty, insisting that the national treasury was in no condition to stand the proposed grant. Yet, in spite of all they could say and do, the rank and file on both sides broke from their leaders and carried the extravagant gratuity by a heavy vote. For partisan, if not for patriotic reasons, some means of enforcing party discipline must be devised by which such unscrupulous and irresponsible guerillas may be fought off.

While it is true that effective party action in any legislative assembly is conditioned by obedience to a definite line of party action, we have at present only one way—and a very clumsy way at that—of securing a definite expression of the party policy and will. This is the decision of the caucus, where a mere numerical majority controls, and where a handful of newly elected legislators—unfamiliar, perhaps, with the questions to be decided; unfamiliar, certainly, with the conditions and procedure under which they are to be treated—may reverse by their action the policy of a national party. It is this which has brought the caucus into disrepute, even though it be still the only recognized method of securing that concerted action, without which party organization cannot be effective. Men of long experience in public life, with ripe knowledge and strong convictions, hesitate to enter a conference under an implied pledge to be bound by the vote of a bare majority, when that majority may be made up of men with little experience, less knowledge, and no convictions at all. There is bound to be a galling sense of responsibility for irresponsible action, an uneasy consciousness, as Washington Gladden puts it, “that if they come into caucuses, they must leave their consciences where the Mussulman leaves his shoes—outside the door.”

While it is impossible and undesirable to lay down any hard and fast rule, it is reasonable to hope and expect that conscientious public men will come to feel in time that while the legislative caucus may be a necessary wheel in the machinery of party organization, enforcing unity so as to give effect to certain agreed principles and secure the fulfilment of political promises, it is an institution at the base of which must lie the implied understanding that only up to a certain point is the man who takes part in it bound to subordinate his personal judg-

ment to that of the majority ; and that point is reached when the proposed action of the majority is opposed in conscience to the deliberate judgment of the individual. But at that point the burden of proof lies on the individual. Let him be very sure that it is a conscientious scruple, and not the pride of opinion or the pressure of personal interests or ambition, that leads him to revolt. By all means let him break with his party, if to be honest he must ; but let him take the consequences manfully, and not complain if the penalties of party discipline are certain and severe. And the more certain and severe those penalties are the better it will be, both as an earnest of good faith, if he fronts them bravely, and as a warning to all men in public life that party ties and political pledges are not to be lightly assumed or lightly broken. The caucus may take wrong views ; but a wrong policy is not so dangerous as that sort of conduct on the part of public men which fosters mutual distrust and cultivates among voters the habitual suspicion—which soon hardens into a cynical belief—that each representative is working for himself alone, with little regard for the party as a whole, and no respect for pledges whose acceptance was the condition of his nomination and election.

When a man has been identified for years with a political organization, his sudden conversion, even to the better cause, carries with it, at best, an offensive taint, and it is right that he should be held to the strictest accountability ; and if he suffers severely for the faith that is in him, so much the better for his own honor and the cause for which he stands. Public confidence, and faith in the honor of public men, demand that the reasons and above all the disinterestedness of such conversions should be clear as the noonday sun. A glance at the relative positions of Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Hartington, now the Duke of Devonshire, in the eyes of the English public without regard to party, is enough to emphasize this distinction. Both broke from Mr. Gladstone on the Home Rule issue. The one had nothing to gain by going over to the Conservatives, while the other seems to have won, since his conversion, at least a social advantage which he had not before ; and somehow the gain is, rightly or wrongly, marked to his discredit. It may not be a very black or a very deep mark ; but it is a mark, all the same, and it is likely to stay. When Bishop Colenso startled Anglican orthodoxy by his renunciation of the Pentateuch, the blow which told most against him, even with that portion of the British public which admired his boldness and candor, was the hint that his sense of personal honor would have been more strongly empha-



sized had he resigned the bishopric. On the other hand, all the world applauded the action of those followers of Peel and Cobden who, when elected as protectionists, were subsequently persuaded to vote for a repeal of the Corn Laws; and who, when their constituents murmured at the change of front, showed a keen sense of what was due to party loyalty and personal honor by instantly resigning their seats, so as to give to the electors the opportunity to reject or ratify their course.

It is futile to expect of the ordinary legislator either respect for the nominal party leader on the floor, or fidelity to platform promises formulated on declared party lines, when there is no sanction to enforce obedience; and such expectations are equally futile when the caucus itself is controlled, not by deference either to intelligent public opinion, party responsibility, or leaders of acknowledged experience and ability, but by the secret influence of an outsider whose control of the machinery of elections is in great part dependent upon concealment of the very agencies by which he works. When we elect representatives pledged to a certain line of political action, and then fail to secure the remedial legislation which has been called for in plain terms by a large majority of the voters, we are inclined either to throw up our hands in discouragement, or to tire our lungs in the indiscriminate denunciation of leaders and parties. We fail to distinguish, and we lose sight of the fact, that for want of a responsible and controlling leader, and of a party organization in touch with and directly responsible to the voters, the business of politics is sure to fall into the hands of the irresponsible boss; and a little discernment would show that his very irresponsibility is bound sooner or later to influence him to the selection of men who grow more and more subservient, and to the adoption of methods which become more and more corrupt. The great mass of respectable and upright men vote their straight party ticket nine times out of ten; and think that they are doing their full duty as independent citizens, and emphasizing their devotion to conscience and principle, by bolting an unfit nomination once in ten years. The trouble is that they do not exercise enough freedom from party ties themselves, and do not insist upon greater loyalty to party from those who are in active public life as politicians and party men. Upon these latter the strictest political obligation ought to be laid. They make up that very small minority on each side who manage the machinery of politics, select the candidates, nine times out of ten, or are themselves named for public office. If the claims of party rested lightly upon the great mass of citizens and voters, so that the independent shifting vote became a larger and more

uncertain factor year by year,—while men in public life were held to a much closer rule of party loyalty,—not only would political managers be forced to put the best men in nomination, and to declare their purposes and pledges in plain terms, but the representative when elected would feel behind him the encouragement and backing, as well as the warning and reminder, of a powerful and effective public opinion. Then loyalty to party and to leadership would be rightly insisted upon as a condition of continuance in public life.

The relations of party and the conditions of American political life to-day call for a higher standard of public opinion, a more intelligent and discriminating criticism of political action—a criticism which will denounce disloyalty to party and to party pledges, demand deference to authority, hold up the hands of men who have shown their ability to lead, and insist that they shall be loyally followed.

GEORGE WALTON GREEN.



## THE TRAIL OF "TRILBY."

HEINE recommended people to behave in front of a picture as they would behave in the presence of royalty or of exalted personages; that is, to stand perfectly still and silent until the picture spoke to them. For more years than I care to remember I have adopted his advice, not only with regard to pictures, but also with regard to statues, public monuments, stage-plays, musical compositions of all kinds, and especially with regard to books. There was no reason why I should act differently with regard to Mr. du Maurier's "Trilby," and assuredly I have had my reward, for from its very first pages the book spoke to me with no uncertain voice; almost every line started an echo in my mind and sometimes in my breast. There are echoes and echoes. There are echoes that sound like the raucous cries of pain of the patient writhing under the scalpel of the operator; there are others like lullabies transporting one to dreamland,—and when one has no fear of "what dreams may come," it is sweet to dream. "Oh, my youth, it's you that's being buried," exclaims Murger's *Rodolphe*, with heartrending egoism, as he stands by the open grave of *Mimi*. "Oh, my youth, it's you that's being resuscitated," I hummed to myself while reading "Trilby": and if for nothing else I owe its author sincere and humble thanks.

For, with every leaf I turned, the reminiscences of that happily spent youth became more vivid, the real names of the streets stared at me through their cleverly conceived disguises, and for some hours I too had my Indian summer—of recollections. I beheld myself as a stripling, with no care for to-morrow, wandering about Paris (the Paris of the late 'fifties and early 'sixties) arm-in-arm with a grand-uncle of mine, and drawing deep breaths of joy,—the simplest, most inexpensive, and best of all joys, *la joie de vivre*,—imbibing at the same time, and unconsciously as it were, large potations of history, inasmuch as, though no dunce, I could be taught in no other way. And for the purpose of teaching a lad of my age fragments of history on the very scenes where the events were enacted, to what better spot could the teacher have taken him than to the Place and Rue St. André des Arts, the Rue Gît-le-Cœur (the "Place St. Anatole des Arts" and the "Rue

du Puits d'Amour" of the story), and their adjacent *congeries* of blind alleys, winding passages, and narrow streets. Nearly every stone of that *locale* furnishes the eloquent record of a phase in the life of the city which *Little Billee* and *the Laird* and *Taffy* and *Trilby* loved so well and not altogether unwisely.

Within a stone's throw of the Rue St. André des Arts stood the Tower of Nesle, so dear to the lovers of the romantic drama, although there is not a particle of evidence to show that the crimes laid to the charge of Marguerite de Bourgogne by Alexandre Dumas in his wonderful play were committed there. Marguerite's orgies, as well as those of her two sisters-in-law, Blanche de la Marche and Jeanne de Poitiers, took place far away from the capital; but legend has grafted many tales of unhallowed passion and gruesome *dénouement* on the mansion built by Amaury de Nesle, some of which are unquestionably true. It was to the Hôtel de Nesle<sup>1</sup> that in 1574 Henriette de Clèves, the wife of Louis de Gonzague, Duc de Nevers, brought the head of her lover, Annibal de Coconnas, after it had been exposed on the Place de Grève. She had it embalmed, and kept it for many years in a closet behind her bed. The same room was inhabited nearly half a century afterward by her grand-daughter, Marie Louise de Gonzague de Clèves, whose lover, Cinq-Mars, met with a similar fate to that of Coconnas at the hands of Cardinal Richelieu.

More interesting than all this to those with a strain of British blood in their veins is the connection of the Rue St. André des Arts with the prologue to the English occupation of the French capital under Henry V,—Shakespeare's *King Hal*. The Buci Gate was within a furlong of that street, and fancy, peering into the dim, distant past, might behold the eight hundred archers of the Seigneur de l'Isle Adam marching one summer night, stealthily and in Indian file, across the open space on which *Mr. William Bagot*, the famous English painter that was to be, gazed so often from his studio window four centuries

<sup>1</sup> The word *hôtel*, in old as well as modern French, is nearly always used to designate the sumptuous town-residence of a princely or merely wealthy personage, or a public building belonging to the State, as well as a mere "hostelry" in the limited meaning of the English term; hence the "Hôtel de Ville" (the Town Hall), the "Hôtel Dieu" (a hospital), the "Hôtel de la Monnaie" (the Mint), etc. It was ignorance of this fact that led the vulgar English parvenu into his lamentable and ridiculous blunder. "Did you see the Hôtel de Ville?" asked a friend on the parvenu's return from Paris. "Did we see it?" was the answer; "we stopped there, and a pretty bill they made out." He was under the impression that the Hôtel de Ville was simply another Hôtel Continental or Hôtel Bristol, and saw the opportunity for a bit of display.



and four decades afterward. The archers had entered by the Buci Gate, the keys of which were handed to their leader by Perrinet-Leclerc, son of the alderman of that quarter, and who had abstracted them from under his father's pillow while the worthy magistrate was asleep. The archers wended their way across the bridge of St. Michel hard by, to the Place du Châtelet, where they were joined by a thousand or more banditti in the pay of the Duc de Bourgogne. United they repaired to the Hôtel St. Paul, the royal residence of the demented Charles VI, who was persuaded to place himself at their head, and the tragedy, the evolution of which made a poor, lowly peasant girl of southern Lorraine immortal throughout the ages, had virtually begun.

Twenty-one years later (November 12, 1439), the Rue St. André des Arts and its immediate neighborhood witnessed another scene of that tragedy, which, contrary to the accepted rules, ended happily. That time it was part of the epilogue that was being enacted there. On that day Charles VII made his triumphal entry into his good city of Paris. A general holiday had been commanded, and the inhabitants of the riverside quarter, to mark their horror of Perrinet-Leclerc's treachery, hurled the statue erected to him by the butchers of the Duc de Bourgogne (Jean Sans Peur, who himself was assassinated by some of the followers of the future king on the bridge at Montereau in 1419) from its pedestal in the Place St. Michel (not the present Place St. Michel, but an open space somewhat higher up). They decapitated the effigy, and dragged its headless trunk up and down the Rue St. André des Arts, along the same road the archers of De l'Isle Adam had gone; then they dragged it back again as far as the angle of the Rue de la Vieille Bouclerie (the "Rue Vieille des Trois Mauvais Ladres" of Mr. du Maurier) where they hewed it into a kerbstone,—a necessary thing in times when there was no distinction between the footway and the road. In the early 'sixties, when I went to the Rue St. André des Arts for the first time, my grand-uncle showed me the supposed stone; but, much as I liked and revered him and admired his historical knowledge, I should nowadays want a better guarantee for the authenticity of that bit of granite than the recollection of his bare word. Of the authenticity of the facts I have just stated in connection with the statue of Perrinet-Leclerc there is, however, not the smallest doubt.

My grand-uncles were surgeons, and in those days few surgeons, whether French or foreign, strolled into the Latin Quarter by way of the Pont St. Michel, especially if accompanied by some one less famil-

iar with the history of their science than they, without paying a flying visit to the Rue St. Severin<sup>1</sup> and its remaining cemetery, the latter of which was reputed to have been the scene of the first serious operation of lithotomy in France. This happened as early as 1451. The patient was a bowman of Louis XI, who had been sentenced to be hanged. He was known to be suffering from stone, and a monk (Jacques de Beaulieu?) claimed him, in the interest of science and humanity, as a subject upon whom to perform his experiment. As a matter of course, the condemned man was in no way consulted, nor was there a promise of a remission of his sentence in case the experiment should prove successful. As it happened, the experiment did succeed; in about three weeks the soldier felt himself a new man, and Louis XI made him a present of his life.

There are other scenes connected with the Rue St. André des Arts and its neighborhood, which, though less gruesome, are not less important from a historical point of view. Perhaps the most important of all was that enacted at the lower end of the street one April evening of the year 1784. The open space once occupied by the Buci Gate was literally blocked up by the tail of a long string of carriages, the foremost of which reached as far as the Comédie Française (the Odéon of the present day). Every one of those gorgeous conveyances bore on its panel the scutcheon of some historic family, for it was the *première* of "Le Mariage de Figaro," and since eight that morning the doors of the theatre had been besieged by plebeians and patricians alike, —some of the latter, men and women, having brought their dinners with them, which they were content to eat in the actors' dressing-rooms.

Enough of historical anecdote. I did not intend my pen to run away with me like this. There is, however, one excuse for my excursion. Many a Nimrod, while following a trail, has had his progress barred by the dead body of a magnificent lion or tiger before coming up with his living quarry, and in his enthusiastic admiration of the splendid proportions of the former, in his desire to get possession of its skin and its head, in his artistic impulse to take a sketch of it as it lay there, though dead, allowed the other to escape. That I am not going to do. The whole of Mr. du Maurier's *dramatis personæ* have taken such a firm hold of the little imagination I possess that it has become a question of my escape, not of theirs. I should have liked to be a

<sup>1</sup>The beginning of the Rue St. Severin was then being pulled down to make room for the Place and Boulevard St. Michel.



kind of Niebuhr to them, from *Dodor*, *Zouzou*, and *Gecko* up to *Little Billee* and *Trilby O'Ferrall*, for in some shape or other I have known the counterparts of nearly all, living and breathing in the atmosphere in which they breathed, and in their habit as they lived. As it is, *Trilby* must come first; for I have known, perhaps, a half-dozen Trilbys, all differing in accidentals from each other and from our heroine, but alike in essentials. It proves to me that Mr. du Maurier went to work in the right way in delineating a human type instead of creating a more or less phenomenal human being. Astonishing though it may seem to those who are not familiar with the inner life of the French artists' models,—I have no knowledge of the English, and am not aware that they exist as a class,—the susceptibility of a great many of them to hypnotic influence, especially among the female members, is an ascertained fact. What *Svengali* did in such terrible earnestness and with such terrible results to poor *Trilby* is done out of sheer fun almost every day by the pupils at the "Beaux Arts," at private drawing-schools, and the *académies libres*.

The explanation of that state of susceptibility is not far to seek. At all those classes the model poses for four hours, with ten minutes' interval between each forty minutes, provided the attitude required be a fairly normal one,—and the term "fairly normal" as understood by the schools is very elastic. The most casual observer cannot but conclude that the model during that time must suffer cruelly from his or her enforced immobility. I say "enforced immobility," but the expression is not altogether correct. If we watch the model a little more closely than usual, we soon become aware of a certain oscillation of her whole body, a swaying from right to left or from left to right, an almost imperceptible but nevertheless real backward or forward movement. There is nothing graceful or light about the shake, it is heavy and mechanical and reminds one of a statue or a tall house tottering on its base previous to its fall. In fact, the watcher himself unconsciously imitates it, in his fear lest the model should come down at full length and head-foremost off the platform. That fear, however, is groundless. The model is as safe as a sleep-walker on the ledge of a roof. A few moments after she has got into the right posture, she begins to stare vacantly into space, her limbs become rigid, and she scarcely hears what is being said to her. Though her eyes are wide open, she is practically asleep, and that by her own will. At the outset of her career, when the fatigue of standing still for nearly three-quarters of an hour at a time was very irksome and perhaps painful, she endeav-

ored "not to think," and in a little while she<sup>1</sup> has succeeded so well as to get some kind of rest in a vertical position.

Very often to the model's cost, the *rapin*—*anglicé*, sucking painter—is a mischievous young animal, though, as a rule, good-natured to a fault. But he dearly loves a practical joke, and when the joking fit is on him he does not stop to consider the consequences so far as his selected victim is concerned. As a matter of fact, this tendency on the model's part "to throw herself into a trance" is no new thing. Among the notes whence sprang the first chapter of "An Englishman in Paris," I have at least two dealing with the subject. Equally, of course, the *rapin* of three, four, and five decades ago was just as mischievous as he is now, and perhaps more so, though he is troublesome enough at present. What more natural, from his own point of view, than that he should try to improve upon the model's method for getting the desired rest. There is the opportunity for a huge piece of *fumisterie*, with the additional advantages of obliging the poor model, his fellow-*rapins*, and himself. So, if he have the power of magnetically sending the former to sleep, that is, of throwing her into a state of catalepsy, he unhesitatingly avails himself of that power, looking round for the thanks of the rest. "*Hein, c'est bien fait,*" he exclaims; "*elle ne bougera pas, et nous n'aurons pas besoin de la rappeler à l'ordre.*"

Unfortunately many of those youngsters have that power, and a few of them exercised it to such a purpose that there was an outcry, and the authorities had to interfere. The chief culprit was a young fellow who for some considerable time had attended the lectures of the late Dr. Charcot, and, rather than waste the knowledge he had acquired, he applied it indiscriminately to no matter whom—models and fellow-workers alike. One of the latter provided the comic element of the entertainments by doing the most outrageous and grotesque things, until, one day, having a perilous acrobatic feat suggested to him by the operator, he split his skull on the edge of the model-platform<sup>2</sup> and had to be taken to the hospital.

The affair was hushed up, and it ought to have been a warning, but it was not; our amateur Charcot continued to experimentalize, and finally selected for his "subject" a girl of great plastic beauty; per-

<sup>1</sup> I adopt the feminine pronoun because women are more apt to yield to that temptation than men.

<sup>2</sup> I have no doubt that Mr. du Maurier's English equivalent "model-throne" for "*table de pose*" is more correct than mine, but somehow I do not like it and will use "model-platform" instead.



haps one of the most perfect specimens of the human form the world has ever seen, the well-known Élise Duval, the favorite model of MM. Gérôme and Benjamin Constant. Of a highly-strung, nervous temperament and very playful disposition, Élise Duval showed even a greater tendency to become "sport" for the hypnotizer, whether amateur or professional, than the majority of her sister-models, and one day, at the beginning of a *séance*, she was thrown into a trance which lasted for four hours, at the end of which time she was awakened more dead than alive. She was suffering from a violent headache, her legs refused to carry her, every one of her limbs felt sore, and she had to be carried home and put to bed. But the hypnotizers still refused to relinquish their favorite amusement, and they got Élise Duval once more under the spell, of course with equally distressing results. Then there was an outcry and a scandal, and the *atelier* of M. Gérôme, which, like the studios of many of his eminent colleagues, had been transferred from the Quartier Latin to the neighborhood of Montmartre, was closed for a month, although the real reason for its closure was scarcely divulged.

This happened, if my memory serves me rightly, a little over fifteen years ago, when, I take it, neither *Peter Ibbetson* nor *Trilby* were thought of by Mr. du Maurier,—at any rate not as the hero and heroine of two stories to be written by himself. Unless I am misinformed, the ambition to add the laurels of literature to those of art came late in life to Mr. du Maurier. I do not mean to infer that the *dramatis personæ* of both those novels were not at the time constant and welcome figures haunting his imagination. It is more than probable that they were assiduous though unseen guests by the fireside of an evening after the day's work was done; that they constituted part of the romance of his early manhood, the remembrance of which was sweet. I merely wish to convey my impression that at that period there was no intention to present them to the public.

And yet *Trilby O'Ferrall*, the model of the late 'fifties, and Élise Duval, the model of the late 'seventies and early 'eighties, who for all I know may be exercising her profession still, show a strange, and to me puzzling, physiognomical likeness. I did not read Mr. du Maurier's story in serial form; I have not opened a number of "Harper's Magazine" for two or three years; and though the book was in the house almost as soon as published in England, I did not set eyes on it then. It was only on the 30th of last August that I borrowed the illustrated edition from a library in consequence of the flattering request of the Editor of THE FORUM—to whom I had submitted several subjects—for

an article on "Trilby." The moment I glanced at the portrait of the Irish-Scotch girl in the gray *capote* of the *piou-piou*, with her feet in the roomy slippers, and with her hair combed over her forehead,—a portrait, we must remember, drawn by the author himself,—the moment I glanced at that portrait, I said to myself, "This is a portrait of Élise Duval"; for I had not the faintest idea of the period in which the story was laid. I had not got very far into the book, though, before I found that *Trilby*, if she be not a creature of the author's imagination,—which I am loth to believe,—must have flourished at least a score of years before the well-known model of MM. Gérôme and Constant: hence the likeness remains to all intents and purposes unexplained. That the likeness does exist, and is not a mere fancy on my part, it would not be difficult to prove. I believe, but am not certain, that Élise Duval sat for M. Constant's "Hérodiade" (Herodias) painted about 1880, but there are at least a dozen sketches of her by young men some of whom have since then made a name for themselves. These sketches date from the time when Élise was a frequent visitor at "la Grande Pinte" in the Avenue Trudaine; at Moussau's, next door to it, before Moussau himself removed to the Boulevard du Temple to establish "l'Auberge des Adrets" there; at the old and the new "Chats Noirs," "la Truie qui file," "le Rat Mort," and "l'Abbaye de Thélème,"—all of which establishments are within a stone's throw of the Rue des Martyrs and the Place Pigalle. Many of the great painters had pitched their tents in the neighborhood; their "models in ordinary" followed suit, and the students, when the day's work was done, or even before, came after them. "*Le Quartier Latin a passé les ponts*," said a witty journalist. Nevertheless, the Latin Quarter was not altogether deserted, and on Monday and Thursday nights (the great Bullier nights) the Montmartrais wended their way southward. Élise Duval was of all the parties, for she was festive by nature and *vadrouille jusqu'à la moelle*, just like *Trilby* before the redemption came in her love for *Little Billee*. It would be comparatively easy, then, to find a presentment of Élise Duval.

But such a portrait would only have the effect of substantiating my words; it would not solve the puzzle of the likeness between the two girls. How are we to account for that? The theory that *Trilby* had no existence save in Mr. du Maurier's imagination being dismissed at once, there only remain two others. The first, that long before Mr. du Maurier conceived the idea of writing the life-story of *Trilby O'Ferrall*, he may, during a visit to Paris, have seen Élise Duval in the flesh, or



her counterpart on paper, and heard of her festive exploits and notably of her hypnotic tribulations. "La grande Lisette," as she was familiarly called, was *une femme à béguins*, which, in the popular acceptance of the word, means two things: she was apt to take sudden and frequent love-fancies; she was never prompted in those fancies by sordid motives. In spite of Mr. du Maurier's laudable attempt to tone down his heroine's "peculiarities" in order to obtain the suffrages of the pure-minded "British Matron" and the "Young Person," it is very evident that the girl whom he had known under the Second Empire, and whom the world now knows as *Trilby O'Ferrall*, was similarly constituted. A score of years or more had passed since Mr. du Maurier had witnessed her joys and sorrows, for I still maintain that she was a living creature once. Is it very surprising, then, that he should have endowed *Trilby* with Élise Duval's physiognomical traits irrespective of the truth of such a resemblance? Nay, the likeness may have been there and have started the idea of writing the story.

The alternative theory, in fact, is based upon the probability of that likeness, of which Mr. du Maurier may have been absolutely ignorant. My surmise of his having seen Élise Duval is a surmise and nothing more, engendered by the causes I have already stated. That we all have our doubles is proved by the hundreds of instances of mistaken identity recorded in criminal and other annals. That the face is the index to the mind and heart has likewise been proved long ago; and the similarity of features and facial outline—perhaps not a startling one originally between the two young girls—may have become more accentuated as time went on, by reason of identity of pursuits, identity of temperament, identity of surroundings and of association, and above all by reason of a like receptivity to hypnotic influences, which alone would show that the physiological and pathological conditions of both girls were pretty much the same.

In the days when *Trilby* flourished, there were certainly a great number of young Englishmen in the Latin Quarter, but I ransack my memory in vain for the living models of Mr. du Maurier's "three musketeers of the brush." No one I knew had the individuality of either *Little Billee*, *Taffy*, or *the Laird*. These three, however, may have disappeared by the time I had the free run of the students' quarter, for I had given my promise not to go thither, unless accompanied by some one much older than myself, until I was twenty, and I kept my word. I may frankly confess that, the moment I got the chance, I made up for my enforced absence. I have had my trials like most

men, but on the whole my life has not been an unhappy one, yet I look back upon that period of it as the happiest. It is not a question of "youth and apple tarts." I spent an evening in my old haunts during the Easter holidays of this year, in company with a friend of my youth, a Frenchman, and when, at 1.30 A.M. on that or rather the next morning, we recrossed the Pont du Carrousel on our way home, and compared notes, we found that there was more youth left in us—middle-aged men though we are—than in three-fourths of the youngsters of the present Pays Latin. This may be purely a gratifying illusion on our part, but the illusion itself is better than the absence of all illusion, which to my mind marks the present generation of students. We also had our scuffles with the *sergents-de-ville* of those days, and their coadjutors, the National Guard, but they never hurt us and we never hurt them. Within the last half-dozen years I have read of as many free fights between the police and the *jeunesse du quartier*, in which serious bodily damage was done on both sides. And it should be remembered that the *sergot* of the Second Empire was by no means an amiable creature, but he was more discriminating than the *gardien de la paix* of the Third Republic, where the non-criminal classes and the merely nocturnal reveller were concerned. And the jolly, festive youth disarmed his anger by the proposal that he, the *sergent*, should join in the festivities. We proceeded like *Taffy* and the *Laird* on that memorable Christmas evening when *Dodor* and *Zou-zou* played at cock-fighting, and the *sergents-de-ville* came to warn them that there was too much noise. Let me interpolate one story out of many to that effect.

Three decades ago the Boulevard Montparnasse was different from what it is now. It was just as wide, but the many substantial dwellings that line its sides to-day had no existence. Still, there were two or three snug *cafés* where the prosperous tradesmen of the neighborhood foregathered for their nightly game of piquet or écarté, and whither we went now and then for the same purpose when the pace had been too strong during the week. One could play uninterruptedly there; in our usual haunts there was too much noise and bustle. At Vallot's or Prével's—I am not quite certain of the spelling—the stakes were confined to the *glorias*, *demi-tasses*, or *mazagrans* of the players; in our usual haunts there were too many young goddesses whose *consummations* had to be finally settled for by the loser,—a serious consideration at the end of the month, or at the end of a week which from the budgetary point of view had been equivalent to three. One night the game



had been unusually prolonged, and Vallot, who had an inveterate habit of going to bed at two, intimated that "time was up," and nothing would induce him to let us stay to finish the three games, only one of which had been played. The sole concession we could win from him was the loan of the green board and the pack of cards. We were four,—two players and two lookers-on,—and as it was in the middle of June we adjourned to a seat on the Boulevard, under a gas-lamp which we did not want, it being daylight. The game had just been resumed when we heard the tramp of the patrol, and in another moment four men and a corporal of the National Guard<sup>1</sup> appeared in view. "Gentlemen, what are you doing there?" asked the corporal, stepping forward. "We are having a game of *écarté*, corporal," answered one of the players. "But I cannot allow you to play cards in the public thoroughfare," protested the corporal. "That's just what I told Vallot when he turned us out in the middle of a game, but that man has n't the faintest respect for the law." The corporal looked somewhat curiously at his interlocutor. It began to dawn on him that the latter was chaffing, but, before the suspicion could grow into a certainty, one of his own men came to our rescue. "Vallot is to blame, corporal," he said; "let them finish their game." It must be remembered that the discipline *supposed* to prevail in the army during the Second Empire was not even attempted to be enforced in the National Guard. "Let them finish their game, corporal," he repeated; "they will not be long." With this, he took his stand behind one of the players; the corporal placed himself behind the other. The other three drew close also. Nevertheless, after a few moments the corporal looked like protesting again, when, just as he was about to open his lips, one of the players said, "I propose." "Would you take cards, corporal?" asked his opponent, holding up his cards. "Certainly," replied the corporal, forgetting all about his duty and dignity. The advice proved fatal; the corporal's client lost the game; the corporal's mettle was up, he began to bet, the wager being eagerly accepted by his men. For an hour or more the contest waged furiously, and then, rather than be interrupted by the wagoners and market-gardeners on their way to the Halles, we all adjourned to the guard-house, which we only left at ten A.M., full of meat and drink which had been procured from an adjacent restaurant, the owner of

<sup>1</sup> In "An Englishman in Paris" (Vol. I, ch. x), there is a sketch of the National Guard in Louis Philippe's time. It would hold good for the civil warriors under the Second Empire.

which was aroused from his slumber to provide them. I am bound to say we were entertained right royally, and when we departed another appointment was made to give *la Garde Nationale* their *revanche*, inasmuch as, apart from the betting of a few, they had been very unlucky.

"Then they played at 'cock-fighting,'" says Mr. du Maurier, recounting the exploits of the joyous company at the studio and proceeding to describe the game. They played at "cock-fighting" everywhere in those days. They played it in the little plots of garden attached to the suburban restaurants; they played it in the studios; they played it at the Imperial residences of Compiègne and St. Cloud; and one day the Empress, sitting alone in the Emperor's apartments, which at the latter palace were on the ground floor, was startled out of her wits by a *cent-garde* rolling in like a ball at the open window which looked upon the private gardens. And an officer, too,—a lieutenant or a sub-lieutenant I forget which,—in his shirt-sleeves and in an altogether undignified position. He had tried to beguile the weary interval between his duties by challenging one of the civil officials, and this was the result. The performance had to be repeated for the delectation of the Empress and her ladies-in-waiting, who often found the time hang heavily on their hands. From that day forth, though, "cock-fighting" was struck from the list of the Imperial Guard's sports and pastimes,—at any rate while they were on duty.

Was it *Zouzou* who thus unceremoniously obtruded on the sovereign's presence? I think not. To begin with, *Zouzou*, when he came into his title and dukedom, got a commission in the *Guides de l'Impératrice*. This, of course, may have been one of Mr. du Maurier's innocent devices to lead his readers off the scent; but from what the author tells us, I doubt if the *Duc de la Rochemartel*, after he and his elder brother had both entered upon a better life, would have been guilty of such frivolities as "cock-fighting." In fact, I doubt whether *Zouzou*, as painted in "Trilby," had any existence at all save in the author's imagination. It is the only figure in the book I am disposed to quarrel with. By his own confession, Mr. du Maurier "has kept his blackguard ducal Zouave for the bouquet of this little show,—the final *bonne bouche* in his bohemian menu." Unfortunately, the bouquet is a glaringly artificial one: the *bonne bouche* is no *bonne bouche* to those who know what a *bonne bouche* should be; it is simply the mutton and turnips of Sir Pitt Crawley's bill of fare, and served in an elaborate silver dish and under a French name. A "Rochemartel," and moreover the heir-apparent to a dukedom, for the actual duke in the story has no



children,—a "Rochemartel," however impecunious, however discredited with his family, however festively inclined, need not have enlisted in a Zouave or other regiment under the Second Empire if willing to rally to the dynasty, even if he had an irresistible vocation for a soldier's life. That *Zouzou* was willing to rally to the Empire was proved subsequently, and, if he was absolutely bent on wearing the Emperor's uniform, a commission would have been found for him by hook or by crook before. His examinations would have been smoothed for him then as they were afterward, for we may take it that *Zouzou* did not gather much knowledge, either theoretical or practical, while with the regiment. "Those people understand nothing of politics," said Napoleon III, referring to the old *noblesse*. "Nor did I want them for that. I only required them for decorative purposes, for they are eminently fit to wear gold lace and I would willingly have gilded them on all their edges."

No improbabilities of a like nature need interfere with one's appreciation of *Dodor*. *M. Rigolot de Lafarce*—the coining of the name smacks somewhat of the process of the very old-fashioned novelist—was a sprig of *la petite noblesse*, and to him and his congeners there was practically but one resource left—the army—after they had spent their inheritance. The very wealthy *commerçant* would, did, and will give his daughter to the penniless bearer of a great historic name, but no second-rate cognomen will satisfy him.<sup>1</sup> *Dodor's* marriage with *Mlle. Passefil* is quite an exception, apart from the fact that *M. Passefil* was merely a shopkeeper, and that *Dodor* himself flung all caste traditions overboard by becoming a retail trader. Under ordinary circumstances *Dodor*, before his enlistment, would not have found an appointment at one hundred francs a month. After he left the army—not before he joined it—he might have found employment in a decorative capacity,—not at court, but in some large drapery establishment. And *Dodor*, not being made of the stuff of which heroes and martyrs of every-day existence are made, would have accepted such an appointment rather than live and die a non-commissioned officer amid the sordid surroundings of a French barracks. The heroic side of such a life was beyond his comprehension. "Our trade is either heroic or ridiculous," said a "*Dodor*" with a capacity for suffering to me one day. Like Mr. du Maurier's *Dodor* he had "come a cropper," and, after paying all his debts, had about a thousand francs left. He enlisted in a regiment of Spahis.

<sup>1</sup> See Balzac's "Père Goriot"; Augier and Sandeau's "Gendre de M. Poirier"; Alexandre Dumas fils' "Etrangère"; Ohnet's "Serge Panine," etc.

Lazy by nature, and not very quick at learning, he managed nevertheless to get his sergeant's stripes in a few years, after which he asked to exchange into a dragoon regiment. He never played tricks, and was thoroughly respected and liked by his superiors. Of course he felt his position keenly. "I fancy I am going back to Africa," he remarked during one of my visits. "Perhaps you are right, promotion is quicker there," I replied. "Promotion, promotion," he repeated, with a wan smile; "I have given up all hopes and thoughts of promotion long ago. I might have got my epaulettes if I had set about it earlier; but I wanted so many things, and now it is too late. I am not complaining, only stating a fact. I repeat, our trade is either heroic or ridiculous, there is no middle course. Do people endowed with one grain of common sense risk their lives for the sake of a bit of crimson cloth on their sleeves or a bit of gold piping round their caps. Does it show any sense to practise the hardest and riskiest of trades for a wage which would be indignantly refused by a 'bus-driver. If I were to listen to reason, I should leave the army, promotion in which is beyond hope, and try to get an appointment in a draper's establishment. I have been told that retired soldiers of a certain age can command fair wages to bow to and smile at the lady customers. Talk to me about a position!—that's what I should call a position: good cheer, comfortable quarters, nothing to do, numerous and charming women to give you the time of day,—an assured provision for one's old age, for one can bow to and smile at ladies while there's breath left. Hence, there's everything to induce me to get a situation in a draper's establishment. Unfortunately, I haven't any common sense, and I prefer to die over yonder with a bullet through my brain, if the Almighty will be so good as to let me die in that manner. I prefer to depart this life with the conviction that I have led the noblest life on earth." That was the kind of "Dodor" whom Mr. du Maurier probably never met, so he could not sketch him.

I have outrun my space; nevertheless, I should be loth to finish these pages without referring once more to *Trilby*. She, *Tuffy*, the *Laird*, and *Gecko* are, after all, the only figures for whom one cares; for, with all due deference to the memory of *Mr. William Bagot*, he was, in spite of his genius, a bit of a Philistine, and I doubt whether I should have cared to be introduced to his mother and his uncle, the *Rev. Thomas Bagot*. "Es gilt nur ein Glück auf der Erde, das Glück der Liebe, und wer das versäumt, alles versäumt," says Fichte. *Mrs. Bagot* made her son miss the highest joy on earth, the joy of love; and the son was a fool for having missed it. That very respectable, higher-



middle-class "British matron" was probably not acquainted with the particulars of Raphael Sanzio's life, or she would have known that the immortal pupil of Pietro Vanucci, though a greater genius than her son would ever have been, loved beneath him; that La Fornarina was but a baker's daughter, the contemplation of whose feet set young Sanzio's heart aflame, just as the sight of *Trilby's* feet sowed the first germs of love in *Little Billee's* breast. She would have known that these two were thoroughly happy for eleven years—and eleven years is a large slice out of a man's life so far as his capacity for happiness goes.

La Fornarina was not a model *et tout ce qui s'ensuit*; *Trilby* was. True, most true; and yet I have an idea that I would sooner have been *Taffy*, ready to marry her with all her imperfections on her head, than *Little Billee*, who, instead of trying to discover her hiding-place, allowed himself to be stricken down with brain-fever. "He could not help that," objects the reader. Yes, he could; the resolution to go after her and bring her back like a man would have kept off the malady. Louis XIV was not much older than *Little Billee* the first time La Vallière fled the Court, driven thence by the intrigues of his mother, his wife, and his sister-in-law. He did not waste time by falling into fits, but tore after her on horseback and brought her back from St. Cloud.

"I only wish to God she'd marry *me*! . . . I can assure you that if *Trilby's* heart were set on me as it is on him, I would gladly cast in my lot with hers for life," said *Taffy*. And *Taffy* would have had no cause to repent, for if Mr. du Maurier's picture is at all like the original, *Trilby* was one in a thousand. One feels sure that the fate of *Coriolis*, as set forth in Goncourt's "Manette Salomon," would have been spared to *Taffy*, for *Michael O'Ferrall's* daughter was not a *Mimi la Salope*, and the heroine of Goncourt's book belonged to that category. I may be utterly mistaken, but I have not been able to divest myself of the suspicion that Mr. du Maurier, after the idea of *Trilby* had taken shape in his mind, got hold of that powerful novel, and that it influenced his *dénouement*. But though he may have read the work, Mr. du Maurier—whose literary career began late in life—was probably not aware that the brothers Goncourt aimed at something more than the writing of a powerful, dramatic story: that "Manette Salomon" was virtually a protest against the invasion of the studios by the Jewish model, and the consequent exclusion of the less pushing Christian damsel.

That invasion began about the time the younger Goncourt was born; that is, almost immediately after the conquest of Algiers—as distinct

from the subsequent conquest of the whole of the Algerian territory. A short while after the French standard had been planted on the Casbah of Algiers, the Jewish model was everywhere,—at Ingres', Horace Vernet's, Delacroix's; and it is but fair to say that in those days she was not only a model, but a counsellor, a collaboratrix. The girl who asked Ingres for his cross of the Legion of Honor, on the plea that she also had contributed something to his success, probably represented the feeling of responsibility of many. Gradually, though, the Parisian Jewess entered the lists. She did not trouble herself to inquire whether she had any aptitude for the task; the occupation was a profitable one in many respects, and that was enough so far as she was concerned. She had little or no artistic instinct, and as for the feeling that caused poor *Trilby's* lapses the Parisian Jewess might have exclaimed with La Fontaine—

"Amour est mort.

En beaux lous se content les fleurettes."

She might have altered the verb, and exclaimed "*se comptent*," for she never forgot to reckon. "You must wait till you have got the Prix de Rome," said one of those Jewesses to a young painter (at the time I write he is a graybeard and a member of the Institute) in answer to his impassioned pleading—*pas pour le bon motif*. "You must wait till you have the Prix de Rome." The rest of the sentence I leave to the reader's imagination.

Those are the models whom Mr. du Maurier had in view when he brought *Mrs. Bagot* on the scene; and *Little Billee's* mother, if she had heard of models at all, had never heard of any other; she knew not of models "to whom much will be forgiven, for their only sin consisted in having loved too much." Of these was *Trilby O'Ferrall*.

ALBERT D. VANDAM.



## EDITORSHIP AS A PROFESSION FOR WOMEN.

THE point of view changes from time to time. Up to the middle of the nineteenth century, refined and educated people with traditions of culture at their backs hesitated at allowing a gentlewoman to work for money. She might, indeed, labor under the home roof without stipend, but she must not be known to seek employment, nor permitted to accept a salary. To do this seemed in conservative eyes little short of a disgrace,—in the best of aspects a great misfortune. A woman's husband worked for her support; if she were a spinster, or a widow, she presumably had natural protectors—a father, brothers, kinsmen—on whom she could depend. It would have appeared revolutionary and dangerous to a gentleman of the old school for his daughters to have intimated a desire for a profession, or stooped to the vulgarity of taking wages,—a thing to be condoned only when it could not be helped, as when Divine Providence had assigned to the lady no strong and able-bodied man in duty bound to maintain her in comfort, and, if possible, in luxury. Popularly we accepted the sentiment of our forefathers that woman was a creature to be sheltered, fought for, guarded against rough winds; in a way shut in from the hardships of the world, which it was the province of man to face and vanquish. For her the appropriate sphere of action was within the four walls of her home: nowhere outside of this. The strength of this feeling was, as a matter of course, greatly intensified when a wife was in concern. A wife—her husband living and able to fend for her—had certainly, in the view then almost universally prevailing, neither occasion nor excuse for seeking remunerative occupation beyond, or even within, her own doors.

Until a very recent date, women—at least by courtesy—constituted our only recognized aristocracy; and though in individual cases, and where for any reason deep and depressing poverty existed, this privileged portion of society might be called upon to endure want and suffering, still, as a rule, women queened it everywhere. From one end of the land to the other, in public conveyances, at wayside inns, on the crowded city thoroughfare, or along the obscure country road,—one

had but to need it, and the uttermost of man's resources in strength, civility, and brotherly kindness was laid at a woman's feet. The cavalier brusqueness, the indifference which ignores and the rudeness which offends her in her travels about town on elevated railways and across that field of prowess, the Brooklyn Bridge, though accepted without protest or demur by the *fin de siècle* woman, would have been an amazement and an indignation to her predecessors forty years ago. In the hot competitions of our period we have lost something very precious and very beautiful in the decline of reverence once general in the relations between men and women as members of the community; yet that we have gained a counterbalancing good, which we would be reluctant to lose, must be gratefully conceded.

In days now dream-like and misty to us who are older, and quite undreamed of by the recent graduates of our woman's colleges, the woman who had to support herself alone, or herself and her widowed mother, or herself and the brothers who must be prepared for life, or, again, herself and her fatherless children,—the woman of good family and liberal education, on whom so great a burden fell, might choose between several lines of employment. She might teach: a teacher lost no caste. In most cases she did teach, whether or not she possessed fitness for the work, going out as a governess, establishing a school, or seeking pupils in whatever branch of *belles lettres* or graceful accomplishments she had at her tongue's or her fingers' end. She might sew: in a period not yet remote, most women were taught hand-sewing, and many acquired proficiency in the art; the little shining needle is still woman's ready tool, a lady's art of hem-stitching and embroidery availing at need in some localities to keep the wolf from the door. Besides teaching and sewing, a woman could, if she were endowed with the faculty, make a success of keeping a boarding-house, her feminine gifts enabling her so to expand her house that it grew into a home for the stranger within her gates. These three professions—those of the teacher, the seamstress, and the housekeeper—bounded opportunity for women while yet the dawn was nebulous of a day quickening with splendid possibilities. It is trite to say that our hedges are now broken down, and all paths for which woman longs are open to her, pioneered by brave spirits who went before, dared ridicule, breasted antagonism, defied repulse, and conquered the situation. Ours is another era. We have changed the point of view.

The mental discipline and thorough training of the woman's college, wherever found, whatever its name, fits its student, not only for



home life and its exigencies, but, as never before, enables her to enter the ranks of the self-supporting. She steps into the market on equal terms with those she meets there; and so far is public opinion from condemning the self-supporting woman, that she is held in high esteem. Everywhere she finds warm and cordial greeting, and, if not gallantry, comradeship, which is better; and what rôle soever she undertakes, it is demanded of her only that she fill it with ability. Indeed there are few rôles which woman may not and does not now attempt; no bar remains to exclude her from any trade, business, or profession for which she has a bias or an ambition. A fair field and no favor is all she asks, and this is ungrudgingly granted. Day by day her opportunities increase, as her understanding of life and her wish to share in its battles and prizes grows more emphatic. The single woman to-day, young, strong, and educated, who is willing to lean on a relative, doing nothing for herself, is justly regarded with contempt by other women. A wife often supplements the family purse by her own exertions, and is honored in doing so. Women are doctors, ministers, lawyers, college presidents, and journalists. In the latter calling their number is already legion. Every great newspaper has its corps of woman editors and reporters. Each syndicate has its department controlled by a woman. In many of the smaller towns woman's deft hand is at the helm in the local journal. Women are numerically a host in the army of readers. They are a host in the army of writers as well. The point of view has changed.

Editorship presents a most inviting opportunity to the woman who dares to undertake its duties and fulfil its arduous exactions. Strenuous in obligation, unremitting in requirement, peremptory in the task-master-taking of tolls from body and mind, bristling with difficulties, and beset with drudgeries, it nevertheless repays the worker in multiplied measure. The qualities inherited from generations of grandmothers and great-grandmothers who were proficient in house-keeping and sewing and teaching, and who to these added a royal acceptance of homage, stand the modern woman editor firmly in stead when she enters upon her kingdom. In truth it is a kingdom worth ruling, though its simple motto must ever be the trenchant one, "I serve."

Invincible patience, continual attention to details, tireless self-sacrifice, an intuitive vicarious consciousness, power of synthesis, power of analysis, tranquil impartiality, keen discrimination, a habit of surveying both sides of a question,—are indispensable parts of a woman editor's outfit for her position. She must put herself in another's place. She

must also inexorably hold her own. With gentleness, suavity, and tact she must learn to say No as if she were saying Yes,—so graciously that the denied shall be conciliated. She must have the courage of her opinions, particularly when some transient accident lifts into prominence and passion themes which are not vital, or that cannot be settled by sudden acclamation. Many questions arise which are enthusiastically pressed and urged on the public by a few interested persons, until a flame of apparent zeal blazes furiously. The real plain public, on whom we fall back for ultimate settlements of questions affecting the weal of all, are not stirred. The editor must know how to act in such a crisis,—must, above everything, be true to what she deems the highest good.

The personality of the woman seeking editorship, if not winning, should at least be impressive. She must needs be intellectual, receptive, alert, sympathetic; in touch with issues of current thought and action, and with drifts of current enterprise and discovery. As for her body, it must fitly sheathe so vital and so dominant a soul. Steel and india-rubber are not too strong or too flexible for the physical make-up of the woman in this case, who, if she would not wear out prematurely, must also know how to rest and when to rest, and what to gain by recreation and exercise.

Aside from direct training for her work, the woman editor, as further preliminary preparation, needs acquaintance with society; some elementary knowledge of the technique of art, and the peculiarities of different schools; an easy familiarity with artists by name and by the more important of their works; and an extensive, fully assimilated knowledge of books. One cannot hope to cram or to coach, as in other competitive examinations, for the equipment which an editor's chair imperatively asks as requisite and essential. One must have lived and breathed and had her being in that hushed and cloistered world where the great masters in art and literature forever sit, laurel-crowned and austere. Nor can she neglect the favorites of the passing moment. She must be aware of what is going on in the contemporaneous field, and know the present-day writers and their books. All literature—good, bad, and indifferent—must be as an open book to the editor, not so much that she may not stumble into the trap of the occasional plagiarist, as that she may be able at a look or a touch to discriminate between the respective claims of wares offered for her acceptance, and that she may be readily responsive to the cry for bread of the people who come to her table. Purveyor of food for the hungry, she cannot



provide as she ought, if she have not gone forth into all gardens. She must possess a certain catholicity of taste, and, singularly, must often distrust at first sight what makes its strongest individual appeal to her personally, since editorship implies vicariousness. Her feeling of what is false and what is true marches side by side with her feeling of what she owes to her readers and what they are to receive at her hands. An editor is, in one bundle, doctor, mother, friend, counsellor, physician, comrade, companion, and consoler,—so many strands are woven together in her comprehensive work. No other thing made by man is so vital as a book (or a newspaper, which is next to a book), and no other profession requires of its followers severer tests or more single-hearted devotion in its many-sided equipment.

It goes without saying that no human being—even if able, like Macaulay, to absorb the printed page through the pores of the skin—can hope to read everything; but a wide and tolerant study of literature in various departments gives the editor a wonderful advantage, not unlike second-sight, so that she is not merely seldom deceived by pretenders, but equally that she is able to recognize the best on the instant that it is presented to her notice. A genuine feeling for literature makes her an expert.

The steps toward editorship are usually—not invariably, but usually—those of gradual ascent. The editor must serve an apprenticeship, and learn the secrets of her profession little by little. The most convenient—and upon the whole the most approved—school for journalism is afforded by the daily and weekly press. A bright, wide-awake girl, fresh from her four years at college, modestly enters the office of a newspaper, and sets her feet firmly on the first round of the ladder when she undertakes her earliest assignment as a reporter. At this stage of her career the novice must expect peculiar and sometimes disagreeable experiences. She goes where she is sent; she writes what she sees; she learns concentration, swiftness, and condensation. With perfect amiability she submits to take the elisions and additions of her superior's blue pencil; her greatest gain was made when, in the spirit of the soldier, she accepted the fact that she had a superior in office and that obedience was a necessity of the case. Undisciplined natures are predestined to failure. The girl learns to subordinate her personal wishes to the imperious demands of her paper. Whatever she does, she does with her whole heart and in the best possible way. By degrees she is entrusted more and more with important engagements, on the principle, old as human nature, that to him that hath shall be given.

If she is one of the staff of a suburban paper, or has the rare good fortune to belong to that of a literary, household, or religious periodical, she may be permitted to specialize. She reviews books; she is responsible for the social column; she writes dramatic criticism; bit by bit she arrives at the pleasant eminence of the home, or the children's, or the woman's department. Here her abilities and talents have a chance for development: her individuality tells; she enjoys the distinction of editing, apart from the agreeable zest of contributing and the comparative drudgery of reporting to order. She has much responsibility, much toil, but also a delightful sense of power. Her chance has come.

It is always well for the woman editor, if she can, to have a special line, within the limits of which she may broaden out, and where she can, so to speak, focus her talents and efforts. For most women nothing is so attractive as the opportunity to do this in the departments of the periodical press which appeal to motherhood in its thousand interests, and to housekeeping, home-making, and the entertainment and instruction of children. But women are by no means confined to these themes and to a world so exclusively feminine as these contemplate. There are enthusiastic students of political economy, of social science, of applied hygiene, of finance, among women as among men, and these find scope for their talents in the various publications devoted to particular branches of learning, or to ramifications of business or trade. A journal of mining and engineering is successfully edited by a gifted woman whose tastes and pursuits, as well as her uncommon linguistic attainments, have given her marked ability for so difficult and unique a position. Women, applying themselves to any definite and dignified line of study, can and do become thoroughly equipped and qualified to conduct journals devoted to its elucidation. Yet the wide field for the occupation of the woman editor remains not in such well-worn avenues as politics and science may offer, but rather on her natural ground of vantage, covering everything which nearly or remotely affects the home. Hence, the fashion journalists find congenial occupation in the conduct of departments and publications relating to clothes. Clothing and human progress are almost synonymous terms; and it is beneath no one to chronicle the passing styles, to indicate what may and may not be the attire of men and women in a high state of civilization, to give a thoughtful glance toward fabrics, materials, new inventions, the beauty of shape, the charm of color, the grace of elegance, which show the line of demarcation between us and savagery and make of society a splendid moving pageant. Women are especially successful as fashion-



editors, and it is not too much to hope that in future they may be more decidedly helpful here than has hitherto been practicable, demonstrating that there is no divorce between the healthful and the beautiful styles of dress, uplifting common sense to a fine art.

The woman's department—a conspicuous feature in most of our journals—shows that thoughtful and temperate editors are awake to the needs of the hour, and that a talent for administration counts on the credit side of the sheet, let us find it where we may.

Among the duties of the woman-editor's position are some not unlike those of the general who judiciously plans a campaign. The clamor for novelty, for the modern, for what will please, for what will win and hold subscribers, without whom the publication will presently find itself bankrupt,—this clamor is, and properly, ever in her ears. She must both defer to and educate her public. Not led away by a transient craze for the merely sensational, she must determine to what degree her readers crave the personal, often impertinent, and, it must be confessed, purely trivial and silly details about people of no moment, which so often slip into type. Looking over the field with clear eyes, she must select from the ranks of well-known and popular writers those whose work ensures them a hearing. Novelists, essayists, writers of short stories, poets, specialists in this or the other department, have their claim on her attention. Mapping out her paper for the year, or the month, or the week, she cannot leave anything to haphazard; all must be wisely and intelligently arranged, with a view to the central purpose, the key-note of her journal; with a look, too, toward the interests of her readers, and a far-seeing, all-comprehending thought of the well-being of her paper as part of the machinery of the age.

The judicious woman editor has a cordial and sincere welcome for that well-beloved of all the corps editorial, the new writer. The disappointed contributor—whose manuscript, sent out to the tender mercies of the world with so many hopes, duly returns, declined with thanks—is apt to be doubtful of this. It has been explained over and over that the editor's regret at the rejection of an article is not perfunctory, a *façon de parler*, but is real and profound to the heart's core; yet contributors are seldom convinced; they seldom believe that the editor could not have accepted their offerings had he or she chosen to do so: they are frequently hurt and grieved, if not angry and vindictive, over their rejection. Their jealousy of those who have attained to what they envy is untempered by any true appreciation of the situation, which is simply this, that in all editorial offices the supply of admirable

material voluntarily offered far exceeds the demand, and far transcends the available limits of space. Periodicals appear with recurrent regularity at fixed intervals; each includes within its covers a definite number of pages; each page holds only so many columns and so many words. The editor must use his or her best judgment in filling this inelastic space, must act with strictly impersonal and impartial discretion in ordering, selecting, accepting, and declining manuscripts. It is a red-letter day indeed when the name hitherto unknown drifts into hailing distance, and it is the editor's privilege to introduce to contemporaneous literature another author whose stories are to achieve popularity. Great, then, is the editor's complacency, full and thrilling her joy,—akin to that of the happy girl who places her betrothed hand in that of her lover; of the groom when he kisses his bride at the altar; of the explorer when he sets his foot on the virgin soil of a never-before-discovered continent. Such joys, alas! come but seldom. The editor's normal condition is that of Tantalus; to her the hope of this new and delightful contributor is a possibility ever near, but ever receding, often coming so close that she all but grasps it, then dissolving into thinnest air.

The emoluments of editorial work for women have very inelastic limits. The editor whose position brings her \$5,000 a year in salary may be said to have achieved the highest financial success attainable under existing conditions. From \$2,500 to \$3,000 per year are salaries more generally paid than the amount above stated, and \$50 or \$60 a week is a usual, and is considered by most women a generous, wage for continuous and exhausting work, taxing every power they possess. From \$15 to \$40 a week are received by women for the conduct of special departments. This, as a rule, presupposes daily attendance at an office during office hours, which are usually from 9.30 A.M. to 4 or 5 P.M. The daily wear and tear on nerves, temper, and clothing, of obligatory office attendance, cannot be adequately stated or paid for in dollars and cents, and therefore a woman must love her profession over and above financial gains, and pursue it for its own sake, if she would find in it the rewards of a chosen career.

Among women whose marked success in editorship makes them fairly representative, a few names among many may be selected without impropriety. Mary Mapes Dodge, of "St. Nicholas"; Jeannette L. Gilder, of the "Critic"; Mrs. Nicholson, of the New Orleans "Picayune"; Mary H. Krout, of the Chicago "Inter-Ocean"; Mrs. J. C. Croly, Helen S. Conant, Ellen Hutchinson, Margaret Hamilton



Welch, Elizabeth G. Jordan, Lillian W. Betts, Frances J. Dyer, Helen M. Winslow, Clara Laughlin, Eliza Heaton,—all of them women editing magazines, or departments in established journals,—are good examples of ability and versatility. From so brief a list many honored names must be omitted; but one must be starred,—that of the late Mary Louise Booth, for twenty-two years the editor of "Harper's Bazar."

The mistake oftenest made by the woman who adopts editorship as a profession is in making no adequate concession to her sex. "I will do my work like a man," she exclaims, proceeding to trample down certain needs of her nature, based on organic law, and never intended to be outraged. Few women can work as relentlessly and with as sternly rigid endeavor as most men may safely do. Nature indicates that woman must observe the law of her being, recognizing her right to, and her need of, the soft pedal now and then. Regulating her exertions judiciously, she will do as good work and as much work in the long run as will man. She cannot do it in precisely the same way, nor should she do violence to her sex by the attempt. The woman who will longest live to do her work will be she who responds intelligently to the voice of God as she hears it in the rhythmic ebb and flow of the blood in her veins, and obeys the word there spoken. No woman can with safety work all day long in an office, and give evening after evening to society, to the theatre, or to delightful but over-stimulating clubs, where she must read and discuss papers and chat with bright women to whom the club is simply an incident in a pleasant but not rigid ordinary life. Something must be resigned. She must deny herself many social pleasures and innocent recreations, letting her work take precedence of everything else in the order of importance.

When vacations are few and far between, the careful worker may save her nerve force in many ways. She needs the best food, served well and in abundance. The background of her life should be agreeable; of all women she requires a pleasant home, with the relief and freedom to be secured only under one's own roof. Whether her home be in a hotel, in a boarding-house, or in some independent shelter where she keeps house, the woman editor must have a port to put into for repairs. This is as essential to her as the business man's home is to him. A bright, well-ordered home makes one over for tomorrow, however weary may have been to-day. Leaving her office, the editor should shake off its dust from her feet at its threshold; or, if her work be largely done at home and in her own study, when the hours for work are over she should drop every care. Plans, contribu-

tors, manuscripts, proof, correspondence, perplexities, should be forgotten until the time returns for their legitimate reappearance. Only by accustoming herself to this entire relief from work when work-hours are over can the editor retain her tranquil poise and her mental freshness.

Physical culture is so exact a science that few people fail to know some of its shibboleths. "Relax," "repose," "recreate," are words reiterated by the wise, and patent in their meaning to the dullest. Exercise is also a golden prescription. The right kind of exercise at the right time wonderfully tones the system and sets in motion the forces that repair waste. The Turkish bath and massage are magical aids in keeping the worker's health and vitality at high-water mark. When well and strong, care does not press heavily, and weights can be lightly carried.

The woman editor should acquire the art of accepting interruptions without dismay and without irritation. One may learn to side-track the subject on which she is employed so that the editorial, the letter, the prospectus, or whatever may be the task on hand, may be quickly slipped aside, while she receives the caller, discusses the new proposition, or decides on one of the dozen suggestions made to her in a day by her publisher, her fellow editors, or her prized contributors. She must govern her mind as absolutely as the helm governs the ship, or the hand on the rein controls the mettlesome horse; it is a question of habit, of will, of concentration.

Executive ability and a talent for administration are as characteristic of the woman editor as of the woman who presides over a college or a mansion. One must have system; but it must be an elastic system,—a servant and not a master to her who owns it. Not to fuss nor to fidget, nor to be easily perturbed; not to take an occasional blunder too much to heart; not to be unduly elated over an occasional triumph,—are the dictates of sound policy. An equal pulse, a quiet step, a gentle manner, one's powers at command, one's soul at peace, one's body comfortably well,—and the woman who has entered on the profession of editorship may enjoy every moment of her useful life.

There come to women in due course long and pleasant years when the heyday of youth has passed, and they have arrived at the tranquil Indian summer of their lives. Theirs is now the knowledge of men and women and of affairs patent only to experience. They know the world; its shadows and its lights have been their own. Sorrow has wrought its work upon their hearts, joy has given them its sweetest draughts. They are sympathetic with youth, for they have trained and



guided it ; with age, for they see it on the westering side of the hill to the top of which they have climbed. The physician assures such women that they are able to undertake work and carry responsibilities which at an earlier period would have been fraught with imminent perils had they then essayed them. At this stage they are freed from claims which were once relentless ; their world does not need them as it used to. Granting to these women of mellow nature a ripened culture and a rich experience ; to these gracious women of middle age a literary taste, a wise judgment, and a facile pen,—what can be at once more inviting and more appropriate than the career offered in editorship ? Where, as in several instances, editorial chairs are filled by women, able, serene, strong, and sanguine, though no longer young except as youth abides in the heart, the result is a demonstration that of the liberal professions this, at least, puts no ban upon maturity. The office is to be filled, and may be as acceptably filled by the older as by the younger aspirant. She may bring to it gifts and graces which are the sheaves with which time has filled her arms ; she will find in its engrossing but congenial occupations a defence against *ennui*, and the sense, always grateful, that she is paying in full her debt not only to her generation, but also to the century.

MARGARET E. SANGSTER.

## THE MONROE DOCTRINE: DEFENCE, NOT DEFIANCE.

IN a number of international questions which have confronted our State Department within the past few years, in which the United States and other American nations have been interested, what is known as the "Monroe doctrine" has been appealed to by a large class of statesmen and newspapers as being a statement of the settled policy of the United States as to the ownership and occupation of the territory of the Western continents. In the controversy with England some months ago as to the collection of an indemnity from one of the Central American states, the columns of our papers and the speeches of our orators were full of intimations that the Monroe doctrine was being sadly neglected. In the present Venezuelan question we are assured from time to time, by a part of the press, that we may look for a speedy enforcement of that doctrine; while another part bewails the neglect which has befallen it. Many of the platforms of our political parties, both Democratic and Republican, have during the past few years contained declarations of approval of the Monroe doctrine. Speakers of national reputation have attracted wide attention by dwelling upon the question, whether or not the present Administration proposes to maintain and assert that doctrine, and have declared that the United States should stand ready, with army, navy, and treasury, to uphold it. Its maintenance has been said to be a necessary part of a "vigorous foreign policy," and Administrations which have been suspected of only a mild enthusiasm in its favor have been called unAmerican and unpatriotic.

Now it is manifest that a political principle or doctrine which receives so much attention and awakens so much feeling cannot be safely misunderstood. A doctrine which may require the whole army and navy and treasury of the country to uphold it, and which furnishes the key-note of our relations with powerful foreign governments on questions relating to the American continents, merits the closest study as to its origin, its exact meaning and limitations, its binding force, and its wisdom.



First, as to its origin: The Monroe doctrine is the collective term applied to two declarations contained in the Message of President Monroe to the Congress of the United States, December 2, 1823. The two declarations are to be found in different portions of the Message, and are made with reference to different subject-matters; the history of one is different from that of the other, and the general principles suggested by the two refer to entirely different subjects. I will consider them separately. The first declaration is as follows:

“At the proposal of the Russian Imperial Government, made through the Minister of the Emperor residing here, a full power and instructions have been transmitted to the Minister of the United States at St. Petersburg, to arrange, by amicable negotiation, the respective rights and interests of the two nations on the Northwest coast of this continent. A similar proposal has been made by His Imperial Majesty to the Government of Great Britain, which has likewise been acceded to. The Government of the United States has been desirous, by this friendly proceeding, of manifesting the great value which they have in variably attached to the friendship of the Emperor, and their solicitude to cultivate the best understanding with his Government. In the discussions to which this interest has given rise, and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.”

The facts that made the occasion “proper for asserting” this principle are these. The only European powers on the northern continent at this time were Russia and Great Britain. Mexico and Central America had attained their independence, and Spain had ceded to the United States all its territory in what is now the Northwest portion of the United States. The boundaries of the respective territories of the United States, Great Britain, and Russia were not clearly defined; but since the year 1818, under a treaty made in that year, Great Britain and the United States had jointly occupied the land claimed by each in the Northwest coast. Any discussion between the United States and Great Britain, therefore, as to their common boundary, was postponed for a time. In 1821 an imperial ukase of the Czar asserted the title of Russia to that portion of the continent extending from the extreme northwest point southward to the fifty-first parallel, which included about half of what is now known as the Dominion of Canada. Great Britain and the United States—especially the former—were strongly opposed to this claim of the Czar’s, and they united in opposition to it. At the time of which we speak, John Quincy Adams was

our Secretary of State; Mr. Rush was Minister to England; Mr. Middleton was Minister to Russia; and Baron Tuyl was the Russian Minister to the United States. It was the common desire of the three great Powers involved, that the boundary question should be settled, and the United States empowered Mr. Middleton to act in negotiations leading to that settlement. In the month of July instructions were forwarded to him as to the attitude of the United States on the questions at issue. On July 17, 1823, Baron Tuyl inquired of Mr. Adams what would be the purport of the instructions to be forwarded to our representative at St. Petersburg. Mr. Adams writes :

“ I told him specially that we should contest the right of Russia to *any* territorial establishment on this continent, and that we should assume distinctly the principle that the American continents are no longer subjects for *any* new European colonial establishments.” (Diary, Vol. 6, p. 163.)

Instructions were forwarded to Mr. Middleton through Mr. Rush at London. The latter was instructed to submit them to the British Government for their opinion. In a letter from Mr. Adams to Mr. Rush accompanying these instructions, the whole subject is discussed very fully. Mr. Adams writes that Spain has ceased to have any portion of the American continent. He refers to the burdens of the European colonial systems in America, contends that the entire continent is closed against the establishment, by any European power, of any such colonial settlements hereafter in any place not now under actual occupation, for the reason that the entire continent is now occupied by sovereign nations. He says :

“ The necessary consequence of this state of things will be, that the American continents henceforth will no longer be subject to colonization. Occupied by sovereign nations, they will be accessible to Europeans and each other on that footing alone.”

This was the substance of the instructions to the American Minister at St. Petersburg, and this was the question and the state of facts to which President Monroe referred when he said :

“ In the discussions to which this interest has given rise, and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.”

It should be remembered that for three centuries before the date of



this declaration, the European nations had been planting colonies on the American continents. The continents were, at the time of their discovery by the Old World, considered to be in a state of nature, under the dominion and title of no civilized government or people. The European nations, therefore, had a right to plant colonies in any portion of the New World to which they could acquire title by discovery or prior occupation. They availed themselves of this opportunity, and emigrants went from all the leading countries of Europe to the New World. English emigrants settled at Plymouth and Jamestown; the French took possession of the St. Lawrence and a part of the territory surrounding the Great Lakes; Spain established colonies in the land of the Aztecs: and they all took title to the territory thus occupied, not by conveyance from some other sovereignty, and not by conquest from any civilized people, but by virtue of their discovery or prior occupation. This is the process to which the term "colonization" is applied, and to which President Monroe refers in his Message. Colonization could continue as long as there remained any portion of the American continents which had not been appropriated by some sovereign nation or its representatives; but when the titles of the nations occupying the continents cover every foot of land thereon, then colonization must cease. In 1823 that time had come, and when President Monroe said that the American continents are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization, he was simply stating the geographical fact that they were already occupied. This was the view taken of it in 1848 by Mr. Calhoun, who had been a member of Mr. Monroe's Cabinet to which the Message had been referred; and the context of the Message, and the state of facts which gave rise to it, exclude any wider view of the President's meaning.

It is to be observed, also, that there is no intimation connected with the statement of this geographical fact as to what the United States would do in the event of the refusal of a European power to take the same view of the subject. This language of the President did not commit himself or his Administration to any particular course of action in such an event. At any rate, it has for a long time been recognized by all nations that the territory of the American continents is wholly "occupied by sovereign nations, and that they will be accessible to Europeans and each other on that footing alone." We may safely say, therefore, that the occasion for the assertion of that fact or principle has passed away, and in our dealings with foreign nations we shall hereafter have no occasion to refer to it.

But in the Message there is another declaration by the President, as to the relation of foreign powers to the American continents. The facts which gave rise to it are these :

Upon the downfall of Napoleon, as every student of history knows, an alliance of European powers was formed, and became known as the Holy Alliance, composed of Russia, Prussia, Austria, and France. The objects of this Alliance were, among others, to sustain and extend monarchical principles as far as possible, and especially to restore to their thrones the legitimate monarchs who had been deposed by Napoleon, or by their own subjects under the influence of the principles of the French Revolution. This was a powerful Alliance, and accomplished much in the directions indicated. In fact, Europe was thoroughly reactionary at this time. Public constitutions had been subverted, and the people oppressed ; Bourbon rule was fully restored. At this point the Holy Alliance turned its attention to the New World. The Spanish-American states had successfully revolted from Spain, and were now in existence as independent governments. The Holy Alliance proposed to extend its operations to this continent, and to restore Ferdinand to his revolted states. England was not a member of the Holy Alliance, but was favorable to its general principles and policy. To this particular venture, however, she was very much opposed. The general principles of the Holy Alliance were in harmony with the monarchical institutions and ideas of Great Britain, but the possession of Central America by Spain, or by any other European country, would have been injurious to the commercial interests of Great Britain. This, and other considerations in the same direction of greater or less importance, prevailed, and England came out in open opposition to the scheme of the Holy Alliance. She sought to enlist the sympathy and coöperation of the United States, whose Government was naturally very much interested in the question. As a republic, it could not view, except with great displeasure, the extension of the reactionary movement to this continent and so great was the power of the Alliance that the United States, then a young nation and a pioneer in free government, was not entirely free from the fear that the Alliance would ultimately extend its interference to ourselves. For this reason the attitude of England was viewed with great public approval in this country ; and while the United States Government did not act on the subject in the manner proposed by England, yet the President, with the advice and approval of his Cabinet, took the position that the United States would not approve of the extension of the operations of the Holy Alliance to



this continent. The same Message from which we have heretofore quoted contained the following language :

“ In the wars of the European Powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced, that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defence. With the movements in this hemisphere we are, of necessity, more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the Allied Powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective governments. And to the defence of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, the whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those Powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power we have not interfered and shall not interfere ; but with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European Power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States.”

There are three points to be noted in this declaration of the President :

First. It is the attempt on the part of the Allies to extend their system to this hemisphere, and their interposition in the affairs of the Central American states for the purpose of oppressing them, which the President says the United States would regard as dangerous to her peace and safety, and as being the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States. No reference was made to the mere acquisition of territory or dominion on this continent by the Allies, or by any one of them. The Allies were not seeking territorial acquisitions. They were proposing to overthrow the republican governments which had been established in Central America, and to substitute for them the crown of Ferdinand,—this as a part merely of a general crusade against republican governments the world over. The popular understanding of the President's Message at the time it was written strengthens, if possible, the position that it was the subversion of the liberties of the American States, and the establishment of monarchies in their stead,—and not the acquisition of American territory,—to which the Message referred. A member of Mr. Monroe's family, writing to him on December 6, 1823, just after the Message was published, said :

“ You will have the merit of proposing an enlightened system of policy which promises to secure the united liberties of the New World, and to counteract the deep-laid schemes in the Old for the establishment of a universal despotism.”

Second. The underlying principle in this declaration was not sentiment, but self-defence. The occupation of any portion of the North American continent by an alliance of foreign Powers engaged in the business of overthrowing republics would be—in view of the youth and comparative weakness of our own nation—a standing menace to our own safety. Daniel Webster, in a speech delivered in the year 1826, with reference to this declaration, said :

“ It is doubtless true, as I took occasion to observe the other day, that this declaration must be considered as founded on our rights, and to spring mainly from a regard to their preservation. It did not commit us, at all events, to take up arms on any indication of hostile feeling by the Powers of Europe towards South America. If, for example, all the states of Europe had refused to trade with South America until her states should return to their former allegiance, that would have furnished no cause of interference to us. Or if an armament had been furnished by the Allies to act against provinces the most remote from us, as Chili or Buenos Ayres, the distance of the scene of action diminishing our apprehension of danger, and diminishing also our means of effectual interposition, might still have left us to content ourselves with remonstrance. But a different case would have arisen if an army, equipped and maintained by these Powers, had been landed on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, and commenced the war in our own immediate neighborhood. Such an event might justly be regarded as dangerous to ourselves, and, on that ground, call for decided and immediate interference by us. The sentiments and the policy announced by the declaration, thus understood, were therefore in strict conformity to our duties and our interest.”

Third. The declaration of the President does not contain a definite statement of the action which would be taken by the United States in the event of the scheme of the Holy Alliance being carried out. He says that the prosecution of such an enterprise would be dangerous to our peace and safety, and would be the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States. But there are many ways of treating a “manifestation of an unfriendly disposition.” It may be ignored, or it may provoke a mere protest, or it may result in war,—depending upon circumstances. The President's language, therefore, did not commit his Administration to any particular course of action, but left it free to act as circumstances might require or permit.

Briefly stated, therefore, the declaration meant that the United States would consider as perilous and unfriendly to it an attempt on the part of the Holy Alliance, engaged in a crusade against free government, to extend its operations to this continent; and that,



viewing the attempt in such a light, it would act as circumstances should demand. The meaning of the language cannot be extended so as to commit the United States to interfere against the mere acquisition of American soil by a European nation through either purchase or conquest.

The Holy Alliance expired long ago, and its work has been undone by the European revolutions which have occurred since that time. Constitutional government is in the ascendancy to-day in the very capitals where the schemes of the Holy Alliance were formed, and reaction is hardly possible. Absolutism cannot hold its own in the land of its birth, much less extend its power to the American continents. Yet it is only to such an attempted extension that the Monroe doctrine refers. It follows, therefore, that the time has passed when that doctrine furnishes a guide for the settlement of any question of foreign policy which actually confronts our government.

It is not here contended that a foreign government should be allowed to acquire a foot of American soil; that Great Britain should be allowed to collect any indemnity from Nicaragua, or to extend her boundaries in Venezuela. But whatever course the United States may take in these matters, it cannot pretend to be guided by the Monroe doctrine, for that doctrine relates to wholly different matters, and is of no more value as a rule for the decision of these questions than the doctrine of the eternal damnation of non-elect infants. Further, the Monroe doctrine as thus understood does not to-day suggest a "vigorous foreign policy." Its application meant a vigorous foreign policy in 1823, when it was promulgated; but a foreign policy which to-day depends for its vigor upon the application of this doctrine would be a very weak policy, for there is no state of affairs at present existing to which the Monroe doctrine could be applied. The political candidate or party declaring his or its adherence to that doctrine upholds a policy the occasion for which long ago disappeared, and is likely never to occur again.

One word as to the legal status of the doctrine. It was a statement of the opinion of the President upon a matter of foreign policy, given to Congress in pursuance of his constitutional duty to "give to Congress information of the state of the Union, and to recommend to its consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." It was within the power of Congress alone—the legislative branch of the Government—to adopt for the United States the policy thus recommended by the President. Congress might have taken a directly oppo-

site course, and in such an event the opinion of Congress, and not that of the President, would have guided the policy of the country. In fact, a resolution introduced by Mr. Clay in the House of Representatives at the session during which this Message was sent, and which was intended to commit the House of Representatives to the sentiments contained in the Message, was quietly ignored. Even if Congress had been in accord with the President in the matter, the doctrine would not have had the force of a precedent—sufficiently binding to commit the United States to the same policy at any future time—so long as no occasion had arisen for carrying it into effect, and the United States had not actually done so. The declaration was simply a proposition, by the President to Congress, of a policy which Congress never adopted, and which the country did not act upon. It was a popular sentiment expressed by a popular President, and nothing more.

It would be interesting to review the debates and the action of Congress in the Panama and Yucatan questions, for the light which they throw on the attitude of Congress to the Monroe doctrine; the action of the United States with reference to the ill-fated expedition of Maximilian into Mexico is, for the same reason, interesting in this connection: but my space will not permit such a review. It is sufficient to say that a study of these events will confirm the soundness of the position here taken,—that the Monroe doctrine was intended to apply to a state of facts which no longer exists, and that it cannot to-day have *any* influence upon the policy of the United States towards the remainder of the American continents, much less the potent and far-reaching influence which is claimed for it by many writers and speakers.

ALFRED C. CASSATT.



## THOMAS CARLYLE: HIS WORK AND INFLUENCE.

DR. SAMUEL JOHNSON, during a long life, cherished an aversion, Platonic rather than militant, for Scotland and the Scotch. Had any one told him that out of the land where oats were fed to men there should issue soon after his death a master of romance, an incomparable singer, and a historian without rival, we can well imagine the emphasis with which he would have said, "Sir, that is impossible!" Nevertheless, for the best part of a century, Scotland has shed her influence through the world in the genius of Walter Scott, Robert Burns, and Thomas Carlyle; and she has taken sweet vengeance on the burly Doctor himself, by creating in James Boswell not only the best of British biographers, but one so far the best that no other can be named worthy to stand second to him. We now celebrate the centenary of the last of these great Scotchmen,—Thomas Carlyle,—and it is fitting that we should survey his life and work.

In a time like our own, when literature on either side of the Atlantic lacks original energy; when the best minds are busy with criticism rather than with creation; when ephemeral story-tellers and spineless disciples of culture pass for masters, and sincere but uninspired scholars have our respect but move us not,—we shall do well to contemplate anew the man who by his personality and his books has nobly swayed two generations of the English-speaking race, and who, as the years recede, looms more and more certainly as the foremost modern British man of letters. Men may look distorted to their contemporaries, like the figures in a Chinese picture; but Time, the wisest of painters, sets them in their true perspective, gives them their just proportions, and reveals their permanent features in light and shade. And sufficient time has now elapsed for us to perceive that Carlyle belongs to that thrice-winnowed class of literary primates whom posterity crowns. He holds in the nineteenth century a position similar to Johnson's in the eighteenth, and to Milton's in the seventeenth,—each masterful, but in a different way; each typifying his age without losing his individuality; all brothers in pre-eminence.

When, for convenience' sake, we classify Carlyle among men of

letters, we fail to describe him adequately. The phrase suggests too little. Charles Lamb, the lovable, is the true type of men of letters, who illuminate, sweeten, delight, and entertain us. Carlyle was far more; he was a mighty moral force, using many forms of literature—criticism, biography, history, pamphlets—as its organs of expression. He had, as the discerning Goethe said of him, unborrowed principles of conviction, by which he tested the world. He felt the compulsion of a great message entrusted to him. There rings through most of his utterances the uncompromising “Thus saith the Lord” of the Hebrew prophets,—a tone which, if it do not persuade us, we call arrogant, yet which speaks the voice of conscience to those who give it heed. What, then, was his message?—what those unborrowed principles of conviction by which he judged his time?

Born in the poor village of Ecclefechan on December 4, 1795, his childhood and youth were spent amid those stern conditions by which, rather than by affluence, brave, self-reliant, earnest characters are moulded. His parents were Calvinists, to whom religion was the chief concern, and who taught him by example the severe virtues of that grim sect. Next to religion, and its active manifestation in a pious life, they prized education, begrudging themselves no sacrifices by which their son might attend the University of Edinburgh. They wished him to be a minister, but when he came to maturity he recognized his unfitness for that vocation and abandoned it. They acquiesced regretfully, little dreaming that he who refused to be confined in some Annandale pulpit should become the foremost preacher of his age.

Carlyle's reluctance was rooted in conscientious scruples. He began by questioning the authority of his Church; he went on to sift the authority of the Bible. Little by little the whole wondrous fabric of supernatural Christianity crumbled before him. He could not but be honest with himself; he could not but see how Hebrew legend had overgrown the stern ethical code attributed to Moses; how the glosses of Paul and Augustine and a hundred later religionists had changed or perverted the simple teaching of Christ. Awestruck, he beheld the God of his youth vanish out of the world. He wandered in the wilderness of doubt; he wrestled daily and nightly with despair. And then slowly, painfully, after brooding through long years, he saw the outlines of a larger faith emerge from the gloom. He fortified himself by acknowledging that, since righteousness is eternal, it cannot perish when we reject whatever opinions some Council of Westminster, of Trent, or of Nice may have resolved about it.



Only earnest souls who have experienced the wrench which comes when we first break away from the bondage of an artificial religion, and perceive that the moral law may be something very different from dogmas, know the pang it costs. The dread of losing the truth when errors are thrown over—nay, the apparent hopelessness of being able to decide what is truth—causes many to hesitate, and some to turn back. Carlyle was not, of course, the first in Britain to tread the desolate path from Superstition into Rationalism. In the eighteenth century—to go no farther back—two very eminent minds had preceded him; but in both Hume and Gibbon the intellectual predominated over the moral nature, and to temperaments like theirs the pangs of new birth are always less acute. It is because in Carlyle the moral nature preponderated,—intense, fiery, and enduring,—that he became the spokesman of myriads who since him have had a similar experience.

If we were to hazard a generalization which should sum up the nineteenth century, might we not affirm that the chief business of the century has been to establish a basis of conduct in harmony with what we know of the laws governing the universe? Hitherto, for ages together, men have not consciously done this, but they have accepted standards handed down to them by earlier men, who compounded these standards out of little knowledge, much ignorance, legend, and hearsay. Sceptics there have always been, but usually, like the sceptics who flourished in the last century, they have differed from the doubters in ours by the degree of their moral intensity. Whether we turn to Carlyle or to George Eliot, we find each tirelessly busy in substituting for the worn-out tenets of the past, springs of belief and conduct worthy to satisfy a more enlightened conscience.

Here, then, we have the corner-stone of Carlyle's influence. Our world is a moral world; conscience and righteousness are eternal realities, independent of the vicissitudes of any church. If we seek for a definite statement of Carlyle's creed, we shall be disappointed; he never formulated any. After breaking loose from one prison, he would have scoffed at the idea of voluntarily locking himself up in another. He held that to possess a moral sense is to possess its justification; that conscience is a fact transcending logic just as consciousness or life itself does. In the presence of this supreme fact he cared little for its genealogy. The immanence of God was to him an ever-present, awful verity.

Likewise, when we come to examine his philosophy, we discover that he constructed no formal system. He absorbed the doctrine of

Kant and his followers, and may be classed, by those who insist that every man shall have a label, among the transcendentalists: but his main interest was the application of moral laws to life, the trial of men and institutions in the court of conscience, rather than the exercise of the intellect in metaphysical speculations. The mystery of evil may not be explained for some ages, if ever; while we argue about it, evil grows: the one indispensable duty for all of us, he would say, is to combat evil in ourselves and in society now and here. The staunch seaman, when his ship founders, does not waste time in meditating why it should be that water will sink a ship, but he will build a craft, if haply he may thereby come off safe.

In these respects we behold Carlyle a true representative of his time. Before the vast bulk of sin and sorrow and pain, he did not cower; he would fight it manfully. But the smoke of battle darkened him. The spectacle of mankind, dwelling in Eternity, yet ignorant of their heritage, pursuing "desires whose purpose ends in Time"; of souls engaged from dawn to dusk of their swift-fleeting existence, not on soul's business, but on body's business, worshipping idols they know to be false, deceiving, persecuting, slaying each other,—confirmed a tendency to pessimism to which his early Calvinism had predisposed him. But Carlyle's pessimism must not be confounded with Swift's misanthropy, or with Leopardi's blank despair, or with the despicable Schopenhauer's cosmic negation of good. Carlyle was neither cynic nor misanthrope. He might exclaim with Ecclesiastes, "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity!" but he would mean that the ways and works of man are vain in comparison with his possibilities, and with the incalculable worth of righteousness. "Man's unhappiness, as I construe," he says, "comes of his greatness; it is because there is an Infinite in him which with all his cunning he cannot quite bury under the Finite. Always there is a black spot in our sunshine: it is even the *Shadow of Ourselves*."

These being the elements of Carlyle's moral nature, let us look for a moment at the world which he was to test by his unborrowed principles of conviction. He came on the scene during the decade of reaction which followed the battle of Waterloo. Official Europe, confounding the ambition of Napoleon with the causes underlying the Revolution, supposed that in crushing one it had destroyed the other. The motto of the Old Régime had been *Privilege*, of the New it was *Merit*. The revived political fashions of the eighteenth century, though cut by such elegant tailors as Metternich, Castlereagh, and Polignac, chafed a generation which had grown used to a freer costume. At any



time there yawns between the ideals and the practices of society a discrepancy which provokes the censure of the philosopher and the sarcasm of the cynic ; but in a time like the Restoration, when some men consciously repudiated and none sincerely believed the system thrust upon them, the chasm between profession and performance must open wider still, revealing not only the noble failures born of earnest but baffled endeavor, but also all the hideous growths of hypocrisy, of deceptions, insincerities, and intellectual fraud. And in very truth the Old Régime resuscitated by Europe's oligarchs was doubly condemned : first, as being unfitted to the new age ; and second, as having marked in the eighteenth century, when it flourished, the logical conclusion of a political and social epoch. In 1820 the trunk and main branches of the tree of Feudalism were dead : he was not a wise man who imagined that the still surviving upper branches would long keep green.

Not alone in the political constitution of society were momentous changes operating. They but represented the attempt of man to work out, in his civic and social relations, ideas which had already penetrated his religion and his philosophy. Distil those ideas to their inmost essence, its name is *Liberty*. The old Church, whether Roman or Protestant, lay rotting at anchor in the land-locked bayou of Authority ; and the pioneers of the new convictions, abandoning her and her cargo of antiquated dogmas, had pushed on across intervening morasses to the shore of the illimitable sea ; yea, they were launching thereon their skiffs of modern pattern, and resolutely, hopefully steering whither their consciences pointed. Better the storms of the living ocean than the miasma of that stagnant, scum-breeding pool ! But a church is of all institutions that to which men cling most stubbornly, paying it lip-service long after its doctrines have ceased to shape their conduct or to lift their aspirations ; trying to believe, in spite of their unbelief, that it will continue to be to them a source of strength as it once was to their fathers ; preserving forms, but veneering them with contradictory meanings ; coming at last to declare that an institution must be kept, if for no other reason than because it once fulfilled the purposes for which it is now inadequate. The aroma of association has for some minds the potency of original inspiration. Who can ponder on life without perceiving that whereas in their business, their possessions, their love, and their hate, men resent dictation ; in matters beyond the scope of experience, and consequently beyond proof,—as the conditions of a future life,—men credulously accept the guidance of others as

ignorant as themselves, from whom in their business or their passions they would submit to no interference.

Needless to say the revived Old Régime entrenched itself behind whatever church it found standing: in Prussia the Lutheran, in England the Anglican, in Scotland the Calvinist, in the Latin countries the Roman. The ecclesiastical institution might not humanize the masses, but it held them in check; it might not spiritualize the classes, but it taught them that in rallying to its support they were best guarding their own privileges. Metternich, whom we call the representative of the Restoration, did not scruple to announce that, as the dangers which threatened Church and State were identical, the Church could only be saved by upholding the State. Not for the first time in history was the priest a policeman in disguise.

Into this world of transition Thomas Carlyle strode with his store of unborrowed principles. Right or wrong, his convictions were his own; therefore they were realities that need not fear a conflict with ghosts of dead convictions and insincerities.

Naturally, one of the first facts that amazed him was the monstrous unreality in that transitional society. By the census the people of Great Britain were rated as Christians; by their acts they seemed little better than barbarians. What availed the Established Church, in which livings were assigned at the pleasure of some dissolute noble, fox-hunting parsons were given the cure of souls, and worldlings or unbelievers rose to be bishops? Could the loudest protestations explain the existence of great, gaunt, brutalized masses, beyond the pale of human charity; every working *horse* sleek, well lodged, and well fed, but innumerable working *men* dying of hunger or lodged in the almshouse? Can that be true civilization in which the various constituents recognize no interdependence, and only a few usurp benefits which are pernicious unless they be free to all? Respectability, and not virtue,—that, Carlyle declared, was John Bull's ideal, and he opened fire upon its chief allies, Sham and Cant. He spared no prejudices, he respected no institutions. With sarcasm until then unknown in English, he unmasked one artificiality after another, disclosing the cruelty or the hypocrisy which lurked behind it, and setting over against it the true nature of the thing it pretended to be. To interpret such conditions by the criterion of conscience was to condemn them.

But Carlyle's mission was not merely to destroy: he shattered error in order that the clogged fountain of truth might once more gush forth. Before eyes long dimmed with gazing on insincerity, he would hold up



shining patterns of sincerity; souls groping for guidance, he would stay and comfort by precedents of strength; hearts pursuing false idols, he would chasten by examples of truth. Men talked—and nowhere more dogmatically than in the churches—as if God, after having imparted his behests to a few Hebrews ages ago, had retired into some remote empyrean, and busied himself no more with the affairs of men. But to Carlyle the immanence of God was an ever-present reality, manifesting itself throughout all history and in every individual conscience, but nowise more clearly than in the careers of great men.

Thus he made it his business to set before his contemporaries models worthy of veneration, for he recognized that worship is a primary moral need. "Great Men," he says, "are the inspired (speaking and acting) Texts of that divine *Book of Revelations*, whereof a Chapter is completed from epoch to epoch, and by some named *History*." In this spirit he introduced Goethe, the latest of the heroes, to English readers, as the man who, from amid chaos similar to that which bewildered them, had climbed to a position where life could be lived nobly, rationally, well. "Close your Byron, open your Goethe," was his advice to those in whom Byron's mingled defiance and sentimentality found an echo. He showed in Cromwell how religious zeal is something very different from a phantom faith. He laid bare the truth in Mahomet. He made Luther live again. And all to the end that he might convince his dazed contemporaries that in no age, if we look deeply, shall we look in vain for concrete, living examples of those qualities which are indispensable to right action; that salvation—the purging of the character—is won by exercising virtues, and not by conforming to a stereotyped routine; that the authority of conscience is a present fact, not a mere mechanism which God wound up and gave to the Hebrews, and has been transmitted by them to us. As an antidote to sterilizing doubt, Carlyle prescribed the simple remedy which sums up the wisdom of all the sages: "Do the Duty which lies nearest thee, which thou knowest to be a Duty! Thy second Duty will already have become clearer." In this fashion did Carlyle discharge his mission as a moral regenerator. We live as individuals, and to the individual conscience he made his appeal, caring little for the organization of principles into institutions. Rather, like every individualist, did he incline to deprecate the numbing effect of institutions. Let each unit be righteous, in order that whatever the collective units shall establish may be righteous too.

Bearing this in mind, we shall understand Carlyle's attitude toward

the great social and intellectual movements of his time. The watch-word which had inspired generous minds at the end of the last century was *Liberty*, and after the thunders of the Napoleonic wars that had drowned it died away, it rang out its summons more clearly than before, never again to be quite deadened, despite all the efforts of the Old Régime. The application of the theory of Liberty to government resulted in setting up Democracy as the ideal political system. Since every citizen in the State bears, directly or indirectly, his fraction of the burden of taxation, and since he is affected by the laws, and interested, even to the point of laying down his life, in the preservation of his country, Democracy declares that he should have an equal part with every other citizen in determining what the taxes and policy of his State shall be; and it thrusts upon him the responsibility of choosing his own governors and representatives. To Carlyle this ideal seemed chimerical. Honest, just, and intelligent government is of all social contrivances the most difficult: by what miracle, therefore, shall the sum of the opinions of a million voters, severally ignorant, be intelligent? As well blow a million soap-bubbles, each thinner than gossamer, and expect that collectively they will be hard as steel! Or, admitting that the representatives *Demos* chooses be not so incompetent as itself, how shall they be kept disinterested? Their very numbers not only make them unmanageable, but so divide responsibility that any individual among them can shift from his own shoulders the blame for corrupt or harmful laws. Moreover, popular government means party government, and that means compromise. To Carlyle, principles were either right or wrong, and between right and wrong he saw no neutral ground for compromise. Party government cleaves to expediency, which at best is only a half-truth: but half-truth is also half-error, and any infinitesimal taint of error vitiates the truth to which it clings. Finally, Democracy substitutes a new, many-headed tyranny—more difficult to destroy because many-headed—for the tyranny it would abolish.

Such objections Carlyle urged with consummate vigor. He foresaw, too, many of the other evils which have accompanied the development of this system to impair its efficacy, such as the rise of a class of professional politicians, of political sophists, of corrupt "bosses," expert in the art of wheedling the ignorant many, and thereby of frustrating the initial purpose of the system. His opposition did not spring from desire to see the masses downtrodden, but from conviction that they need guidance and enlightenment, and that they are therefore no



more competent to choose their own law-makers than children are to choose their own teachers. In knowledge of public affairs Demos is still a child,—innocent, well-intentioned, if you will; but ignorant, and by this system left to the mercy of the unscrupulous.

This brings us to consider the charge that Carlyle, in his exaltation of the Strong Man, worshipped crude force. Let us grant that on the surface the accusation seems plausible: but when we seek deeper, we shall discover that he exalts Cromwell and Frederick, not because they were despots, but because, in his judgment, they knew better than any other man, or group of men, in their respective countries, how to govern. Their ability was their justification: their force but the symbol of their ability. "Weakness"—Carlyle was fond of quoting—"is the only misery." What is ignorance but weakness (through lack of training) of the intellect? In the incessant battle of life,—and few men have been more constantly impressed than Carlyle by the battle-aspect of life,—weakness of whatever kind succumbs to strength. Evil perpetually marshals its forces against Good,—positive, aggressive forces, to be overcome neither by inertia, nor indifference, nor half-hearted compromise, but by hurling stronger forces of Good against them. Interpreting Carlyle's views thus, we perceive why he extolled the Strong Man and distrusted the aggregate ignorance of Democracy. Furthermore, we must not forget that he never considered politics the prime business of life: first, make the masses righteous, next, enlightened, and then they will naturally organize a righteous and enlightened government. When Carlyle rejoined to the zealots of Democracy or other panaceas, "Adopt your new system if you must, will not the same old human units operate it? Were it not wiser to perfect them first?"—he antagonized the spirit of the age: wisely or not, only time can show. Those of us who would reject his arguments would nevertheless admit that Democracy is still on trial.

With equal fearlessness he attacked the cheap optimism based on material prosperity, which brags of the enormous commercial expansion made possible by the invention of machinery; which boasts of the rapid increase in population,—so many more million mouths to feed and bodies to clothe, and so much more food and raiment produced,—from decade to decade. These facts, he insisted, are not of themselves evidences of progress. Your inventions procure greater comfort, a more exuberant luxury: but do comfort and luxury necessarily build up character?—do they not rather unbuild it? Are your newly-bred millions of bodies more than bodies? Take a census of souls, has *their*

number increased? Though your steam-horse carries you fifty miles an hour, have you thereby become more virtuous? Though the lightning bears your messages, have you gained bravery? Of old, your aristocracy were soldiers: is the brewer who rises from his vats to the House of Lords,—is any other man owing his promotion to the tradesman's skill in heaping wealth,—more worshipful than they? Let us not say that this amazing industrial expansion may not conduce to the uplifting of character; but let us strenuously affirm that it is of itself no indication of moral progress, and that, if it fail to be accompanied by a corresponding spiritual growth, it will surely lead society by the Byzantine high road to effeminacy, exhaustion, and death.

A different gospel, this, from that which Carlyle's great rival, Macaulay, was preaching,—Macaulay, who lauded the inventor of a useful machine above all philosophers! Different from the optimism—which gauges by bulk—of the newspapers and the political haranguers! Different, because true! Yet, though it sounded harsh, it stirred consciences—which smug flatterings and gratulations can never do; and it gave a tremendous impetus to that movement which has come to overshadow all others, the movement to reconstruct society on a basis not of privilege, not of bare legality, but of mutual obligations.

Any inventory, however brief, of Carlyle's substance, would be incomplete without some reference to his quarrel with Science. To Science a large part of the best intelligence of our age has been devoted,—a sign of the breaking away of the best minds from the sterilizing quibbles of theology into fields where knowledge can be ascertained. It is a truism that Science has advanced further in our century than in all preceding time. By what paradox, then, should Carlyle slight its splendid achievements? Was it not because he revolted from the materialistic tendency which he believed to be inseparable from Science, and which predominated a generation ago more than it does to-day? Materialism Carlyle regarded as a Gorgon's head, the sight of which would inevitably petrify man's moral nature.

Moreover, Carlyle's method differed radically from that of the scientific man, who describes processes and investigates relations, but does not explain causes. Pledged to his allegiance to tangible facts, the man of science looks at things serially, pays heed to an individual as a link in an endless chain rather than as an individual, lays emphasis on averages rather than on particulars. To him this method is alone honest, and, thanks to it, a single science to-day commands more authenticated facts than all the sciences had fifty years ago. But there are



facts of supreme importance, which, up to the present at least, this method does not solve. The mystery of the origin of life still confronts us. Consciousness, the Sphinx, still mutely challenges the caravans which file before her. The revelations of Science seem, under one aspect, but descriptions of the habitations of life from the protoplasmic cell up to the human body. Immense though the value of such a register be, we are not deceived into imagining that it explains ultimates. How came life into protoplasm at all? Whence each infinitesimal increment of life, recognizable at last in the budding of some new organ? And when we arrive at man, whence came his personality? Each of us is not only one in a genealogical series stretching back to the unreasoning, conscienceless *amæba*, but a clearly defined individual, a little world in himself, to whom his love, his sorrow, his pain and joy and terror transcend in vividness all the experiences of all previous men: a microcosm, having its own immediate relations—absolute relations—with the infinite macrocosm. Science, bent on establishing present laws, measures by æons, counts by millions, and has warrant for ignoring your brief span or mine; but to you and me these few decades are all in all. However it may fare with the millions, you and I have vital, pressing needs, to supply which the experience of the entire animal kingdom can give us no help. Upon these most human needs Carlyle fastened, to the exclusion of what he held to be unnecessary to the furtherance of our spiritual welfare. He busied himself with ultimates and the Absolute. Not the stages of development, but the development attained; not the pedigree of conscience, but conscience as the supreme present reality; not the species, but the individual,—were his absorbing interests.

Thus we see how Carlyle approached the great questions of life invariably as a moralist. Mere erudition, which too often tends away from the human, did not attract him. Science, which he beheld still unspiritualized, he undervalued: what boots it to know the "mileage and tonnage" of the universe, when our foremost need is to build up character? In politics, in philosophy, in religion, likewise, he set this consideration above all others: before its august presence outward reforms dwindled into insignificance.

Such was the substance of Carlyle's message. Remarkable as is its range, profound as is its import, it required for its consummation the unique powers of utterance which Carlyle possessed. Among the masters of British prose he holds a position similar to that of Michael Angelo among the masters of painting. Power, elemental, titanic,

rushing forth from an inexhaustible moral nature, yet guided by art, is the quality in both which first startles our wonder. The great passages in Carlyle's works, like the Prophets and Sibyls of the Sistine Chapel, have no peers: they form a new species, of which they are the only examples. They seem to defy the ordinary canons of criticism; but if they break the rules, it is because whoever made the rules did not foresee the possibility of such works. Transcendent Power, let it take whatever shape it will,—volcano, torrent, Cæsar, Buonarotti, Carlyle,—proclaims: "Here I am,—a fact: make of me what you can! You shall not ignore me!"

Of Carlyle's style we may say that, whether one likes it or not, one can as little ignore it as fail to perceive that he makes it serve, with equal success, whatever purpose he requires. It can explain, it can laugh, it can draw tears; it can inveigh, argue, exhort; it can tell a story or preach a sermon. Carlyle has, it is computed, the largest vocabulary in English prose. His endowment of imagination and of humor beggars all his competitors. None of them has invented so many new images, or given to old images such fresh pertinence. Your first impression, on turning to other writings after his, is that they are pale, and dim, and cold: such is the fascination inalienable from power. Excess there may be in so vehement a genius: repetition there must be in utterances poured out during sixty years; an individuality so intense must have an equally individual manner; but there is, rightly speaking, no mannerism, for mannerism implies affectation, and Carlyle's primal instinct was sincerity. His expression is an organic part of himself, and shares his merits and defects.

Carlyle won his first reputation as a historian; singularly enough, his achievements in history have temporarily suffered a partial eclipse. Teachers in our colleges refer to them dubiously or not at all. Does the fault lie with these same teachers, or with Carlyle? A glance at the methods of the school of historical students which has sprung up during the last generation will explain the disagreement.

History, like every other branch of intellectual activity, has responded to the doctrines of Evolution. That most fertile working hypothesis has proved, when applied here, not less fruitful than in other fields. It has caused the annals of the past to be reinvestigated, every document, record, and monument to be gathered up, and the results have been set forth from the new point of view. Evolutionary science, as we saw above, fixes its attention primarily on the processes of development, and regards the individual, in comparison with a species or



the race, as a negligible quantity. A similar spirit has guided historical students. They have turned away from "great captains with their guns and drums," away from figure-head monarchs, away from the achievements of even the mightiest individuals, to scrutinize human action in its collective forms, the rise and supremacy and fall of institutions, the growth of parties, the waxing and waning of organisms like Church or State, in whose many-centuried existence individual careers are swallowed up. Using the methods of Science, these students have persuaded themselves that history also is a science, which, in truth, it can never be. Judicial temper, patience, veracity,—the qualities which they rightly magnify,—were not invented by them, nor are these the only qualities required in writing history. Speaking broadly, facts lie within the reach of any diligent searcher. But a fact is a mere pebble in a brook until some David comes to put it in his sling. True history is the arrangement and interpretation of facts, and—more difficult still—insight into motives: for this there must be art, there must be imagination.

To the disciples of the "scientific school" it may be said that the heaping up of great stores of facts—the collection of manuscripts, the cataloguing of documents, the shovelling all together in thick volumes prefaced by forty pages of bibliography, each paragraph floating on a deep, viscous stream of notes, each volume bulging with a score of appendices—is in no high sense history, but the accumulation of material therefor. It bears the same relation to history as the work of the quarryman to that of the architect; most worthy in itself, and evidently indispensable, but not the same. Stand before some noble edifice,—Lincoln Cathedral, for instance, with its incomparable site, its symmetry and majestic proportions: scan it until you feel its personality and realize that this is a living idea, the embodiment of strength and beauty and aspiration and awe,—and you will not confound the agency of the stone-cutters who quarried the blocks with that of the architect in whose imagination the design first rose. Neither should there be confusion between the historical hodman and the historian.

Indubitably, history of the highest kind may be written from the evolutionist's standpoint, but as yet works of the lower variety predominate. Naturally, therefore, in a time when the development of institutions chiefly commands attention, Carlyle, who magnifies individuals, will be neglected. But in reality, histories of both kinds are needed, to supplement each other. All institutions originate and exist in the activities of individuals. The hero, the great man, makes con-

crete and human what would otherwise be abstract. Environment does not wholly explain him. It is easy to show wherein he resembles his fellows; that difference from them which constitutes his peculiar, original gift is the real mystery, which the study of resemblances cannot solve. Men will cease to be men when personality shall lose its power over them.

Accepting, therefore, the inherent antagonism in the two points of view,—antagonism which implies parity and not the necessary extinction of one by the other,—we can judge Carlyle fairly. Among historians he excels in vividness. Perhaps more than any other who has attempted to chronicle the past, he has visualized the past. The men he describes are not lay figures, with wooden frames and sawdust vitals, to be called Frenchmen or Germans or Englishmen according as a different costume is draped upon them; but human beings, each swayed by his individual passions, striving and sinning, and incessantly alive. They are actors in a real drama: such as they are, Carlyle has seen them: such as he has seen, he depicts them. To go back to Carlyle from one of the “scientific historians” is like passing from a museum of mummies out into the throng of living men. If his portraits differ from those of another artist, it does not follow that they are false. In ordinary affairs, two witnesses may give a different report of the same event, yet each may, from his angle of observation, have given exact testimony. Absolute truth, who shall utter it? Since history of the highest, architectonic kind is interpretation, its value must depend on the character of the interpreter. Not to be greatly esteemed, we suspect, are those grubbers among the rubbish-heaps who imagine that Carlyle’s interpretation of the French Revolution, or of Cromwell, or of Frederick, may be ignored. Character, insight, and imagination went to the production of works like these: they require kindred gifts to be appreciated.

Neither of Carlyle’s portrait-gallery, unparalleled in range, in which from each picture an authentic human face looks out at us; nor of his masterpieces of narration, long since laureled even by the unwilling,—is there space here to speak. In portraiture he used Rembrandt’s methods: seizing on structural and characteristic traits, he displays them in strong, full light, and heightens the effect by surrounding them with shadows. As a biographer he succeeded equally well in telling the story of Schiller and that of John Sterling: the latter a most difficult task, as it must always be to make intelligible to strangers a beautiful character whose charm and force are felt by his friends, but have no proportionate expression in his writings. As an essayist he has left



models in many branches: "Mirabeau," "Johnson," "Goethe," "Characteristics," "Burns," "History," stand as foothills before his more massive works. His is creative criticism, never restricted, like the criticism of the schools, to purely literary, academic considerations, but penetrating to the inmost heart of a book or a man, to discover what deepest human significance may there be found. A later generation has, as we have noted, adopted a different treatment in all these fields: bending itself to trace the ancestry and to map out the environment of men of genius; concentrating attention on the chain rather than its links; necessarily belittling the individual to aggrandize the mass. It behooves us, while we recognize the value of this treatment as a new means to truth, not to forget that it is not the only one. By and by—perhaps the time is already at hand—we shall recognize that the other method, which deals with the individual as an ultimate rather than in relation to a series, which is human rather than abstract, cannot be neglected without injury to truth. Either alone is partial; each corrects and enlightens the other.

Meanwhile we will indulge in no vain prophecies as to Carlyle's probable rank with posterity. That a man's influence shall be permanent depends first on his having grasped elemental facts in human nature, and next on his having given them an enduring form. Systems struggle into existence, mature, and pass away, but the needs of the individual remain. Though we were to wake up to-morrow in Utopia, the next day Utopia would have vanished, unless we ourselves had been miraculously transformed. To teach the individual soul the way of purification; to make it a worthy citizen of Eternity which laps it around; to kindle its conscience; to fortify it with courage; to humanize it with sympathy; to make it true,—this has been Carlyle's mission, performed with all the vigor of a spirit "in earnest with the universe," and with intellectual gifts most various, most powerful, most rare. It will be strange if, in time to come, souls with these needs, which are perpetual, lose contact with him. But, whatever befall in the future, Carlyle's past is secure. He has influenced the *élite* of two generations: men as different as Tyndall and Ruskin, as Mill and Tennyson, as Browning and Arnold and Meredith, have felt the infusion of his moral force. And to the new generation we would say: "Open your 'Sartor'; there you shall hear the deepest utterances of Britain in our century on matters which concern you most; there, peradventure, you shall discover yourselves."

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER

## THE PILGRIM PRINCIPLE AND THE PILGRIM HERITAGE.

OF ultimate Genevan extraction, fathered by English persecution, mothered in Netherland exile, gestated on the storm-tossed Atlantic, and brought forth on the ice-fringed Plymouth shore, the Pilgrim principle was the immediate responsibility of individuals to God. In that principle are combined a great spiritual truth and a serious practical error. The truth in it has moulded and transformed the nation, and is marching forward to the conquest of the world. The error it contains has robbed the church which they established of all but a fraction of its rightful heritage.

The positive truth of the Pilgrim principle lies in its affirmation of responsibility to God. The recognition of responsibility to God carries with it the right to worship Him according to the dictates of one's own conscience. Civil and religious liberty, toleration in opinion, democracy in government, equality before the law, the right of free inquiry and free speech,—are all involved in this great Pilgrim principle. And although as the Pilgrim entered into confederation with the more practical Puritan, he did in 1646, “after further consideration,” assent to a declaration as to the “spreading nature of error and the dangerous growth and effects thereof,” which recommended that “Anabaptism, Familism, Antinomianism, and generally all errors of a like nature be seasonably and duly suppressed,” yet such intolerance was rather due to the instinct of political self-preservation, and an unconscious acceptance of the standards of the times, than to a conscious misapplication of the great principle to which he was committed.

By virtue of this principle of liberty of thought and word and action in subjection to God alone, the descendants of the Pilgrims and the Puritans have taken the lead in all save one of the great intellectual movements of the country. They were among the readiest to revolt against the unjust exactions of the mother country. They were leaders of the abolition movement. In the work of political organization alone they took a second place. The literature, oratory, philosophy, and theology of America are—with here and there a brilliant exception—the product of the descendants of the Pilgrims and the Puritans, the Congregationalists and the Unitarians. For, although the Unitarian



contradicts at nearly every point the specific doctrines of the Congregationalist, in his intellectual attitude and moral temper he is the legitimate offspring of the Pilgrim principle. In its highest and purest form the intellectual life is possible to those alone who, consciously or unconsciously, have been trained by this Pilgrim principle to see things as they are, and to express them as they see them, uncorrupted by privilege, unfettered by authority, and untrammelled by tradition.

The weakness of the Pilgrim principle was no weakness in the men themselves. Such were the historic conditions under which Separatism arose in England that "even its failings leaned to virtue's side." As between the ecclesiasticism which culminated in the tyranny of Archbishop Laud, and "a church by themselves," the latter, which was then the only alternative, was practically the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. And the very weakness of their theoretical principle reveals the sublime strength of the men who dared to stake their fortunes, their lives, their hopes of heaven upon it.

The defects of their principle do not lie upon the surface. The casual reader of our first paragraph is doubtless at a loss to see how any serious practical error can lie concealed within so pious and orthodox a phrase as "the immediate responsibility of individuals to God." It looks as harmless as did the wooden horse within the walls of Troy. Yet within its heart that phrase conceals two vast negations which sooner or later will prove disastrous to the church which harbors them. One of these negations is wrapped up in the word "immediate." "Immediate" means "unmediated, without a medium." Now the unmediated worship and service of God is a psychological impossibility. Carried to its logical conclusion, this denial of mediation between God and the individual worshipper would lead to practical atheism and irreligion. The Pilgrims were at once practical and religious. And in the application of this negative aspect of their principle they stopped a long way short of its logical conclusion. They accepted implicitly the Bible as the Word of God. They acknowledged Jesus Christ as the Son of God. So far indeed God has come toward man. Here mediation stopped. Across the gulf of sixteen centuries no communication had come. While willing to seek advice of each other, they recognized no authoritative interpretation of either the letter of the Scriptures or the mind of Christ. To be sure, they had another principle of mediation which they freely used, and which in the exigencies of controversy they frequently referred to, but which they refused explicitly to recognize as such. For instance, one of the requirements made of

freemen of the corporation in 1671 was that they "have the testimony of their neighbors that they are orthodox in the fundamentals of religion." In their condemnation of "new and strange and dangerous opinions," in which, to be sure, the Pilgrims were not so adept as their Puritan neighbors, there was the implicit recognition of a body of old, familiar, and safe opinions, by comparison with which the new, strange, and dangerous opinions were condemned. This accepted body of doctrine they had brought with them when they came out of the English church; and, with the exception of a few points on polity and worship, all the "fundamentals of religion" which they so jealously cherished had come to them through the medium of the historic church. Thus they explicitly denied what, implicitly held, was the very condition of their existence as a Christian church. They especially prided themselves on their disregard of the observance of the Christian festivals. The record of their first Christmas reads: "Monday, the 25th day, we went on shore: some to fell timber, some to saw, some to rive, and some to carry; so no man rested all that day." They abhorred everything that savored of ritual, except rites which, like the laying on of hands, had Scriptural sanction.

Their second negation is closely akin to the first. In making the individual, and the local group of individuals, immediately responsible to God, they lost sight of the organic relation of humanity to God. As the only channel of communication from God to man was Christ and the Scriptures, so the only way of approach from man to God was through the conscious voluntary act of the individual. At first, indeed, the logic of this negation was not rigorously applied. Children were recognized as members of the church of their parents. In the language of the Cambridge Platform, "the whole body of men throughout the world, professing the faith of the gospel and obedience unto God by Christ according unto it, . . . they and their children with them are and may be called the visible catholic church of Christ." With the Great Awakening, however, came the application of the logic of individualism in the demand for a conscious experience of a change of heart as evidence of membership in the kingdom of God. Thus an aggregation of groups of self-conscious individuals came to regard themselves as constituting the kingdom of God. Arrogance or indifference toward outsiders was the inevitable consequence of such attempted usurpation. The Great Awakening was an effort to rescue lost individuals as brands from the burning; and even the enthusiasm for foreign missions, which, within the present century, has done much to



broaden the conception of the kingdom and reaffirm the organic relation of men to each other and of humanity to God, drew its inspiration at first from this same individualistic conception. The collision of this individualistic conception, which is unquestionably at the heart of historic Congregationalism, with the organic conception which has always been the soul of historic Christianity, accounts for the conscientious contentiousness of both parties in the recent controversy which raged about Andover Seminary and the American Board. As in our Civil War, where the same essential principles were in conflict in the political arena, both parties had history and tradition upon their side. In the Civil War universal history was on the side of the North ; American history on the whole was on the side of the South. And the triumph of the principles of universal history was a blessing to both contestants. So in this theological controversy the history of the church universal was behind one party, and the history of Congregationalism was on the whole favorable to the claims of the other. And we begin to see that the victory of the larger principle will prove the salvation of the denomination which has been so reluctant to accept it. Of course superficial observers, and perhaps a considerable proportion of participants, saw only the superficial issues involved. But the real issues at stake were no more the question of subscription to a particular creed or a particular view of the duration of "probation," than the American Revolution was essentially a question of a tax on tea, or the Civil War a question as to the return of this or that fugitive slave. Underneath every shock which shakes the surface of the earth, the geologist recognizes the clash of cosmic forces ancient as the solar system ; and underneath each conflict of opinion the philosopher discerns the collision of intellectual tendencies old as the human mind and fundamental as truth itself.

The strength and glory of the Pilgrim principle are universally recognized ; and on the approaching Forefathers' Day, which is the two hundred and seventy-fifth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims, they will be appropriately celebrated wherever their descendants congregate. The weakness and defect of the negative aspects of their principle, when set up as permanent and universal, are not so well understood, nor so likely to receive adequate consideration. The splendid service wrought by their magnificent ideal, which of course is their main contribution to the world, may blind us to imperfections in the working of their practical scheme. From the more attractive work of tracing the beneficent influence of the Pilgrim principle upon the world at large, it may be worth while to turn aside for once to the

humbler task of examining the actual condition of the particular section of New England to which the Pilgrims came.

Mr. Eben Bumstead, the Superintendent of the Massachusetts Colportage Union, has kindly placed at my disposal the results of his recent canvass of a portion of Plymouth County. The statistics are more or less incomplete; as in all towns, with the exception of Rockland, no attempt was made to call a second time at houses at which no one was found the first time, and in the sparsely settled regions it was impossible to visit every house. That the reader may see for himself how incomplete the statistics are in each case, and to guard against misleading inferences concerning particular towns, I have placed in the first column the population of the town according to the census of 1890, and in the second column the number of persons found in the families visited by the colporteur. Thus the statistics vary from those for the town of Rochester, which give only 68 families (including 260 persons) in a town having a population of 1,012, to those for Rockland, which give 1,347 families (including 5,479 persons) in a town which had a population of 5,213 in 1890, and a population of 5,511 according to the State census of 1895. On an average about two-thirds of the population of the region are represented in the table. The towns comprise nearly the whole of the central, southern, and eastern part of Plymouth County, excepting the one large town of Plymouth. The populous towns in the north and northwestern part of the county, and a portion of the shore of Kingston and Duxbury, occupied by wealthy residents, are not represented. The region represented is pre-eminently that in which one would expect to find perpetuated the influence and tradition of the Pilgrims in the most pure and uncontaminated form.

While not complete, the figures are believed to be accurate, trustworthy, and reliable as far as they go. In the daily reports of the agent, from which I have taken them, the name of the head of the family, and the name of the street or district in which the family resides, are given in every case. The religious preference and the church attendance or non-attendance is the statement of the people themselves; and in no case has the judgment or opinion of the agent been allowed to modify their statement. In the matter of attendance upon church the showing is, if anything, too favorable, because it is human nature to give as good an account of one's self as possible; and where 40 per cent of the families of a community are not represented by the regular attendance of a single adult member, the proportion of individuals not attending church must be much larger. Furthermore, as no



RELIGIOUS PREFERENCES OF FAMILIES.

Towns	Population according to census of 1890	Number of persons in families visited	Number of families visited	Advent	Baptist	Christian	Congregational	Episcopal	Methodist	No preference	Presbyterians	Roman Catholic	Universalist	Unitarian	Other denominations	Number of families in which no adult attends any church regularly
Carver....	994	624	169	15	26	..	20	..	37	58	..	1	6	1	5	20
Duxbury...	1,908	1,034	293	26	17	..	28	11	33	60	1	9	7	89	12	186
Halifax....	562	422	127	..	8	..	47	2	8	43	5	3	6	2	3	68
Hanover....	2,093	1,535	408	2	55	..	84	42	22	111	2	32	27	12	19	193
Hanson....	1,267	891	247	2	47	1	35	1	16	105	..	11	2	11	16	122
Kingston...	1,659	1,121	308	3	45	..	51	4	12	36	4	54	2	71	26	129
Lakeville...	935	302	76	1	11	8	34	..	8	8	..	3	..	2	1	22
Marion....	871	618	174	1	1	1	65	9	56	10	1	2	27	1	..	69
Marshfield..	1,713	1,339	362	1	60	1	101	9	49	80	..	8	4	38	11	151
Mattapoiset.	1,148	744	211	14	2	34	58	3	11	29	1	3	48	..	8	101
Middleboro'.	6,065	3,982	1,054	12	263	..	248	37	214	115	4	83	7	57	14	199
Norwell....	1,635	615	171	4	17	..	9	10	35	32	2	11	31	20	..	79
Pembroke...	1,320	592	180	4	18	..	12	5	33	64	..	6	7	18	13	118
Plympton...	597	379	113	..	3	..	43	2	5	54	1	1	..	1	3	70
Rockester...	1,012	260	68	4	..	2	35	..	5	5	..	4	1	..	12	39
Rockland...	5,213	5,479	1,347	1	143	..	267	82	77	167	..	479	21	121	37	470
Wareham...	3,451	2,144	567	15	8	..	123	36	178	48	5	92	2	10	49	270
Totals....	32,443	22,081	5,875	105	724	47	1,260	203	799	1,025	30	802	198	454	229	2,306

questions beyond that of number of members and church preference were asked of Catholic families, these 2,306 unchurched families are all of Protestant antecedents. The table gives with absolute fidelity the account which 5,875 families, including 22,081 persons, in Plymouth County, give of their own religious preference and habits of church attendance.

In religious preference these 5,875 families are divided in the following proportion: Congregational, 21 per cent; no preference, 17 per cent; Roman Catholic and Methodist, each 14 per cent; Baptist, 12 per cent; Unitarian, 8 per cent; Episcopal and Universalist, each  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent; Advent, Christian, Friends, Presbyterians, and others, 7 per cent. Thus the Congregationalists have retained but a little more than one fifth of these families. Nearly 40 per cent, according to their own statement, are not represented by a single adult member in regular attendance upon any church whatsoever.

One practical lesson from these facts is obvious. The union of man with God must find expression in union with his fellow-men. A church by itself can hold together only so long as the common consciousness which it inherited from the universal church remains intact. Every new discovery of science, every fresh deliverance of criticism, every advance in general culture, every elevation in social standards, will split in twain each little group of individualists. As Malthusians tell us concerning the multiplication of the species, to the multiplication of sects and schisms there will be no limit short of the margin of bare subsistence. To the separation of Separatists there is no end. To erect the excuse for a particular revolt into a permanent principle of ecclesiastical organization, is a standing invitation to perpetual revolution. Both for their own salvation, and for the salvation of the unchurched masses around them, the churches which have inherited the traditions of the Pilgrims must conserve the Pilgrim truth without perpetuating the Separatist error.

Fortunately there are on every hand manifestations of a desire to restore the lost unity of Christendom. First there is the proposition of the Roman Catholic, which invites a return to the authority of the Pope. When the Roman Catholic shall have learned the lesson of the Pilgrim sufficiently to make the authority of the Pope a genuine representative expression of the Christian consciousness of the race in the free exercise of all its intellectual faculties and spiritual powers, then the churches of the world may welcome as *primus inter pares* the ancient See of Rome. This, which is doubtless the ultimate ideal, is beyond the range of present practical possibility.



The second plan is that of the Protestant Episcopal Church, reflected in the League of Catholic Unity recently organized on the basis of the acceptance of the Scriptures, the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and the Historic Episcopate. It would permit wide differences concerning the mode of inspiration and interpretation of the Scriptures. It might recognize, in the words of the Rev. Frederic Palmer, in his "Studies in Theologic Definition," that "there is another view of creeds; and that is, to regard them not as attempting scientific accuracy of definition, but as approximate expressions of the truths of which they treat." The preamble to its constitution concedes liberty as to "particular modes of the administration of the sacraments, or special qualifications for their reception, or even theories of their efficacy." It proposes the Historic Episcopate as "a bond of organic unity among the Christian denominations by completing their Congregational, Presbyterial, or Episcopal systems, and at length re-combining them normally in one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church." The League has already secured the membership of representatives of the Congregational, the Episcopal, and the Presbyterial types of church, so that it cannot be pronounced visionary or impracticable. Its basis is very broad and fair. And yet, like all compromises, it cannot be entirely acceptable to any party.

The third plan is that of the Congregationalists, the lineal descendants of the Pilgrims. At their National Council, held in October at Syracuse, New York, the Congregationalists commend the attempts already made in certain States to secure a unity of action in practical work, such as that described by me in a previous article,<sup>1</sup> and—

—"propose to other Protestant evangelical churches a union based on :

1. The acceptance of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments inspired by the Holy Ghost to be the only authoritative revelation of God to man.
2. Discipleship of Jesus Christ, the divine Lord and Saviour and the teacher of the world.
3. The Church of Christ, which is his body, whose great mission is to preach his gospel to the world.
4. Liberty of conscience in the interpretation of the Scriptures and in the administration of the church.

Such an alliance of the churches should have regular meetings of their representatives, and should have for its objects, among others :

1. Mutual acquaintance and fellowship.
2. Co-operation in foreign and domestic missions.
3. The prevention of rivalries between competing churches in the same field.

<sup>1</sup> "Church Union a Necessity : The Maine Experiment : " THE FORUM, April, 1893.

And whereas it cannot be expected that there shall be a speedy corporate union of the numerous bodies into which the Christian church of our own land is divided, we do therefore desire that their growing spiritual unity should be made manifest by some form of federation, which shall express to the world their common purpose and confession of faith in Jesus Christ, and which shall have for its object to make visible their fellowship, to remove misunderstandings, and to aid their consultations in establishing the kingdom of God in the world ; and to this end we invite correspondence with other Christian bodies."

This proposition affirms all the essential principles for which the Pilgrim stood, and gives ample recognition to the rights of others, exercising proper liberty of conscience, to hold other truth and work in other ways not inconsistent with these principles. The approach to corporate union through the manifestation of the growing spiritual unity through some form of federation provides for the conservation of whatever is still valuable in the special doctrines and services for which the several denominations stand, and for the organization and expression of their oneness as fast as it is developed. This is the most practicable of the three plans.

The great truth which the Pilgrims brought with them to these shores the world will never suffer to be lost. Whether through a Catholic church made democratic and representative, or through Protestant sects federated into an unsectarian and universal body ; whether through an orthodoxy that is courageous enough to think its doctrines through to their rational foundations, or through a liberalism that is earnest enough to demand at all costs a genuine piety ; whether through a socialized church or a spiritualized state,—the sublime sense of responsibility to the Absolute and Eternal Source of truth and righteousness which the Pilgrims magnificently affirmed will never lack for men and institutions to claim it as their own.

On the other hand the particular vessels which they fashioned to contain their spiritual treasure have proved earthen and inadequate. The sense of the organic relationship of men to each other, and of humanity to God, was largely lacking in their scheme. Through that fatal gap much of their heritage has been suffered to escape : and though portions of it have been reclaimed by others, still a large fraction has been lost. The movement toward the enrichment of forms of worship, simplification of the formulas of faith, and co-operation in common lines of work and service, has come none too soon to save, for the church the Pilgrims loved, its hard-earned heritage.

WILLIAM DE WITT HYDE.



## THE OBLIGATION OF THE INACTIVE.

A SMALL portion of leaven will leaven three measures of meal; of this we have the evidence of our senses, although we have not baked a batch of bread; we have also good authority for believing that the fact is a parable and has a deeper truth. And yet, alas, how prone is man to believe truth with the lips and doubt it with the heart; to draw dividing-lines between the possible and the actual; to differentiate between the ideal and the real; and to distinguish between theory and practice; forgetting that the possible may always become the actual, that the ideal is only a true ideal when it has a vital reality, and that theory has no warrant unless it can be applied to life.

It is strange logic, but it is a grave fact that some of our most virtuous citizens are inactive in the work of the Commonwealth because they shrink before the magnitude of the work there is to be done, and neglect their public duty because of flagrant public evil. They keep aloof from politics for dread of contamination; and, retiring to the serene seclusion of their libraries, fold their hands idly and decry public corruption because they do not dare to risk their small force against the surging tide of iniquity, and fear to expose their own purity to the pitch that they condemn, lest it should be defiled. Nor is the failure on their part limited by inertia. Wishing—perhaps unconsciously—to reconcile their conscience to their own apathy, they proclaim the uselessness of endeavor, defending what they call their practical common sense; they shrug their shoulders with chilling scepticism at the leaven other men would bring to raise this lump of dough into bread that may be broken for the body politic, and even, oftentimes, take the words “enthusiast” and “fanatic,” and round them into petty bullets of scorn to fling at those “spirits bravely pitched, earth’s manlier brood,” who are “set on flame by the pure fire that flies all contact base”; but who, “choosing danger and disdaining shame,” throw themselves into the midst of the evil to fight it to the death.

For the men who are sunk in a hopeless lethargy of pessimism and despair there should be less condemnation, for they are as the blind and can discern no light; for men who have sold themselves to Satan

there should be a measure of pity, for they are under the bondage of their cruel debt; but for men with eyes and ears and consciences to stand upon this neutral ground is far more reprehensible in its wrong. He who makes a negative resistance to the thing his conscience approves is more to be condemned than he who fiercely fights a right that his conscience is too callous to discern. It is Pilate, who washed his hands of the whole affair, and not Judas, who betrayed the Christ, that in the Creed is daily associated with the deed throughout all Christendom.

Political evils, corruption, and immorality in high places and low, impure legislation, and the "rings" that have circled round our cities—contracting and crushing the moral life of our people into their compass—are deplored, decried, and bemoaned on every side; journals and magazines vie with each other in denouncing them; and yet, when—glowing with eager faith and hope, filled with ardor and enthusiasm for Reform—some zealous citizens arise, they are laughed at, or watched in idle curiosity, with amused questioning as to the result of their extravagant endeavor, by those who should make haste to help them. Woe to that man who, believing in the right, hampers Reform by a neutralizing negative because he doubts the wisdom of the method. Small streams may irrigate and fertilize a sandy soil; but if a man, flattering himself that his ideas are too large for small streams, stops them in the beginning, the country will remain unredeemed while he is waiting for a satisfactory method on his own scale.

A little leaven will leaven a large lump, but if the hand that would contribute it is laughingly pushed aside by some bystander who thinks the leaven ludicrously small compared with the lump of dough, the truth of the prophecy cannot be demonstrated.

In great emergencies, though more would be better than less, something is better than nothing; and we should eagerly, gladly conserve and encourage every honest effort at action, every earnest enthusiasm, in this hour of public need. Enthusiasm may be neutralized by sneers, and faith prevented from removing mountains by another's doubt.

To-day is a crisis in the Commonwealth. A new dawn has come in the night of our political life; a new tide of Reform has begun to sweep over our land. Men's consciences are aroused, their moral natures are awake. The efforts to change the order and bring in a truer, a purer, a cleaner system, a higher and a nobler standard, is evidenced by the Good-Government and Reform clubs, the gathering and growing interest in all questions of Reform, and the signal instances where Reform has been accomplished by persistent and vigorous effort.



Now is the time for each man and woman to arise to the opportunity of the moment. To each man, and to each woman, belongs his and her share of responsibility for the conditions they deplore; and it is petty and trivial, unworthy of a rational human being, to put into complaint the energy that might go into effort. Each man is a unit, and adds one more to the force that may oppose existing evils. As for woman, her present duty is clear, her opportunity potential,—whatever her future sphere may be. The Roman mother who buckled on her son's sword did not go to the war, but she contributed to the victory. The Spartan wife whose parting salutation to her husband was to come home on his shield or with it, gave him a glowing inspiration that spurred him on to conquest.

If women weaken men, or lure them from their duty to the body politic, by their selfish claims or their capricious vanity, they are as guilty as the men who neglect their public duty—perhaps more guilty. He who made Israel to sin was punished more severely than the sinner, in the wise Hebraic dispensation. If women sympathize, stimulate, cultivate, and intelligently urge their husbands, sons, and lovers to their public duty, they are doing a sure work for the state while waiting for the state to grant the claims they urge.

O that men would rouse themselves and join this great crusade! But if—through conditions, inability, or circumstance—a man may not bear the lance himself, at *least* let him encourage and cheer his brother in the lists. If he, too fearful, doubts the quest, thinks it vague and visionary, “a wandering fire that will be lost in the quagmire,” at least let him keep silent and beware how he imperils it by any jeer or sneer or questioning. Let him designate his ardent brother, if he will, as an “enthusiast”; but let the name bear the stimulating distinction of a title or a degree in its intonation, as he says it,—not the flavor of a jesting taunt, nor even of a good-natured forbearance and sceptical patience.

Let the Inactive remember that—as Sophocles has well said—“one soul working in the strength of love is mightier than ten thousand to atone”; whether it be the love of God or friend or country; and that the moral enthusiast, strong in the love of his state and the love of right, may have a power beyond the seeming, which should be reinforced, quickened, and sustained by the faith, the confidence, the sympathy of his fellowmen. This, at least, may the Inactive contribute, and that much lessen the magnitude of his failure in the obligation of his citizenship.

KATRINA TRASK.

## CRIME AMONG ANIMALS.

THE gulf which the philosophers of former centuries created between men and animals no longer exists; the theory of evolution and general psychology having shown that there is no break whatever in the long chain of living beings. Everything one meets with in communities formed by man is also to be found, on a smaller scale and in rough outlines, among the animal species; for all beings capable of movement, of receiving sensations, and of feeling emotions, are subject to the same general laws of existence. No science has been more useful in showing the universal fraternity existing between all living beings than general psychology; no discovery made by the human mind has been so great or so full of poetry as that which has led man to recognize a part of himself throughout the whole realm of nature, even in the humblest of animals.

This is why the school of criminal anthropology founded by Prof. Lombroso, the eminent Italian savant, has endeavored to discover in the animal species the origin of the mysterious and terrible phenomenon we call "crime." The idea has given rise to a considerable number of objections, mainly because Prof. Lombroso has quoted, as examples of crime among animals, certain actions which cannot be regarded as real crimes, as they are solely the result of the struggle for existence. But if we leave out these actions, whose true nature Prof. Lombroso has failed to recognize, we shall find that animals do become guilty of real crimes when, without the slightest necessity, they commit actions which are hurtful to their species, or, in the case of gregarious animals, to their companions. Among animals, as among men, there are individuals which are incapable of living and satisfying their wants without doing some harm to their fellows; therefore they are abnormal and criminal beings, for their actions do not tend to ensure the prosperity of their species. Almost every form and variety of human crime is thus to be found among animals.

Cases of theft are noticed among bees. Büchner, in his "*Psychic Life of Animals*," speaks of thievish bees which, in order to save themselves the trouble of working, attack well-stocked hives in masses,



kill the sentinels and the inhabitants, rob the hives, and carry off the provisions. After repeated enterprises of this description they acquire a taste for robbery and violence ; they recruit whole companies which get more and more numerous ; and finally they form regular colonies of brigand-bees. But it is a still more curious fact that these brigand-bees can be produced artificially by giving working-bees a mixture of honey and brandy to drink. The bees soon acquire a taste for this beverage, which has the same disastrous effects upon them as upon men ; they become ill-disposed and irritable, and lose all desire to work ; and finally, when they begin to feel hungry, they attack and plunder the well-supplied hives. There is one variety of bees—the *Sphecodes*—which lives exclusively upon plunder. According to Marchall, this variety is formed of individuals of the *Halytes* species, whose organs of nidification were defective, and which have gradually developed into a separate variety, living almost exclusively by plunder. They may thus be said to be an example of innate and organic criminality among insects, and they represent what Prof. Lombroso calls the born criminals,—that is, individuals which are led to crime by their own organic constitution.

According to the observations of Linnaeus and Tesse, which Romanes believes to be probable, sparrows are sometimes guilty of real robbery with regard to swallows' nests ; and the swallows in their turn defend themselves and take their revenge. The following account of a case of this description has been given by Tesse :

“ Some swallows had built their nests under the windows of the first floor of an uninhabited house in Merrion Square, Dublin. A sparrow took possession of the nest, and in vain the unfortunate swallows endeavored to retain their hold upon it. They were forced to abandon the nest ; but they returned with a band of their companions, each of whom was provided with a little lump of mud. The entrance to the nest was soon blocked up, and the intruder found himself a prisoner.”

Sometimes, according to the same author, their revenge takes a different form. He writes :

“ At Hampton Court a couple of sparrows took possession of a nest built by a couple of swallows, in spite of an obstinate resistance on the part of the latter. Having once established themselves, the intruders were no longer molested. But the day came when they were obliged to leave the nest in search of food for their young ; then, as soon as they were out of sight, several swallows came to demolish the nest, and I saw the young sparrows lying dead upon the ground.”

Real instances of theft may also be observed among pigeons, in the artificial communities formed by dove-cotes. Signor Muccioli, Secre-

tary to the Roman society for pigeon-breeding, has remarked that in almost every dove-cote there are individuals which try to obtain the material necessary to build their nests by abstracting it from the heap of straws collected by the others for that purpose; in short, they try to procure what they need at their neighbors' expense rather than go in search of it themselves. Moreover, according to Signor Muccioli, these thieves show themselves lazy, idle, and bad carriers, flying slowly and often losing their way, so that they are not to be relied upon. Thus the same psychological characteristic is to be found among these thieves as among those of human species,—the inability to work. This kind of pigeon is therefore almost always carefully excluded from dove-cotes, either because they do not produce good carriers, or because they become troublesome through their thievish propensities.

Cases of theft have at times been remarked among female dogs, but such cases are almost always influenced by maternal love. Certain dogs which, when in a normal condition, are very well behaved and respect their masters' property, begin to steal when they have puppies, and they steal anything that the latter will eat. It is still more curious that certain sterile dogs will steal the young belonging to others, in order to form a family,—a family which in most cases dies, notwithstanding the solicitude of its adopting parent, which is affectionate, but is unable to discharge a mother's duties. According to M. Espinas, something similar to this may be observed among mules: certain mules luring foals away from their mothers, in order to satisfy a morbid maternal instinct; then, being unable to bring them up, letting them die of starvation.

Nor is murder wanting among animals: that is to say, not murder such as is caused by the exigencies of the struggle for life; but murder committed under the influence of individual malice or passion. It would be absurd to declare that the hawk which kills a swallow is a criminal, for he is only fighting out his struggle for existence; but, on the other hand, animals which kill others of their own species are guilty of a true criminal act when they do so for any other reason than that of self-defence. Thus, Karl Vogt, the celebrated German naturalist, has observed a couple of storks that had for several years built their nest in a village near Salette. One day it was noticed that, when the male was out in search of food, another younger bird began to court the female. At first he was repulsed, then tolerated and welcomed; at last, one morning, the two birds flew away to the field where the husband was hunting for frogs, and killed him. According to Brehm, storks often



murder the members of the flock which either refuse to follow them at the time of migration or are not able to do so. Parrots, although frugivorous birds as a rule, will sometimes attack their companions and crush their skulls by repeated blows from their beaks. Female partridges love their young very dearly, but their jealousy of their companions is so great that they often kill each other's young. Houzeau has noticed among anthropomorphic monkeys,—especially among the females in menageries,—that they treat each other with the greatest cruelty, and sometimes even kill each other. It is a peculiar feeling of hatred for the individuals of their own sex which often leads them to murder.

Infanticide is a crime of very frequent occurrence among animals. In almost all zoological species we find females which refuse to be burdened with the bringing up of their young; sometimes they abandon and sometimes they kill them. There is no doubt that these are instances of real criminals,—of individuals affected with a very serious psychic defect which renders them incapable of discharging the most important of their duties toward their kind. Signor Muccioli noticed a dove in his dove-cote which killed the young of every brood by crushing their skulls with her beak. Professor Lombroso has seen a hen which used to make a selection among her young similar to that made by the Spartans: she killed the feeble and lame chicks and only brought up those which were healthy and strong. Brehm tells us about a female *Astur* which was confined in a cage, but received plenty of food. This, however, not being living prey, and so not satisfying her, she finally devoured her young. Certain dogs occasionally abandon their young, after having tended them for several weeks, without its being possible to understand the cause of this sudden aversion.

Crimes caused by mental alienation or by some psychic trouble are also to be found among the more intelligent species,—crimes very much resembling those caused by madness in man. Thus, among elephants, there are instances in which individuals are seized with a desire to kill other elephants and men without provocation, whereas, normally, the elephant has an extremely meek and peaceable character. The natives of India call these elephants *hora*; and their morbid state of mind is attributed to the solitude in which they live. If an elephant accidentally loses his way and is unable to find his herd, he cannot hope to be admitted into any other herd; he can feed in their vicinity, and drink and bathe where they do, but apart from these distant approaches

no other fellowship is granted him. Then such an elephant, excluded from the society of his fellows, becomes a *horma*. Formerly peaceable and magnanimous, he now attains a ferocity unknown in any other animal; continually beset by a kind of cold rage, he attacks every creature he meets, and even lies in ambush for travellers, whom he savagely attacks. If the language of modern psychiatry could be applied to elephants, one would be tempted to attribute this condition to a form of hysteria owing its origin to solitude, and to that total change in the animal's whole existence which attends the passage from social life to loneliness.

Another kind of crime caused by some passing psychopathy has been observed in the *Formica rufibarbis*. According to Forel, female combatants often, after a fight, fall into a passionate fury, in which they blindly try to bite everything around,—the larvæ, their companions, and even the slaves who endeavor to calm them by seizing their feet and holding them until their fit of rage shall have passed off. This is something analogous to the mad thirst for blood, the feverish desire to kill, that sometimes seizes men in time of war, and the frightful consequences of which have been especially observed by travellers among savage African tribes. The warriors often get so heated in battle that they continue to kill even after having gained a victory; they murder the wounded, attack the enemy's village, and massacre the women, children, and animals; sometimes even finishing by killing each other under the influence of this transitory madness.

Such wickedness and cruelty are occasionally innate among other animals. Rodet, a distinguished French veterinary surgeon, says that in every regiment of cavalry one may always find some horses which rebel against discipline and let no opportunity escape them of doing harm either to man or to their companions. In dealing with such it is necessary to be always on one's guard; and it is frequently imperative that they be separated from the others in the stables, as they try to steal their companions' food. What is still more curious, these horses are said to present an anomaly in the formation of their skulls, having a narrow and retreating forehead, a feature which induced M. Rodet to call them *chevaux à nez busqué*. Moreover, according to Cornevin, the Arabs will not admit into their *haras* the offspring of horses which are thus affected and which present this peculiar physiognomy.

This fact might lead us to suspect that the phenomena which relate to the hereditary nature of criminal instincts are not observable in the human species only. Other facts, indeed, can be quoted in support of



this hypothesis, to prove that the laws of criminal heredity are the same in man and in animals. It is known that, according to Professor Lombroso's theory, the hereditary transmission of crime in man is sometimes direct and sometimes indirect; that is to say, sometimes a criminal son is born of a criminal father; sometimes, on the contrary, a criminal's son is afflicted with a different form of degeneracy. In short, crime sometimes engenders crime; but sometimes it engenders madness, sterility, idiocy, physiological and mental weakness, eccentricity, and the like. The following account, given by Signor Cristiani, the Director of the Lucca Lunatic Asylum, would seem to prove that the same phenomena are to be remarked among the more intelligent species of animals. Being both a distinguished psychologist and a passionate sportsman, his observations are doubly valuable.

Signor Cristiani possessed a family of bird-dogs of which one couple—male and female—was distinguished by great intelligence: both were exceptionally clever dogs. These dogs had two young ones, a male ("Ali") and a female ("Popa"). Popa suffered from convulsions and was a real criminal; it was impossible to let her run in the streets because she attacked all the dogs she met and tried to bite them. In spite of whippings and of all kinds of punishments, she could not be taught to respect other people's property; besides she amused herself by destroying things. Ali was very intelligent and showed no criminal tendencies, but he was of a very capricious temperament. Had he been a human being, one would have called him an eccentric and peculiar individual. For instance, he would sometimes refuse to go hunting, and it was impossible to make him accompany any one but his master on shooting expeditions. Even when the latter was hunting, the dog would not go after a bird unless he were sure that his master was on the watch. Finally, although still young and strong, he refused to accompany even his master, and since then the latter had to give up making any use of him. Ali and Popa engendered two males, named "Nilo" and "Fido." Fido was a fine dog; Nilo, on the contrary, was extremely ugly, suffered from convulsions, and showed his father's peculiarities combined with his mother's bad qualities. Fido and Nilo were bred with strange dogs of a normal character. The young of the former—two females—were very good-natured, but extremely stupid and almost incapable of searching for birds. Nilo engendered a female, "Scilla," a fairly fine dog; but she too was stupid and sterile.

In this family of dogs is thus to be seen the characteristic develop-

ment of hereditary crime, just as in the human species it has been described by Professor Lombroso. Two parents of a more than average intelligence beget a criminal dog, and an eccentric one which is half mad; of these two there is born a normal individual, and one which is ugly, criminal, and eccentric. The young of the normal individual are stupid, whereas the criminal individual begets a sterile female.

Thus, all the phenomena of human crime are found among the animal species, but on a smaller scale. The animals are in a certain sense less criminal than men. When we wish to convey the idea that a man is extremely cruel, we say that he is like a wild beast; but this is an insult to animals which the latter do not deserve, for they never attain the hideous monstrosities of man. Man is, indeed, the most ferocious of all beings. Is it possible, in the zoological world, to find anything similar to the cruelties practised by the savage tribes of Africa (the Dahomey tribe for instance); or of certain conquerors such as Tamerlane; or of certain criminals like Troppmann? However, there is nothing to astonish us in this: man is capable of attaining a higher degree of evil than any other animal, but he is also capable of reaching a higher degree of good. The cause of this is his superior intelligence. Intelligence is an instrument that can be wielded for good as well as for evil: it can help a philanthropist, a statesman, or an inventor to diminish the number and intensity of human woes, just as it can assist a criminal to dupe, rob, and murder his fellow men. Man has had to pay for his immense pre-eminence in good by a pre-eminence in evil. The one superiority implies the other; and the species which produces the greatest heroes cannot fail, on the other hand, to produce the greatest criminals.

WILLIAM FERRERO.



## HAS THE MORMON CHURCH RE-ENTERED POLITICS?

WHEN, in September, 1890, President Wilford Woodruff of the Mormon Church announced at the semi-annual Conference in the Salt Lake Tabernacle a revelation forever suspending polygamy, most of the Gentiles in Utah received his professions with smiling incredulity. It was regarded as a temporary expedient whereby the Church might be put in harmony with the laws of the land without the humiliating confession that a cardinal tenet of the Mormon religion was wrong in principle. When, one year later, President Woodruff declared a divorce of Church and State in Utah, the same significant distrust pervaded a majority of the Gentile population. Between these dates the "People's" or "Church" party had disbanded, reorganizing as the Democratic and Republican parties of the Territory. The new parties were joined by a small contingent from the "Liberal" or "Anti-Church" party, leaving that organization composed almost exclusively of Republicans.

As time elapsed, and the progress of events indicated more clearly the sincerity of the Mormon people, the Liberal party gradually disintegrated. By November, 1893, faith in the Mormon people had become so general that the Liberal party formally disbanded. Only a few radicals continued to distrust the Mormon Church. Political confidence between Mormons and Gentiles, established after so many years of bitter antagonism, bore fruit in closer commercial and social relations. All elements of the community became firmly cemented, the people working together in a common purpose for the upbuilding of the Territory. This happy condition of affairs continued till within the past month, when suddenly from one of the great political parties arose the cry that the Mormon Church was "again in the saddle," and that Mormon authorities were attempting to dictate the course of politics. This charge, publicly made by the Executive Committee of the Democratic party, created instant consternation. A "crisis" was proclaimed, and a State convention of the Democratic party was called to take radical measures in regard to the alleged Church interference. The most inflammatory reports were spread broadcast, and the telegraph

conveyed over the United States the news of a reawakening conflict in Utah.

To appreciate properly the real situation it is not necessary to go farther back than the promulgation of the Church manifesto abolishing polygamy. In a previous article<sup>1</sup> in *THE FORUM* I made the assertion that the "Mormon question" had been in Utah a political one, while outside Utah it had been a religious and social one; that polygamy was only "the scapegoat upon which the anti-Mormon population of Utah had piled its combined grievances." That statement, made five years before, would have brought upon me the wrath of every Gentile in Utah. Passion and prejudice having passed away, it was received without a dissenting voice. Not polygamy, but the domination of the State by the Church, had aroused the greatest opposition from the Gentiles of Utah. If the Gentiles of the Territory believed that the Church was now interfering in politics, or suspected it of having designs upon the new State after its admission to the Union, there would be an instant re-forming on old lines. Notwithstanding the complete abandonment of polygamy, the fight against the Church would be more fierce than in the old days, for the reason that the Gentiles would now be reinforced by a large element of the Mormons themselves. There is no point upon which the masses of the people in the Territory are more sensitive than upon that of ecclesiastical interference in State affairs. This was illustrated in the excitement produced by the recent cry of "Church interference." That, notwithstanding the commotion, there has not been a single move toward re-forming the old parties, conclusively proves the groundlessness of the charge that the Church was guilty of an attempt to dictate in matters of state. Nevertheless the impression has been created outside Utah that the conflict between Mormons and Gentiles has been reopened; and a general feeling exists inside the Territory that statehood has been seriously jeopardized by the action of those who sounded a false alarm in order to gain a partisan advantage. Indeed, this would seem to have been one of the purposes in raising the issue. While a reaction has taken place against those responsible for the scare, the incident has served a good purpose in calling attention to one feature of public life in Utah that is unhealthy, if, indeed, it is not fraught with actual danger. This feature—the selection of Church officials as political candidates—is one the alarmists would have most preferred to have kept

<sup>1</sup> "Will the Polygamists Control the New State of Utah?" *THE FORUM*, December, 1894.



in the background. The occasion of the outcry, however, and the effect produced within and without the Territory, are full of interest.

Upon the disbandment of the People's or Church party in 1891, the mass of the Mormons affiliated with the new Democratic party of the Territory. This resulted from a variety of causes. It had been during the Republican administrations that the laws directed against polygamy had been enacted. It fell chiefly to Republican governors, judges, and marshals to execute those laws. The Gentile or Liberal party had been mainly composed of those who were Republicans in national politics. The Mormon Church had been represented in Washington by Democratic attorneys for many years, and Mormon newspapers in Utah had long espoused Democratic doctrines. This combination of circumstances led the great majority of the Mormon people into the Democratic ranks when the "division movement" came. Utah was confidently claimed as a Democratic stronghold, and no Republican had the temerity to dispute the claim. A succession of rapidly occurring events changed political sentiment within the space of a few years. Upon the disbandment of the Liberal party, its leader, Judge O. W. Powers, who had been especially obnoxious to the Mormons, took a place in the Democratic party and is the present Chairman of the Democratic State Committee. This episode impressed yet more forcibly on the Mormon mind the fact that in the long fight against the Mormon Church the issues of national politics had no bearing. Shortly before the disbandment of the Liberals in Utah, President Cleveland entered upon his second administration. Each of his two principal recommendations to Congress—the repeal of the Sherman purchasing act and the repeal of the McKinley bill—struck a blow at the commercial prosperity of Utah. Whatever the merits or demerits of these two measures from the broad national view, there can be no two opinions as to their effect upon this Territory. The repeal of the Sherman purchasing act took away the last prop from silver, greatly injuring the mining interests. The Wilson bill badly crippled the sheep industry,—next to mining the most important interest in the Territory,—and injured the beet-sugar industry, which had but recently been established here by the Mormon people. The consequent fall in the price of silver, raw wool, and sugar-beets told effectively on public sentiment in the Territory, causing a widespread change from Democratic to Republican belief. Again, one of the cardinal doctrines of the Mormon Church, in its practical relations to the people, had been the fostering of home industries. Brigham Young

had preached it incessantly, and the Mormon pioneers practised it from the first days of their entrance into the Salt Lake Valley. The doctrine of protection, as promulgated by Republican speakers throughout the Territory, having been so long inculcated by religious teachers, found ready acceptance. This added to the growing Republican sentiment. The local Democracy, catering to the desires of the Mormons, had for several years advocated the abolition of the Utah Federal Commission, and the entrusting of Territorial elections to the people. With the inauguration of a Democratic President and the appointment of a Democratic Commission, there was a sudden change of front, the Republicans favoring and the Democrats opposing the attempt to abolish this arm of the Federal government.

All these influences operated to cause a secession of Mormons from the Democratic ranks. The Republican vote, which had been 6,613 in 1891, increased to 12,390 in 1892, 14,221 in 1893, and 21,343 in 1894, the Republicans electing their delegate to Congress in the latter year by a plurality of 1,820. This wholly unexpected result struck terror among the local Democratic leaders. In asking support for statehood from their national party, they had promised Utah as a Democratic State. Failing to keep their party obligations, they were forced to offer some plausible excuse to the country for the rapid change of sentiment in the Territory. This was attempted by raising the cry of "Church interference."

Both parties, with the instinct of politicians, had, from the moment of division on national lines, recognized the importance of the Mormon vote in determining the political complexion of the new State. Both had sought for means whereby permanently to attach this doubtful vote. By a curious circumstance, as noted in my former article in *THE FORUM*, many of the very politicians who had for years inveighed against Church influence in State affairs now appealed to religious prejudice in the hope of advancing party interests. In the campaign of a year ago the Democrats circulated a political catechism endeavoring to show that Republicans had been responsible for all the woes suffered by the Mormon people. The Republicans distributed a tract to prove that Prophet Joseph Smith, Jr., Brigham Young, and other leaders revered by the Mormon people, had been Republicans. This line of argument found little favor among the Mormons, who resented it as appealing to their prejudices and not to their intelligence. A more subtle and effectual method of catching the "Church vote," adopted by both parties, was the nomination of prominent Mormon



dignitaries for public office. Bishops, elders, counsellors, presidents of the "Seventies," and other ecclesiastics, were nominated for the manifest purpose of attracting the Mormon vote. The present year it was carried to an unprecedented extreme by the Democrats nominating for the United States Senate (to be voted for by the people) an apostle of the Mormon Church, second in authority only to the First Presidency itself. An exactly parallel case would be the nomination of Cardinal Gibbons for the United States Senate in a close State like New York, legislative nominees being pledged, if elected, to vote for him as the choice of the party. The storm of criticism that would follow such an extraordinary appeal to the Catholic vote can well be imagined. Yet a precisely similar appeal was made to the Mormon people for their suffrages. It is but just to the Mormons to state that in most instances where Church officials have been nominated by either party, it has been at the behest of Gentile politicians. The candidacy of such churchmen has been urged by the very men who a few years ago were most vehement in denouncing religious influence in politics. In a recent convention in Salt Lake City a Mormon leader who was being advanced for a nomination against a Gentile came to me to say that he did not want the office, that he was fighting against the nomination, and that if it came to him it would be by an exclusively Gentile vote. The spectacle, strange anywhere but in Utah, was presented of Mormon delegates working for a Gentile, and Gentile delegates for a Mormon. The Gentiles were outspoken in urging this gentleman to accept the nomination in order to "draw the Mormon vote," which in their estimation was "a duty he owed his party." A natural and inevitable sequence to the election of high ecclesiastics to public office is the charge of their opponents that success was due to "Church influence."

Anomalous as it seems, the recent so-called "crisis" in political affairs came from the efforts of the First Presidency to keep ecclesiastics out of politics. Joseph F. Smith, one of the three presidents of the Mormon Church, at a Priesthood meeting in Salt Lake City, took exception to the action of salaried officers of the Church who had accepted political nominations without consulting their superior authorities. His remarks, as given in the official Church report, were as follows:

"President Smith, after speaking briefly on the obligations involved in the Holy Priesthood, said that any man who takes the bit into his own mouth, saying, 'I have a right to do as I please,'—it matters not whether he be Apostle, Seventy, High Priest, or Elder,—if he acted in that spirit he trod on dangerous ground. Re-

ferring to himself, President Smith said he had been chosen to be one of the Counsellors to the President, a position he neither sought nor desired ; and since he had been called to occupy that position he fully realized that in and of himself he did not possess power and wisdom sufficient to honor it acceptably to God and his brethren. He felt the same when he was called to be one of the Twelve Apostles. But, having accepted these positions, with a realizing sense of the responsibilities attached to them, he regarded it as his duty, before undertaking to do anything that would interfere in any way with his regular church duties, first to consult with the men who presided over him ; and he held this to be the duty of every man holding high ecclesiastical offices. 'But,' he said, 'do not all so understand it?' 'It appears not,' he answered ; 'for there is at least one of the Apostles and one of the Presidents of the Seventies that take a different view of it ; that is, judging by their actions.'"

The gentlemen referred to in the closing sentence of the President's remarks were Moses Thatcher, the Democratic nominee for the United States Senate, and B. H. Roberts, the nominee of the same party for Congress.

President Wilford Woodruff subsequently, indorsing the words of President Smith, said :

"When the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints was organized, it was with the holy priesthood in its various orders and forms. And when a man was appointed to the Apostleship or Presidency, or in any office as a teacher of the people, it placed him in a very grave responsibility. And no man was counted at liberty, from the organization of the Church, to engage in any branch of business, politics, or anything else to take him entirely away from his calling, business, duty, or responsibility, for a length of time, without first consulting with the Presidency of the Church or with his Quorum on its propriety, and getting permission to do so. And this order has rested against us all alike. And this has been my position for sixty years of my life, and that too without interfering with my manhood. And this course does not require a man to give up his position in the Democratic party or in the Republican. . . . Every man has his own free agency. He has the right to withdraw from his Quorum or the Church if he wishes. But while he remains in his Quorum or in the Church we think he should be subject to the same rules that we are ourselves. But that duty does not require any man to withdraw from the Democratic or Republican party or give up his political principles."

President Smith's apparently innocent and very proper admonitions were seized by the Democratic leaders as an opportunity for raising a hue-and-cry against "Church interference." His own explanation was brushed aside as insincere ; his words misconstrued, perverted, and misquoted. The Mormon Church, the Democrats asserted, "was in the saddle," a "crisis" had arisen, and the people were called upon to resist an attempt of the Church to dominate politics. The wildest vagaries were indulged. Ridiculous as this "tempest in a tea-pot"



now seems, it raged for days. Chairman Powers, at its inception, declared himself as follows:

"We shall meet the occasion, I trust, like men. If we find that our efforts are to be thwarted, our money wasted, our victory surreptitiously taken from us, I shall advise the State Committee to give me authority to call a convention of the Democrats of Utah, giving that convention power to consider the propriety of taking the Democratic ticket from the field, to disband the Democratic party, and to advise the voters of Utah to vote down the Constitution and to vote in favor of a Territorial form of government until we are certain that all our people, from the highest to the lowest, will be free to act politically as their judgments and their consciences dictate. I make no threat,—but this course will be pursued if occasion requires."

The State Executive Committee was convened, a State convention was called, and the flames of prejudice were vigorously fanned. Reports were published of a Mormon bishop in Logan, Utah, who had publicly advised his congregation to vote the Republican ticket. A Mormon apostle was charged with having travelled from place to place in the southern part of the Territory, stating it to be the wish of the Mormon Presidency that the Republican nominee for Congress should be elected. President Smith was accused of circulating a letter among the bishops of the Mormon Church, certifying to the good standing in the Church of this same Republican candidate. Every one of these reports was subsequently, when investigated, proved to be a political canard without a shadow of truth; and no effort has been made by their authors to substantiate them. But they were made to do duty in inflaming the minds of the people, and in giving color to the charge that the Church had resumed an active interest in State affairs. The State convention assembled, an address to the people was prepared, fiery speeches were delivered, and the following resolutions were introduced:

*"Resolved:* That the Democratic party retire its ticket from the field. That it disband and work against the admission of Utah as a State. That all parts of the address in conflict with this resolution be stricken out."

After debating these resolutions for several hours they were put to a vote and overwhelmingly defeated. Not one in a hundred delegates voted for them. Nevertheless an appeal was made to the people against "Church interference." Having set up a straw man, the Convention very promptly, but with mock display of heroism, knocked it down. The only result was to alarm the country outside Utah, not familiar with existing conditions, by giving the impression that the old anti-Mormon conflict had been reopened through the pernicious activity

of the Church in politics. If, perchance, sufficient sentiment should be evoked through the nation to give the President an excuse for withholding his proclamation admitting the new State, a host of Federal officials in Utah would not feel deeply aggrieved.

That both parties have sought to appeal to the religious prejudices of the Mormon people for partisan ends, cannot be denied. That high ecclesiastics have been nominated to office for the purpose of influencing their congregations, must be admitted. But that the Mormon Church has been a party to such attempts; that any pressure has been brought to bear to control politics for Church purposes, there is not a scintilla of evidence to prove. On the contrary, nothing has been more conclusive of the sincerity of the Mormon people than their refusal to be led by designing partisans through appeal to religious prejudice. Unintentionally, and contrary to the designs of those who inaugurated it, the recent scare has called attention to the pernicious practice of selecting high Church officials as political leaders. The effect that would be produced were either of the national parties to put into nomination large numbers of Catholic prelates for public office in any part of the United States can easily be understood. The discord which such action would create is sure to follow the perpetuation of a similar policy in Utah. For the good of the Church as well as for the good of the State, the Mormon Presidency must sooner or later insist that before any Church official accept a political nomination he shall doff his sacerdotal robes.

In order to get an expression of opinion on this important matter for the use of *THE FORUM*, I addressed a note to the Mormon Presidency, and received the following answer:

SALT LAKE CITY, October 29, 1895.

You ask us, "Do you consider it expedient, either from the standpoint of the State or the Church, for high Church officials to accept nominations for public office in Utah?"

This question came up for consideration at a meeting of the officers of the Church held in October, 1893, and we expressed ourselves to the effect that, under the circumstances which then surrounded us, it was inexpedient for the leading officers of the Church to accept nominations for public office in the Territory. We thought it probable that both parties might desire to make such nominations with the hope that in doing so they could catch votes, and that as we were then situated it would be better for leading men to decline the acceptance of political nominations, it being soon after the division on party lines. In taking this stand, however, we did not do so because we thought there was an incongruity in such men holding office; for many men who hold ecclesiastical positions are the most practical men in the community, and have had the greatest experience in the



laying of the foundation and the building up of the commonwealth, and are fully qualified, therefore, to fill with dignity the various offices in the gift of the people.

Your second question is, "Can Church officials accepting political nominations disassociate themselves in the eyes of their congregations from their religious authority?"

We may not have a clear understanding of the purport of this question, but we will answer it from one standpoint.

There may be cases at the present time of individual voters who would be influenced by religious authority in voting for men holding high positions in the Church who are nominated for office; but we have the best of reasons for believing that such instances even now will be very rare, and that it will not be long before the people will become so educated in politics that a man's Church office will not influence them in his favor, if he do not belong to their party.

As a proof of this we have only to refer to the case of Anthon H. Lund, one of the Twelve Apostles, and a man of the most estimable character, who was beaten for office in his own county and by the votes of his own people; and that, too, right at the announcement of the division on party lines. Another instance, still more recent, is the case of Heber J. Grant, also one of the Twelve Apostles, whose opponent (a non-Mormon) was elected to the Constitutional Convention, Apostle Grant running behind his ticket; whereas, if the Mormons of his precinct had voted for him, he would have been elected without question.

WILFORD WOODRUFF,  
GEORGE Q. CANNON,  
JOSEPH F. SMITH.

The adoption of the State Constitution by so large a majority of votes is significant proof that the people of this Territory do not believe the Church is re-entering the domain of politics. Such opposition as manifested itself to the Constitution came to no appreciable extent from those who feared Mormon rule, but from large property-owners who realized that the withdrawal of Federal support meant increased taxes; and from opponents of woman-suffrage who took this method of signifying their dislike to the clause extending the elective franchise to women. Utah has the wealth, the population, the intelligence, and resources for self-support, to entitle her to a position in the sisterhood of States. It would indeed be a calamity if the false alarm of "Church interference," raised for partisan purposes, should delay her admission into the Union.

GLEN MILLER.

## THE LITERARY HACK AND HIS CRITICS.

THE "Confessions" that I contributed to the July number of *THE FORUM*<sup>1</sup> attracted a deal of attention and excited an interest for which I was not at all prepared. There has been much curiosity expressed as to the identity of the writer, and this curiosity has quite naturally resulted in many guesses. It has been amusing how wide these guesses have been of the mark, and more amusing still that several tolerably well-known writers have rather encouraged the idea that they should be included among those suspected; and one man, only the week before this writing, while denying that he was the "Hack," practically admitted it. I shall look out for this gentleman with the confident expectation of finding him before long publishing as his own the work of someone else. He may feel, however, quite safe in claiming the authorship of these much discussed Confessions, as the real author here gives notice that he has no notion whatever of announcing his name.

I do not believe that the general public—that is, the reading public, for which hacks and others write,—misunderstood either the meaning or the purpose of my article; indeed I am persuaded that this was not the case, for I have received many letters from members of that public showing both comprehension and appreciation. But whenever the article has been noticed in print,—or in conversation within my hearing,—by professional writers, it has been criticised with some degree of severity. Singularly enough these criticisms have all been based upon a misapprehension of my meaning and purpose, neither of which the general public appears to have misunderstood. This shows, I take it, that an article which may satisfy the general reader for whom it is written may fail completely to meet the requirements of other writers who apply perhaps a different standard of criticism. Or in this case it may be that professional writers found an inner, an esoteric meaning hidden from the generality of readers. I hardly think that such is the case, though to be convinced that it is not makes it necessary to acknowledge that my Confessions were unskilfully written, that the article was unworkmanlike. I do not in the least mind admitting this,

<sup>1</sup> "Confessions of a Literary Hack," *THE FORUM*, July, 1895.



as there was in the writing no further effort than to make a plain narrative of facts, without embellishment or ornamentation. In re-reading the Confessions I must say that there is not a thing in them that I care to unsay, not a word that I wish to take back.

This is the paragraph which appears quite generally to have offended the professional writers :

“ Hack writing is the most unprofitable of all employments, and, in some respects, the most undignified. It is unprofitable because the work cannot possibly bring either fame or fortune ; it is undignified because the hack writer does not say what he thinks or what he feels, but says, as nearly as he can, what he thinks the editor would be pleased to have him say. In other words, the hack writer is very much of a fraud, and in moments of frank introspection he sees this very plainly, and so at times he regards himself with appropriate disrespect. Mr. Havelock Ellis, in his discussion of criminals, says that these unfortunates are the vainest creatures in the world save literary men and artists. When a hack writer persuades himself that he is a literary artist—and there are such in plenty—he saves himself from the sufferings of self-reproach.”

I have been accused in the above remarks of having belittled my profession and of having cast obloquy upon the employment by which I live. I cannot see that this is so, for I have done nothing more than to tell the plain truth in plain words, and to show that I do not take myself and my work with owl-like seriousness. Besides, hack writing is not an acknowledged profession which commands universal respect, as the law, medicine, and theology do. Hack writers are merely job workers who are paid by the piece like mill-hands and itinerant scissors-grinders. It is true that now and again a hack writer is asked by an editor or publisher to write some article ; but in nineteen cases out of twenty the hack writer suggests the article he would like to write, and then he peddles the idea around from office to office until he finds an appreciative understanding or a sympathetic ear. If a lawyer should go out in the highways in search of clients, he would be called a pettifogger, and the other members of his profession would look upon him with suspicion ; if a physician proposed to treat all the sick people he heard of, he would be called a charlatan, and the other doctors would send him to Coventry. But the literary hack who should wait for his work to come to him would surely starve. At least this would be the case with me, and many of my critics have said that I had been unusually successful both in the returns from my work and in the periodicals to which I have sold my stories, articles, and poems.

And this brings me to another phase of the criticism. Not a person has written of my modest Confessions without speaking of the amount

of remuneration, as though that were the most important element contributing either to success or failure. I must say that until I read what was provoked by my Confessions I had always thought \$5,000 a year for a man whose business required that he should live in New York was a very small, I might say an inadequate, income. On such an income a man cannot live in a house in a pleasant quarter of the town; he cannot supply his family with more than the necessities of life; he and his wife and children must forego all the pleasures which cost anything to obtain. And yet such a man is told that he has succeeded in his life-work, and that his exposition of his income and the sources of it will encourage very many others to go into a profession which holds out such brilliant prospects. Any young person whose ambition would be satisfied by achieving what I have accomplished had as well go into hack writing as into anything else; for failure would be his portion whatever his walk of life.

Mr. Edward S. Martin, himself an amiable and accomplished hack writer, thinks that the element of uncertainty makes the life of a hack charming. In "Harper's Weekly" he writes of the hack:

"He has to work, to be sure, but that saves him the trouble of playing, and playing is an expense. Other men, some of them, are driven to poker or to horse races or to stock speculations for excitement, but the hack needs none of those spices. Every day with him brings its own sufficient gamble. He may sell; he may not: in either case he has his emotions. There is always with him too the possibility that some time he may write something really good. Hope springs undying in the hack's bosom. His hand is always in the intellectual grab-bag, and how can he help believing that some day he will pull out a real prize; some day when the wind is right, and he has had the right things for breakfast, and has had his intellectuals or his sympathies stirred by some violent emotion, he may say something that really needs saying, and say it as it ought to be said. That possibility helps very much to keep the hack agoing, and indeed it is a very poor hack who does not realize it now and then in sufficient measure to refresh his spirit."

That is the kind of thing I said to myself when I was young and verdant, but delusive hopes do not survive the wrinkles of middle age. As explained in my article, to which this is supplementary, my hopes of my comedy helped me to get through the worst two years of my life. But youth probably would have saved me even though I had written no comedy. Gambling is not attractive to some calm natures, and for this reason, together with the others just indicated, I am persuaded that Mr. Martin has failed to throw upon the career of a hack a light that makes it appear any more rosy than it has seemed to me. And I am an older though not a better hack writer than he.



And Mr. Andrew Lang, hack of hacks, falls afoul of me in the columns of the "Illustrated London News." If anyone had desired to see how an accomplished hack can grind a newspaper column out of nothing he need go no further than this article by Mr. Lang, who has time and again confessed himself to be a hack, and who in this very article says: "I would rather be a hack than a Q. C." Mr. Lang places me between Ned Purdon—

"He long was a bookseller's hack;  
He lived such a damnable life in this world,  
That I don't think he'll wish to come back."

—and Mr. Arthur Pendennis, who was in society, kept a horse, and could afford to drink porter from the pewter. Whether closer to the one or the other he does not say, but he is sure that I am deserving of no good thing in this world because I confess to having contributed short stories to the American magazines. These short stories in the American magazines Mr. Lang finds so uniformly bad that they are to his taste all alike. He probably thought the hack of whom he was writing was Mr. —; no, never mind; it is as well that I should not in this instance say what is in my mind. Really, however, Mr. Lang had nothing of importance to say about hack writing, so he summarized my article rather unfairly and so filled the column which is his to fill every week. And probably he blessed the brother hack who gave him ready to hand the subject on which to write without the bother or expense of a single thought.

The newspaper writers who took issue with my statements did so as a general thing upon the ground that other professional men received no greater compensation than I receive. I grant that this is so in the smaller cities. But if I lived in a smaller city I could not make half what I make in New York. In New York it must be borne in mind that it takes two dollars to do what one dollar will do in the smaller cities and towns. I have a classmate who lives in Philadelphia. He is a bank cashier with a salary of \$4,500. He has his own house and keeps it up in decent style; I am obliged to live on the fifth floor of an apartment house with no elevator. Yet I do not believe that he is a better manager of his means than I am of mine. The men who think an income of \$5,000 a year in New York, to a man with a family to support, is a generous competency, probably have so different a standard by which to measure things from that used by me that it is unprofitable to discuss such a question with them. Such men also do not seem to be able to understand that my grievance, if such it must be called, is

not because of my small income, but of my small influence and of the scant consideration with which I am treated by those with whom I have to deal. The advertising canvasser is really a person of more consequence to the publisher of a periodical than the most original writer on his staff; and, as against a "hustling" solicitor for "write-up" advertisements, the merely casual literary hack weighs not at all. He is considered to possess nothing for which these publishers need have any respect,—neither taste, moral scruples, political views, nor religious convictions; but his pen is expected ever to be ready at a penny a word to do his master's bidding in his master's way. A literary hack who is proud of his calling would be very apt to think well of himself in the humblest occupation open to man,—sweeping the streets, for instance, or breaking stones on the roadside with an armed guard looking on.



# The Forum

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JANUARY, 1896.

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## SOME SUGGESTIONS ON CURRENCY AND BANKING.

THE discussions on the silver and currency questions during the last few years show how easy it is to confound *money* and *values*, the *coin unit* and *currency*. In the earliest periods of human civilization there was no money and yet there were values. They were expressed by different units, such as cattle, etc. Advancing civilization evolved a unit more stable and more generally acceptable,—a certain quantity (by weight) of the precious metals, varying at different times and at different places. Later on this unit was stamped into convenient shape, and the community or individual doing this stamping (coining) was supposed to guarantee the correctness of the weight. Names were given to these coins, which were generalized as money, and it became customary to express values by these names instead of by weight. This, however, did not change the unit, although many are deceived into considering the name more important than the quantity or quality of metal, and imagine that it is sufficient to *name alike quantities or qualities that are different*, to make them *alike valuable* as units. Good men and bad men, kings and beggars, have been so deceived, or have in various ways tried to deceive others; but the inexorable natural laws of barter and trade, supply and demand, have always forced a return to the original basis, and all temporary advantages resulting from unnatural interference with these units have been followed by disaster in proportion to the extent of the offence.

In olden times, when each little town was a financial centre of its own, on account of the difficulty of communication even with neighbor-

ing centres,—each centre having to produce everything it required, or go without,—these units were numerous and restricted to their respective localities. Trade eventually began in the shape of exchange of merchandise between centres; the smaller localities gradually uniting and forming larger ones, and adopting a common unit (or money). Railroads, steamships, and telegraphs have created trading and financial centres for whole countries, and this evolution is still continuing. Hence to-day our units are very few, and eventually there will be only one. Experiments, therefore, which would have been harmless a hundred years ago, as they would have affected only isolated localities, are fatal to-day because they affect the prosperity of whole countries.

In this process of evolution banks were established in which coin was deposited to be drawn against by checks, so that actual coin is used to a very small extent in modern trade. This system has grown to such an extent that bank balances are considered in trade as good as coin, and, so long as they are so considered, evolution will allow this substitute for coin to be steadily increased. Hence anything that can be exchanged for such a bank balance has a value equal to coin, and bank balances are commonly called money, the same as coin. It follows, therefore, that bank-balance money can be increased to a large extent, if confidence that it can be exchanged for coin remains undisturbed; for nobody wants the coin so long as he knows or believes he can get it.

The assertion is often made that an increase of coin (money) will increase values; but as the actual amount of coin in the whole world, compared to the sum total of all values, is extremely small,—probably in a proportion of not more than one of coin to 100,000 of values,—this assertion is evidently absurd, because at best it could be only an infinitesimal addition to coin in comparison with values. As a matter of fact only an increased amount of confidence will increase values. Increase of coin or money *may* increase confidence and thereby increase values; but it *may* be of such a nature as to decrease confidence, and under such circumstances it would decrease values. Confidence nowadays has to be universal and shared in by the whole world, which is practically one great commercial centre, and as all values depend on their exchangeability for coin, or rather upon the confidence in their being so exchangeable, it should be the policy of good financial laws to establish all possible safeguards against disturbance of that confidence as well as to prevent dangerous over-confidence.

First of all we should have a stable unit. The unit now existing



in this country is the gold dollar. Bank notes, greenbacks, silver coin, and silver certificates may circulate alongside of it only so long as the confidence remains that, whenever their holders please, they may exchange them for this unit on the basis of their face value. An increase of any form of money to a point where this exchangeability becomes doubtful destroys confidence, and therefore leads, not to an increase, but to a contraction of money. Many suggestions made to increase wealth, such as free coinage of silver, unlimited printing of greenbacks, issuance of paper money against real estate and farm products,—in fact all those suggestions that can be summarized as “the cry for more money” without regard to its soundness (that is, its exchangeability for the gold unit) would, if carried out, destroy confidence and therefore decrease wealth and impede the development and prosperity of the country.

The next important step is the centralization of our banking system so as to increase our bank-balance money, make it elastic according to the requirements of commerce, and thus act as a financial regulator and safety-valve to modify or prevent the frequent and violent fluctuations to which we are now subject. This centralization, I think, can best be brought about by careful development of our clearing-house system, in such a manner that the now disconnected banks of this country shall mutually unite for certain purposes and eventually form a National Clearing-House Bank, which would act for this country somewhat in the same manner as the great central banks of England, France, and Germany.

This development should not be imperilled by prejudices arising from the history of the former United States Bank, which was organized on a different principle, and which could not be revived to-day in this country on account of its general incompatibility with our institutions. The clearing-house is not a bank in any such sense, and a centralization produced by a combination of clearing-houses is not in any manner subject to the abuses to which such a central bank might be subject under our method of government. On the contrary the centralization by means of clearing-house banks would be in thorough harmony with American institutions, and would give us all the benefits of a great central bank without any of its dangers.

I may mention the fact that independent banks have now to rely on their own resources alone, and therefore cannot always give accommodation to their customers to the extent that they would like to do. This is especially the case when clouds appear on the financial horizon.

In such periods—the very times when they should be able to expand—they are forced to contract, and disaster is the result. The smaller customers suffer much more from this than the richer ones, and the speculator has great advantages over the manufacturer and merchant, because the speculator has collaterals to offer that can be sold quickly; whereas a stock of merchandise, or outstanding accounts, or goods in course of manufacture, may have to be carried and nursed along. This latter risk banks cannot at such seasons afford to take, and for this reason merchants and manufacturers have to pay much higher rates for money than speculators, and often cannot get it at all. This should not be, and would not be if the banks had the backing of a central institution. Such centralization, therefore, far from being in the interest of rich and powerful concerns and speculators, would first of all help the merchants and manufacturers, whose reasonable requirements for legitimate purposes should always be supplied at reasonable rates. The extraordinary stability of commerce and industry in France—even at the time of the Panama collapse—is entirely due to the Bank of France and its wise management. The ultimate benefits of proper centralization are so far-reaching that I do not dare mention any more, for fear of being called visionary.

The issuance of clearing-house certificates in New York, Chicago, Boston, and Philadelphia, by moderating the recent panic, prevented a general financial collapse; and it has certainly demonstrated the benefit of joint action. Why not, therefore, legalize what is acknowledged to be a necessity for the public good, and extend the system until every bank in the country is a member of such a clearing-house combination, and by such union give the individual bank the strength—which it now lacks—safely to supply the money needed by trade for legitimate purposes. This would produce “more money,” *more* and *safer* than any of the other “more money” prescriptions. It would be the ideal “elastic currency.” It would even to a large extent operate as a natural anti-trust law, for it would give comparatively greater facilities to the merchant and manufacturer for legitimate requirements than to speculative individuals and corporations. It would materially help in solving all other financial questions, and would deprive the “gold shipment” bugaboo of many of its terrors. Briefly, my idea is about as follows:—

Let banks of any kind, in every city or small district, combine in the formation of a kind of Clearing-House Bank, to whose regulations and inspection they would be subject, in addition to State or national laws.



Allow such clearing-house banks to perform all the functions now assumed by the clearing-houses, and gradually to extend the same by acting as depositaries for bank reserves, etc., opening regular accounts and loaning its funds, *but doing business only with its members.*

Let the directors of such clearing-house banks be elected in such a way that only a few are changed every year,—such election to be determined by the votes of the members according to the average amount of their deposits in the year past, and *let the members be responsible for their clearing-house bank in the same proportion as their vote for directors.*

Let these city or district clearing-house banks combine on the same conditions and for the same purpose in a State Clearing-House Bank, and eventually these State clearing-house banks could form a National Clearing-House Bank. When this is accomplished, we would have a central institution of finance, *dealing with its members only*, which would represent all the banks of the country, *and be guaranteed by them*, and to it should be ultimately delegated all power to issue currency. It would be the great central reservoir, from which, indirectly, every little bank in the United States would derive its strength to supply its customers with bank-balance money and currency; and it would by judicious management give confidence and a stability to commerce not hitherto experienced in this country.

I lay great stress on not allowing any of the clearing-house banks to do business with any one except its members; but ultimately the National Clearing-House Bank should be given limited power to act as a bank of deposit for the Government, and to deal in gold to such an extent as may be necessary to preserve general confidence. Some national legislation may be needed to carry out this idea, but a very substantial and beneficial beginning could be made without it.

Future historians will refer to the last decades of the nineteenth century to show how Americans—so great in many other respects—chased financial rainbows and unsuccessfully tried all kinds of remedies for fancied and real ills before they entrusted their finances to properly trained men, as they had previously found it expedient to do with their army and navy, their health departments, their courts of justice, their colleges, etc. Finance is not yet accepted as a science by us, probably because our country is so rich that so far it has been able to stand unscientific experiments that would have ruined almost any other nation. The Germans, who have been forced by necessity to husband their resources, have made enormous strides since

their finances have been managed by a great central institution—the Reichsbank—under the leadership of the best talent. France and England have long been envied for the comparative stability and safety of their finances, which is due to the workings of their great central banks. We can yet outdo them all, if only we apply the same common sense to our finances that we apply to other departments.

Ours is the richest country in the world. We should be and can be the most powerful nation financially and every other way; but, to accomplish this, we must dispel all doubt as to our financial unit, we must centralize our banking system, and we must manage our finances on scientific principles.

ADOLF LADENBURG.



## RAILROAD-RATE WARS: THEIR CAUSE AND CURE.

NOTWITHSTANDING the distrust with which railroads and their operations are commonly regarded, no work of man compels more unceasing admiration than do the achievements of the locomotive. Marvellous to contemplate is the industrial revolution which followed its invention. Forces not before dreamed of were set in motion, and an era of development resulted which in the ensuing fifty years surpassed, in its beneficent influences, the progress of preceding centuries. And yet this harbinger of hope and prosperity to the world at large has by no means proven an unfailing blessing. Indeed, in many instances and in various ways, it has shown its power to injure and oppress. Some of the causes which produced those unlooked-for effects will herein be stated.

In old days the stage-coach and the sailing-vessel offered the quickest mode of travel and transportation. Heavy articles could be carried only short distances over land; and as passable roads were few, the pack-mule was the medium when rugged mountains, unbroken plains, or unsettled valleys had to be crossed. The immediate success of the locomotive at the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester railroad admitted of no competition. Charters for the construction of railroads throughout Great Britain were granted in quick succession, followed by similar action on the Continent and in America. Stock companies innumerable were formed; and, with an eagerness that invited disaster, deluded people contributed to any scheme which its promoters predicted would enrich investors. Often since then, in the haste to become rich, history, in this respect, has repeated itself; and, notwithstanding the widespread ruin which has invariably resulted, the required lesson is seldom learned except by sad experience.

As indicating how little the railway was at first understood, it may be said that the original expectation was that all persons who desired to run their wagons thereon would be at liberty to do so on payment of specified tolls. Railroads were thus to be improvements upon the highways only in the opportunity to lease a superior motive power. Quickly such conception was shown to be impracticable. There has

been no operating skill sufficient to facilitate the movement, on one track and at the same time, of cars severally directed. Casualties occur now with too sad frequency—through negligence or from causes beyond control—without permitting whomsoever may wish, to run their vehicles upon a railroad as they would upon a highway. Necessarily the service had to be performed by one company in each instance; while the saving in time and expense in the movement of goods, together with greater comfort and convenience assured to the traveller, gave to the locomotive a monopoly of long-distance land transportation.

The foregoing statements, although trite, are essential to an appreciation of the conditions out of which have grown evils which the public has never ceased to condemn. I have explained that the assumption of equal facilities, through the running of private equipment on the payment of a uniform system of tolls, was a mistaken one; and that the superior service rendered by the locomotive excluded inferior competition. The concentration of authority, and the extinction of rivalry by other modes, opened the way for inequalities of which many who felt aggrieved have loudly complained.

If railroads had been operated as public highways, upon which any persons could run their wagons, then the rentals therefor would have been prescribed, as at toll-gates, for each class of vehicles. But the fact that the companies monopolized the service led them to acquire for their directors, in their charters, the right to prescribe reasonable rates for the transportation of persons and property. The authority thus conveyed was an agreeable fiction, which, however proper in its early recognition, has no place in modern practice, and has not had for many years. The idea that the directors of railroad companies would calmly adjust the constantly varying schedules of fares and freight may have occurred to the original promoters of those enterprises as entirely practicable, but it has not proved so to their successors. They seldom meet oftener than quarterly, and then concern themselves chiefly with a review of the financial condition of the properties. And yet that depends mainly upon the maintenance of remunerative charges for the services performed. But I will refer to that point farther on, and will now describe the manner in which rates have usually been made, and the baneful effects that have not infrequently followed.

Complaints as to extortion and unjust discrimination were not made until many years after railroads had been in operation. People are usually so gratified with the advent of a railroad, and the ability to communicate with the outer world, that they only contrast their im-



proved condition with their former isolation and the cost and delay of teaming. Initial operations were (and still are) comparatively simple. Schedules are made, naming rates of fare or freight, graded according to distance. These are so much below the charges for transportation under primitive methods that they are quite satisfactory; and complaint is seldom heard until comparison is made with localities that are favored with two or more railroads. At such points there is competition, and, as distance is usually taken into account in fixing the schedule that shall govern, the short line determines the rate. Necessarily the long line has to meet the prices of its shorter rival or retire from the field. Frequently a strife ensues, during which the charges drop to unprofitable figures; but even then it is hard for the ordinary traffic agent to relinquish the business.

In former years railroad companies did not modify their tariffs at intermediate stations when they became involved in controversies at more distant points. That fact undoubtedly led to the construction of more railroads than were necessary to carry the limited amount of traffic offered. But those who were located at non-competitive points would observe passengers and freight carried past their doors at much lower rates than were exacted from them for a shorter distance: hence the cry for competition, resulting in the excessive construction which has proved disastrous in so many sections. Furthermore, the evil last referred to prompted the fourth section of the Interstate Commerce law, which forbids charging a greater sum for a shorter than for a longer distance in the same direction, the former being included within the latter. The effect of that clause—if it be strictly regarded—is to compel railroads to reduce their intermediate rates to the level upon which, by the force of land or water competition, they may be obliged to carry their more remote traffic. In theory the principle seems admirable, but in practice it is destructive.

It used to be said that no company could justify the collection of a larger sum for a shorter than for a longer distance. In defence of what has been thought impossible, familiar names will be used to make the proposition plain. Reno, Nevada, is one of the principal towns in that sparsely populated State. It is on the Central Pacific Railway—the pioneer route to the Pacific coast. At San Francisco, 306 miles beyond, there is severe competition with ships, which have a free course on the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, in carrying transcontinental traffic. The railroads, in competition with the ocean, not infrequently have to make rates which, for the service across the continent, are un-

reasonably low. Should they, then, be held down to no greater charge from New York to Reno than their competition with the ocean may compel them to accept from New York to San Francisco? If a merchant at Reno patronizes the ocean or a rival railroad, neither can carry his goods farther than San Francisco, and he would still have to pay the charges of the Central Pacific Railway from the coast to Reno. Obviously, then, the latter company would be justified in charging, from the Atlantic seaboard to Reno direct, the regular rates from New York to San Francisco, plus the local rate thence to Reno; otherwise the railroad might elect to relinquish that traffic to the ocean or the northern routes, and the tariffs would then be constructed in manner as above stated. That proposition, when submitted to former members of the Interstate Commerce Commission—constituting a majority thereof—commended itself to their judgment as a safe rule to follow.

The most frequent complaints, however, arose in the Middle and Western States. Shippers at a station where there was but one railroad could not understand why, if there was a war of rates,—say from Chicago,—their freight should be charged the regular tariff to western destinations, while, if they were to ship to Chicago at the short local rates, they could obtain the “war” tariff, and the shipment would be forwarded through their town to its western destination at a total charge below what would be enforced if the goods had been shipped direct from the initial station. For example, a shipment from Aurora, Illinois, to Omaha, Nebraska, would be charged more than would a similar consignment from Chicago, through Aurora to Omaha, in case there were a war of rates between the several railroads extending from Chicago to Omaha. Apparently it did not occur to the Aurora dealer that if the road running through Aurora were to withdraw from the competition for the traffic between Chicago and Omaha, he would not benefit thereby; nor did he usually take into account the fact that the larger city could (and frequently did) furnish train-loads of freight, whereas the smaller place offered only occasional carloads; and when the trains were made up at the principal station, the addition of one carload (whether it came from Aurora or was received from a Chicago shipper in competition with other roads that were striving for it) made no appreciable difference in the expense, compared with that incurred at the way station, where special stops would have to be made to pick up the freight. The public either did not understand the circumstances, or they would not view them as they appeared to the carriers; hence the demand for the prohibition now



known as the "long-and-short-haul clause," which has been adopted in several States, so that it has become quite general in its application.

Another form of discrimination practised in years past was not susceptible of defence. In the English text-books it is termed "undue preference." It consisted of exceptional or special rates given to favored individuals, by means of which they were enabled to undersell their rivals in common markets. By such methods the fortunate few accumulated vast wealth, and men who subsequently posed as philanthropists obtained their start in trade through unfair advantages given them by railroad companies. Examples of surpassing interest could be cited, if it were consistent with confidences reposed to become reminiscent. The usual procedure was for the ambitious or less scrupulous to insist upon rebates that would enable them to outbid or undersell their competitors. In that way one firm grew until its grain shipments approximated 100,000 carloads per year. So closely were they enabled to figure, that a profit of one dollar per car was all they desired; and that was assured by the promised assistance of the interested carrier. The buyers for such a firm, being protected as described, would enter a western State and pay the prices necessary to secure the product. The practice led to the selection, by great systems of railroads, of dealers who were expected to handle the bulk of the produce grown along each line; and, to enable them to do so, facilities were extended which were denied to others. These preferences provoked violent complaints of unjust discrimination, and whenever the latter have been maintained, they have been severely condemned by the courts.

The evil extended to most departments of trade,—particularly such commodities as grain, coal, coke, oil, sugar, lumber, live-stock, meats, etc.,—until, in each, the favored ones became so powerful as to be able to compel exceptional recognition. Meanwhile those who had comparatively little tonnage to offer were required to pay the regular rates; and such discriminations—aggravated as they were, in some instances, beyond endurance—provoked the uprising (semi-revolutionary in character) known as the Granger movement. It was a protest against the arbitrary exercise of power in setting up one man and pulling down another, by the allowance of undue preferences in favor of the former. The popular impression was that, in certain instances, there was a division of profits between the grantors and the recipients of special rates; and such belief was not altogether erroneous.

Like every evil that is allowed to run until it becomes dangerous, the most prominent shippers eventually had the railroads at their

mercy. Dealers in a staple commodity would ask that they be given 10, 15, or 20 per cent below the rates charged to others in the same business, or they would patronize competing carriers; and as their operations were enormous, they were certain to find those who could not resist such overtures. So notorious and obnoxious were the preferences which obtained throughout the land, that they compelled the adoption of the third section of the Interstate Commerce law, which forbids the charging of a greater sum to one person than to another, for a like service, under substantially similar circumstances. The correctness of that principle no fair-minded person will question; but unfortunately it is not strictly regarded, for reasons which, in this connection, need not be stated. The tendency of special rates to the favored few was to build up interests at terminal points. Thus, leading cities throughout the country strove to induce the respective railroad companies to champion their cause. The contests which ensued resulted in the establishment of differentials,—that is, agreed differences in the rates to one city as compared with those charged on the same commodity to a rival community.

In the domain of transportation no subject has provoked more bitter and costly conflicts than has the question of differentials. Probably the most famous are those which were waged on behalf of the seaboard cities. The practice was to agree upon the rates that should govern between New York and Chicago. Philadelphia would then take a somewhat lower scale, and Baltimore still less. For example, the rate on grain from Chicago to New York being fixed at 25 cents per 100 pounds, 90 per cent thereof governed to Philadelphia, and 87½ per cent to Baltimore. With such arrangements shippers at New York became dissatisfied, insisting that the supremacy of their city as an exporter would pass to Philadelphia or to Baltimore unless the first-named was accorded the same rates from the West as were enjoyed by the other two. That view they pressed so persistently upon Mr. Vanderbilt, of the New York Central & Hudson River Railroad, that he was induced to undertake to obtain for the metropolis the desired equality of rates with its rival cities. The contests which ensued cost the contending companies millions of dollars. Philadelphia's cause was championed by the Pennsylvania Railroad, while that of Baltimore was espoused by the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. At the head of the former was Col. Thomas A. Scott—a wonderful organizer and remarkable executive officer; and in charge of the Baltimore & Ohio road was Mr. John W. Garrett—a man of unbending purpose and un-



flinching loyalty to his own city. The conflicts, carried on for prolonged periods in different years, really accomplished nothing, excepting the waste of vast sums of money which might otherwise have been utilized in bettering the properties. The issues for which the leaders fought remained unsettled, and after the combatants had exhausted their energies they agreed, in January, 1882, to refer the question to Messrs. Allan G. Thurman, E. B. Washburne, and Thomas M. Cooley, to act as an Advisory Commission upon "the differences in rates that should exist, both eastwardly and westwardly, upon all classes of freight between the several terminal Atlantic ports." After an investigation extending over six months, the report confirmed the existing differentials, which, on grain, allowed Philadelphia 2 cents, and Baltimore 3 cents less than New York, on shipments from the West.

Of a similar character were the rivalries fiercely conducted in the early 'seventies, between Chicago and St. Louis, for the trade of what are commonly known as "Missouri River points." Those contests resulted in the establishment of differences which no one since has had the temerity to question. They were not based on distance, but were arbitrarily determined, beginning with 20 cents per 100 pounds on first-class freight and concluding with 5 cents on the lower or coarser qualities. That is to say, if the rate on first-class freight from St. Louis to Kansas City was 60 cents per 100 pounds, it would necessarily be made 80 cents from Chicago; and if a grain rate of 15 cents should be made from Omaha or Kansas City to the Mississippi River, 5 cents higher would be charged to Chicago.

Railroads, like individuals, are unequal; and the most frequent and violent disturbances have arisen from the inability of one company to obtain what it is pleased to regard as its "share" of competitive traffic on the same terms as its rival; whereupon the less-favored demand that their disability be recognized by the allowance of differentials; in other words, that they be permitted to charge less for a similar service than is exacted by better-located lines. The assertion of that principle led to anomalous contentions during the early contests between the trunk lines. One company had a longer route from the West than the New York Central railroad's distance from the same point to New York; while the mileage of the Pennsylvania road to Philadelphia, and of the Baltimore & Ohio line to Baltimore, were shorter than the route named to New York. Hence it evoked surprise when the longer route claimed the right to charge less than the New York Central Company's rate to New York, on account of greater length; while the roads to Philadel-

phia and Baltimore insisted that they be permitted to make lower rates to their termini, because their mileage was shorter than that of the Central road to New York. Usually it is the longer route that asserts a disability which entitles it to charge less than its rival; and if the demand be not conceded, it is appropriated, with the certain result of a war in rates.

The entrance of a new railroad into a profitable territory almost invariably results in a disturbance of existing conditions. In no other way is it believed, by some roads, that they can so cheaply advertise their arrival and attract patrons. That object having been accomplished, and the influence of the new route acknowledged, an agreement embracing all parties is eventually made; but as there is no authority in law to enforce contracts of such nature, they are of brief duration. Even an approximate maintenance of agreed rates between American railroads, for a protracted period, is practically unknown. That is mainly because the device by which the desired result has been most nearly attained was removed when the fifth section of the Interstate Commerce law was adopted, and no available safeguard was substituted.

Prior to the passage of the non-pooling section, the method pursued to satisfy an inferior line was to ensure it an acceptable share of the competitive traffic, or an equivalent in money. This was upon the theory that a smaller percentage, at the full tariff, than the road could command on even terms, would be better than a larger portion of the traffic at unremunerative rates. Moreover, the stronger lines considered that they could afford to concede something to the weaker, as by so doing they would obtain protection for their larger interests. It was in the nature of a payment for insurance against injuries which might otherwise be inflicted. From that standpoint it was expedient; and, from the earliest competition in England to the present time, "joint-purse arrangements," as they are called, have continued; and it is further stated that rate wars, as witnessed periodically in America, are there unknown.

Popular antipathy was, in this country, aroused against "pools"—as they were erroneously termed—because they were declared to be contrary to public policy, and established for the purpose of maintaining extortionate rates. "Competition," we were told, "is the life of trade;" therefore railroad companies must be prevented from limiting it, notwithstanding they might ruin each other in oft-recurring strifes.

Advocates of unregulated competition between railroad companies are usually in favor of government control. By that they mean strict



supervision without ownership; but, to be consistent, they should advise the purchase of the railroads by the government. In the latter event it seems not to have occurred to the opponents of pooling that the strongest conceivable pool would be inaugurated. The government would not need to determine the percentage of traffic which each road in a given territory should receive, in order to prevent a scramble for the business. It would simply prescribe the rates which should govern, as it does the tariff that shall prevail on imports, or the charges for postal service; and no deviation therefrom would be tolerated. That would be the inevitable result of single ownership, whether by the government or by associated individuals. Or, if the government controlled a portion of the railroads (as is the case in Germany), those would, to ensure their profitable operation, be forced to agree with the companies privately owned, upon divisions of competitive traffic.

I will now describe only one additional cause of controversy between railroad companies. It proceeds from the unwillingness of responsible officers to complain of or prosecute their rivals for violations of law. Aside from the natural reluctance to turn informer, there is the greater deterrent that the company which exposes another, and thereby breaks up a deal enjoyed by large shippers, is sure to be boycotted by the parties in question. For that reason no road can afford to pose as a reformer; and as the evidence upon which to proceed is obtainable only from principals, it is denied to officers of the government or to agents jointly employed by the carriers. Much vague sentiment in this connection has been expressed by men whose capital consists of theories. The boycott can be and is practised by large shippers against carriers whom they deem too particular, with more fatal effect than it has ever been enforced by tyrannical trade-unions. Therein lies a strong argument for "associations," the chairman of which, being impersonal and not connected with one road more than with others, can fearlessly execute reforms; because the vengeance defeated shippers would wreak upon a railroad, if any of its officers were known to be leaders, they cannot visit upon one who is exclusively employed by an organization.

Having sufficiently described the cause of rate wars, a possible cure may be indicated. Of necessity it must be within the law; therefore, as matters now stand, pools, as a remedy, are excluded. Perhaps it may be found in the words "responsibility" and "accountability." The responsibility for each disastrous break in rates should be located, and the punishment due should be inflicted without fear or favor. In

order to make such a remedy effective, there should be constituted a board or syndicate of bankers, representing investors in corporate properties. Such an organization would be in a position to say to each company: "We will commend your securities so long as your property is managed conservatively; but if it should appear that your officers are acting recklessly, or are wilful disturbers, we will advise the public to let your stocks and bonds alone." A statement of that kind, from men of authority in financial circles, would speedily subdue the most belligerent, and presumably compel the directors of the company concerned to give their immediate attention to the troubles, with the probable result that the disturbances would cease. The remedy is simple, but there need be no doubt as to its efficacy. No man, however rich or powerful, would disregard an intimation of the character described; while the possibility of its receipt would restrain those who depend on the confidence of others for their employment.

It is monstrous that affairs so vast as are those represented by railroad systems should be at the mercy of any petulant official, or be subject to the caprice of an ordinary agent. And yet one solicitor, by accepting the misstatements of a shipper in preference to the denial of a rival, can plunge the roads in a given section into a ruinous strife, simply because the authority to establish rates of transportation (which is conferred upon the directors) has, by the latter, been devolved upon the managers, who in turn have delegated it to subordinates whose chief ambition is to accumulate tonnage. It is a sad commentary upon modern methods, which in other branches of railroad service have reached such a high state of efficiency, that the earning power of a road can be and often is wasted by irresponsible agents, without attracting notice from those whom the stockholders elected to look after their interests. In most cases directors are non-residents, hence are remote from scenes of conflict; but as it is those altercations which absorb dividends, the directors could find profitable employment in watching the course of affairs, and administering sharp rebukes when a disposition to injure the properties becomes manifest. If the directors of each prominent corporation would awake to their duty, and would appoint one of their number to act with others similarly named, as a standing committee to inspect the traffic affairs of the interested roads, a degree of prudence and honesty would be infused into those departments which would contrast favorably with the present laxity and depravity.

The foregoing scheme contemplates the creation of competent tribunals for the suppression of riotous conduct in the operation of rail-



roads. This it proposes to do by emphasizing the restraints embodied in responsibility and accountability. Here it may be remarked that the Interstate Commerce law contains those features; but prosecution by a tribunal which threatens fines and imprisonment is likely to be abortive, as those penalties have proven. Infinitely more effective and much more practical would be an investigation by a board or a committee, as hereinbefore suggested, than would any machinery that Congress could set in motion. The first named would reach the corporation in its most sensitive part, provided its admonitions were disregarded, by affecting its securities; and the second would retire those convicted of destroying the revenues of the roads concerned. Either remedy could be swiftly employed without the delay incident to judicial investigations, and hence would be so effective that, after one or two convictions, the example set would be sufficient. Moreover, those who were cognizant of wrong-doings would have no hesitation in reporting them to a board appointed to receive complaints and to protect the united properties; because, as the agents of the owners, they would be able to shield those who aided them, by placing a premium upon candor and conservatism, and thereby reversing the rule which now obtains.

The inevitable result of surveillance and publicity as above would be to concentrate the rate-making power in fewer hands. It should, on all competitive traffic, rest with one man on each system. Those men, having clearly-defined authority, could, in each important group, constitute a board for the equitable regulation of common interests. Co-existent with such boards, and to give effect to their acts, should be organizations that would promote co-operation and ensure uniformity in rules. But all these methods will prove unavailing unless adequate provision be made for the arbitration of disagreements. There are so many conflicting interests to be reconciled, and such contrary opinions are likely to be firmly held, that deadlocks will occur and contests follow, if it be not provided in advance that recourse shall be had to arbitration whenever the parties to a traffic contract are unable to agree. For that purpose a permanent board should be appointed, or rules be adopted for the prompt creation of competent tribunals. International difficulties between civilized countries are now rarely submitted to the arbitrament of the sword. That is a relic of barbarism which recognizes only the right of might. In like manner the ultimate determination of differences between corporations—involving, as they frequently do, by resort to strife, the entire resources of confiding stockholders—

should be relegated to the unruly past, and a future of profit, harmony, and propriety be inaugurated, by the adoption of arbitration as the final recourse in the event of disagreements between common carriers.

The suggestions made necessitate the provision of the instrumentalities requisite to consider every question which may arise concerning two or more common carriers. They imply the formation of associations, wherein each company is accorded fair representation, to adjust differences in an orderly way, and, failing therein, to ensure their determination by reference to disinterested parties. The opportunity having thus been afforded to obtain due consideration by a jury of peers of every claim presented, no great hardship would be wrought if, in the event of continued disagreement, a settlement be enforced by arbitration. Should all those agencies fail to avert trouble, the responsibility for whatever loss might ensue would not then be difficult to locate, and the duty devolved upon the higher board suggested would be comparatively simple of performance.

The remedy indicated for the prevention of rate wars may therefore be summarized as follows:

1. Create a board of financiers which shall mark for disapproval properties that are unwisely administered.
2. Appoint a standing committee, consisting of one director from each prominent railroad system in a given territory, which shall promptly inquire into and locate the responsibility for any rate war that may occur.
3. Concentrate the rate-making authority on all competitive traffic in the hands of one man upon each system or railroad, and provide for its exclusive exercise by such officer.
4. Form comprehensive associations in each well-defined group, for the proper consideration of questions of common interest, the several members to be adequately represented in the deliberations.
5. Provide for the prompt arbitration of all disagreements, as they arise, between any two or more parties to a traffic association.

Agreements drawn upon the lines indicated, and approved by the directors of the several assenting companies, will be certain to usher in much better conditions between rival carriers than have yet been known; and as mere truces have characterized operations hitherto, anything which gives reasonable promise of enduring peace, with its guarantee of stability in charges and equality of treatment to all patrons under like circumstances, is assuredly deserving of a fair trial.

JOHN W. MIDGLEY.



## NAVAL ASPECTS OF THE JAPAN-CHINA WAR.

Is there anything to be learned from the recent war between China and Japan? This is a question which I have frequently been asked since my return to England last July, and the matters on which I am most usually questioned are as to the relative value of ironclads, fast cruisers, quick-firing guns, torpedoes, and modern naval implements of warfare generally. Public attention is directed mainly to the technical points at issue, which it was naturally hoped would receive illustration from the action of well-equipped fleets representing the newest developments of naval warfare. In speaking of "well-equipped" fleets, I am only referring generally to the fact of the ships of both Powers being fairly up to date, though on the Chinese side there was much to be desired in points of detail. There was, however, no such broad distinction between the material of the fleets of China and Japan as to invalidate the lessons to be drawn from actual naval conflict; yet from this point of view the naval operations are singularly barren of results, and the reasons for this must be looked for elsewhere.

What, then, are the lessons of the war? The principal lesson is obviously a moral one, and it lies deep in the traditions and temperaments of the two nations. The warlike, go-ahead Japanese have won all along the line, while the peaceable, conservative Chinese have disastrously failed to make any respectable defence of their hearths and homes. I leave to others the task of developing this theme as fully as it deserves, my object in this article being rather to deal with facts than to dwell on the causes of the war or the characteristics of the two nations. But the differences to which I have alluded must be constantly borne in mind as the most important factor in the whole problem of how it was that the 400,000,000 of Chinese could make no head against the 40,000,000 "Wojen" (dwarfs)—the term by which the Chinese insolently described their Japanese conquerors.

Though it is not my task to deal fully with the important point here raised, it needs more than a passing mention, and I cannot leave the subject without some further remarks. It is as true now as in former ages, that, if a nation is to attain to power or to retain it, it must not only be

as "the strong man armed," but it must inculcate in its citizens the manly virtues of patriotism, loyalty, and heroism. Though Bacon tells us that "no nation need expect to be great unless it makes the study of arms its principal honor and occupation," this axiom has not received general acceptance of recent years. In England, in the British colonies, and to some extent in America, it became the fashion some years since to talk of wars as improbable, to eulogize the theoretical merits of arbitration, and to advocate the substitution of a cosmopolitan altruism for Old World patriotism. In England, the peace-at-any-price party and the Cobden school urged that energies should be directed to the arts of peace and money-making; and though recent events in America and Europe have shown that wars are still the last arguments not only of kings, but of peoples, the teachings of the free-trade league still remain with us as pious opinions to be accepted at least in theory.

The Chinese have acted consistently on these principles, and have afforded us an object-lesson of the value of the theory. It is true that after the French war in 1883-84 they erected batteries on their coast-line, bought ships in Europe, and even built a few in their own dock-yards, where their arsenals were improved so as to be equal to the supply of heavy guns and modern arms of precision: but these activities were mainly for show, to impress the foreigner; and the mandarins and *literati* who rule the country thought that nothing further was required. That any attention should be given to the adaptation of these war materials to war seemed to them unnecessary, and was not appreciated by the all-predominant civilian element. War, in the opinion of the ruling classes, was a most improbable event, and the war training of both officers and men was ignored, or was conducted in the most perfunctory manner. The examinations for officers in the army still, as from time immemorial, consisted in firing from a bow on horseback and in lifting heavy weights, while the greater number of their soldiers were still armed with bows and arrows, and with huge spears resembling pitchforks. Their main trust, even in the recent war, was in the heavy "gingall," a brass piece held on the shoulders of two men, and firing a ball of about half a pound weight. That this should be possible while their arsenals at Kiangnan, Nanking, or Tientsin were capable of turning out 4.7" quick-firing guns, Maxims, improved Lee-Mitford and other rifles in use in modern armies, shows clearly that no attempt had been made to grasp the meaning of modern warfare.

I have spoken of the mandarins as being hopelessly ignorant of war, and I propose to illustrate this by an example. In the middle of the



war, when the Japanese had crossed the Yalu, defeating the Chinese General Sung in several engagements, with Port Arthur about to fall, and when even Shan-hai-kwan, only 120 miles from Peking, was threatened, it was evident, even to the mandarins composing the Tsung-li-Yamen, that "something must be done," and the first step was to find a capable general. In this emergency it would be supposed that they would have endeavored to select a man in the prime of life, with at least some knowledge of war as conducted by foreigners, attaching to his staff men like General von Hanneken, with other foreign officers; but this would have been common sense, and consequently it was not the Chinese view. Von Hanneken, an able military officer who had served in the German army, had been indeed appointed as assistant to Admiral Ting, and he did yeoman's service in the *Ting Yuen* at the Yalu fight, though he was naturally ignorant of naval matters. Later, about a month before the fall of Wei-Hai-Wei, Ting had another assistant in the person of "Admiral" <sup>1</sup> McClure, a Scotch tug-captain; but throughout the war it seems to have been impossible for the Chinese mind to grasp the simple fact of the necessity for expert training so pithily expressed in the old adage of "the cobbler to his last." But this digression is interesting only as showing that even when the Chinese did condescend to employ foreigners they placed them in positions for which they were not fitted by previous training. In the case now under consideration, the man selected to be the savior of his country must, they thought, be a Chinaman of high rank, and he was found in the Viceroy of Nanking, Liu-kun-yi, a mandarin of mandarins about seventy years of age, a confirmed opium-smoker, and so infirm that he was incapable of ascending a staircase. Conscious of his physical incapacity, and of his absolute ignorance of war, he attempted to decline the honor thrust upon him; but the appointment had been approved by the Emperor, and the Viceroy had perforce to accept the responsibility, though he took care not to go within a hundred miles of the front. The reason for the appointment is to be found in the fact that Liu-kun-yi was a Hunan man, and the Hunanese are universally credited in China with being a fighting race, though their reputation is founded rather on their turbulence, and on their invincible hostility to the "foreign devils," than on any proved courage in the field.

I have said enough, and more than enough, to prove the absolute ignorance of warfare shown by the Chinese. Of generals and admirals

<sup>1</sup> I have in all cases given the nominal rank of foreign officers serving in the Chinese service in quotation-marks.

in the modern sense they had none, and the necessity for experts in war was deliberately ignored. I am inclined to think that the view of the accomplished Chinese mandarin is that war is a dirty business, in which only the worst characters should take part, and that the most noted swashbuckler and rowdy is the general. The warlike virtues, manly exercises, and the use of arms form no part of a Chinese mandarin's education, and are looked upon as derogatory. Foreign instructors in Chinese naval colleges have told me that it was a far harder task to get their pupils to take part in gymnastic or calisthenic exercises than to attain proficiency in scientific knowledge.

This, then, being the Chinese view, how are we to account for the fact that undoubtedly the Chinese had made some progress in modern armament and equipment. Their army generally, as I have shown, was no doubt inefficient; there was no cohesion between the various branches of which it was composed; and it may be doubted whether the Chinese could ever be said to have had an army at all in the modern sense. Yet there was a drilled body supposed to consist of 30,000 men, though probably really numbering about 15,000, who were well armed with Krupp guns and magazine rifles; while in the Pei Yang or Northern Squadron, which had been trained by Captain Lang, a British naval officer, it was known that they had a naval force of modern ships, built in England or Germany, which cruised much at sea, visiting Japan and Singapore, and, so far as outward appearances went, formed an efficient fighting squadron. What became of these trained soldiers was always a mystery. Some, at least, went down with the unfortunate *Kowshing* on the 25th of July, 1894, while many of the Krupp guns were captured at Ping Yang on the 16th of September; but either the number of trained soldiers was much exaggerated, or a large proportion were kept in reserve in the vicinity of the Viceroy's Yamen at Tientsin, which would be quite in accordance with the half-hearted way in which the Chinese are accustomed to conduct warlike operations.

In speaking of their navy I have alluded to the Pei Yang Squadron as being apparently efficient, and here I must explain that there were other squadrons under various viceroys,—the Nanyang or Nanking Squadron, the Foo-chow and Canton squadrons; but the weakness of the central government was such that there was no cohesion between the forces paid for by the viceroys of the different provinces of the empire, and only an odd ship or two from any of the three squadrons referred to ever took part in the war. In fact they were never sup-



posed to be more than "show" ships. This could not be said of the Pei Yang Squadron. It is true that Captain Lang had been gotten rid of by a cabal some three years previous to the outbreak of the war, and there were sinister rumors of a rapid deterioration in discipline<sup>1</sup> since his guiding hand had been withdrawn, while no one believed that the necessary stores and reserves were kept up. Still they were well navigated; they kept station fairly when in company; they fired well at a mark, both with guns and torpedoes; they exchanged semaphores with each other in English; and they were certainly not a "negligible quantity." That they were lacking in other ways admits of no question. Officers had allowances to enable them to supply various stores, and thus the canker of speculation and dishonesty had eaten deep into the vitals of the efficiency of the squadron. There was little zeal, no real *esprit de corps*, and the most successful captain was the man who could make most money. Of Admiral Ting,<sup>2</sup> who commanded the Pei Yang Squadron, I would speak with respectful sympathy. He was a gallant, patriotic man, but he had been a cavalry officer, who had taken to sea service in middle age; and, deficient as he was in technical knowledge, he was much in the hands of Commodore Lew-po-chin,<sup>3</sup> his flag-captain in the *Ting Yuen*.

The credit for such efficiency as the Pei Yang Squadron and the foreign-drilled troops possessed is entirely due to one man, the famous Viceroy of Chihli, Li Hung Chang, undoubtedly the foremost if not the only statesman in China. He has a world-wide reputation and has been called "the Chinese Bismarck." I do not propose to describe him, but his manly presence and hearty shake of the hand show that he is no mere mandarin, while in spite of his more than seventy years he has still a fund of energy sufficient to enable him to make laborious inspections of his troops and ships, as he did in May, 1894, two months before the outbreak of war. This war has to some extent discredited him; he is probably not free from the vice to which old men are supposed to be especially liable; and it is certain that many deficiencies and failures in munitions of war were directly due to the determination to exact "squeezes" from those nearly related to him,

<sup>1</sup> A story, for the truth of which I cannot vouch, was current in the clubs at Hong-Kong and Shanghai, that, a short time after "Admiral" Lang's dismissal, an Englishman going on board the *Ting Yuen* unexpectedly, found the admiral playing "fan-tan" with the sentry over his cabin door.

<sup>2</sup> After making terms with Admiral Ito for the surrender of the remaining ships and the island of Liu-kung-Tau both these officers committed suicide,

while no doubt his military knowledge was small. But he had no delusions on the subject of China's military power; he knew the hollowness of all the seeming show; and I feel certain that he was always anxious for peace. In 1884 he arranged the treaty of peace with France; in 1885, when war was imminent with Japan, he sacrificed much in the interests of peace, though the treaty he then made with Count Ito proved to have in it the seeds of the recent war; and I am convinced that he would have given way at all points and have averted the war had he been entirely master of the situation. In the negotiations for peace, held between Li Hung Chang and Count Ito at Shimonoseki in April last, he is reported to have said to the latter: "What you have done for Japan I wanted to imitate in China. Had you been in my place, you would know the unspeakable difficulties met with in China."

I have dwelt long on China's corruption, on her unpreparedness for war, and the incapacity shown by her rulers to appreciate modern warfare, as it is the crux of the problem. Let us now turn to Japan, and the contrast is enormous. In China, as we have seen, peace and the arts of peace are held up as models, while war and the heroic virtues are habitually ignored. In Japan, on the contrary, while art is held in high esteem, and the industry and enterprise of the people lead them to be active traders and producers, it is the warlike virtues of patriotism, and devotion to death for a cause, which alone are deemed worthy of public recognition. That everything should give way to this—domestic affection, nay, even ordinary morality—is the accepted creed, if we may judge by that popular Japanese legend of "the Forty-seven Ronans," whose graves may be seen in Tokyo to this day, decked with "votos" from fervent Japanese admirers. The story should be read to be appreciated. It relates the heroic conduct of the forty-seven "Ronans," or retainers, in avenging the murder of their Daimio by a rival,—the stratagems and deceits necessary to accomplish the object in view being represented as not only excusable, but commendable.

Japan has been so much written about, especially in America, that I feel that it is unnecessary for me to say more about this quick-witted, courteous, and patriotic people. That they are as warlike as the Chinese are the reverse, I have endeavored to show, and when once they had been coerced or persuaded to open their country to foreigners, they proceeded to organize their navy and army on European models, availing themselves of the best European instructors, and proving themselves to be apt pupils. Captain Ingles, of the British navy, who



for many years was their naval adviser, had expressed his opinion, long before the war, that the Japanese navy was fully up to the European standard; and similar reports had been made by distinguished military officers concerning their army. Few can now doubt that for some three years before the war broke out they had been preparing for it in their usual silent, systematic manner, and when the Tonghak rebellion gave rise to the Korean imbroglio they were fully prepared for action.

Were they anxious to "flesh the spears" of their new navy and army *à la* Cetewayo?—or was the war mainly due to political exigencies of home politics?—or were they simply drawn into the war by the evident leaning of the Korean monarch and people toward China, to the exclusion of Japanese influence? All these may have had their effect, but to one who was in Japan at the time it was no secret that the Japanese to a man were as anxious for war as their opponents were to avert it; and though it may be a pious opinion, to be held by the Japanese, that on the 25th of July, 1894, the Chinese cruiser *Tsi Yuen* had the temerity to fire the first shot against a very superior Japanese force, it is so contrary to nature that on this point at least we must be permitted to believe the Chinese version of the collision which practically began the war.

Well, the war broke out, as we have seen, with the engagement above referred to: the Chinese ships being the *Tsi Yuen* and *Kwang Yih*, a torpedo-cruiser of 1,600 tons; and the Japanese First Squadron consisting of the *Yoshino*, flying the flag of Rear-Admiral Tsuboi, the *Akitsushima*, *Naniwa*, and *Takachiho*. The Chinese ships had left Yasan that morning, and the Japanese ships were the advanced squadron of Admiral Ito's fleet making for Chemulpho. In this engagement the *Kwang Yih* was driven ashore and destroyed; the *Tsi Yuen*, though inferior in speed and force to all the four Japanese ships, escaping to Wei-Hai-Wei much damaged. It was a few hours after this that the Chinese gunboat *Trao Kiang* was captured, and the British transport *Kowshing*, with "General" Von Hanneken and picked Chinese troops on board, was sunk by the *Naniwa*, Captain (now Rear-Admiral) Togo, after what Admiral Ito, in a recent address delivered at Tokyo, terms "several hours of useless parleyings."

For obvious reasons I am precluded from touching on the legal aspect of the sinking of the *Kowshing*, which has, it appears to me, only afforded a fresh instance of the want of cohesion in the bundle of sticks which goes by the name of "international law," of which it may be

reasonable to say, in St. Paul's words, that, though all things may be lawful, all things may not be expedient. As regards the manner in which it was done I cannot forbear pointing out that though 44 Chinese were taken off the masts of the sunken vessel by the French gunboat *Lion* on the morning following her destruction, neither here, nor at Yasan, Yalu, or Wei-Hai-Wei was, so far as I heard, a single Chinese life saved by their Japanese opponents; so that, kindly and amiable as the latter are by nature, they have much to learn as regards common humanity in war.

The war then began in earnest with the sinking of the *Kowshing*, and the attack on the Chinese camp at Yasan which immediately followed. I must leave the military operations to others, but it will now be advisable to make a general comparison of the naval forces of the two Powers. They were not unequal. On paper, indeed, the Chinese were superior in number and tonnage; but this assumed that the Chinese auxiliary squadrons were available and efficient, which I have shown not to be the case; and for all practical purposes the Japanese were the more powerful and better able to command the sea. The Japanese knew that they would have to do with the Pei Yang Squadron, and they had gauged it at its true value.

Let us now examine the material force of the two fleets, and for the moment take no note of the *morale*. In tonnage, in number of men,<sup>1</sup> in quick-firing guns, and above all in speed, the Japanese fleet under Vice-Admiral Ito was superior. It was also more homogeneous, as, omitting the *Akagi*, the ships varied in size only from 2,200 to 4,200 tons, and were more modern. In all these respects the Chinese fleet was inferior, but it had one advantage in two second-class battle-ships, the *Ting Yuen* and *Chen Yuen*, of 7,400 tons; but the next in size were the *King Yuen* and *Lai Yuen*,—weak ships, though nominally “armored cruisers” of 2,900 tons; and when we come to the last three ships we find that they were all sloops of 1,300 tons. It might well have puzzled a more experienced sailor than Admiral Ting to manœuvre such an odd lot of ships together. But we are not now considering the Yalu battle, to which I shall again refer, but I have taken the ships engaged in it as sufficient for a comparison of the two fleets.

Clearly the Japanese considered that they could successfully command the sea, and in no war has the “influence of sea power,” so

<sup>1</sup> I have been unable to ascertain the correct number of men in the Chinese ships; but many of them were short of their complement.



admirably worked out in Captain Mahan's able volumes, been more distinctly shown. "*À quoi peut servir une marine ?*" asks the French Admiral Jurien de la Gravière. His reply to his question is "*À occuper les grandes voies maritimes ;*" and, to quote Bacon again, "he who has command of the sea can take as much or as little of the war as he pleases." The Japanese, having determined to turn the Chinese out of Corea, required the command of the sea to enable their troops to be brought across from Japan, and to maintain them when there; but had they been defeated by land, they could then have re-embarked their troops and have taken "as little of the war as they pleased," assuming that they retained their naval superiority.

The sea was also the shortest route for the Chinese, as we have seen in the case of the *Kowshing*; but after the war broke out they were unwilling to risk their fleet, and, until the landing of troops at Takushan, which brought on the Yalu fight on the 17th of September, they accepted the serious disadvantage of having to send their troops into Corea by the long land route.

Was the whole advantage of sea power, however, fully understood in either country? This seems doubtful, as in the early part of the war the Japanese fleet was mainly employed in convoying troops; while the Chinese, although cruising freely in the Gulf of Pechili, were said to be under orders not to cruise to the eastward of a line drawn from the Shantung promontory to the Yalu. In both countries the naval force seems to have been used in subordination to the military requirements and for secondary purposes,—a misapprehension of sea power which, as Captain Mahan shows, was too frequently the bane of the French navies in their wars with Great Britain. This is a question of strategy not entirely in the hands of the naval commander-in-chief, and one must hesitate to make Vice-Admiral Ito, who in other respects showed himself to be a most able commander, responsible for it; but in his lecture, to which I have before referred, he appears to accept the rôle as the natural one.

It is possible that the Japanese were aware of the orders given to the Chinese ships, and that they did not wish to force a naval action till they had secured their military bases; but the policy would have been a dangerous one in the face of an active enemy; and, well supplied as they were with fast cruisers,—such as the *Yoshino*, *Naniwa*, *Takachiho*, *Chiyoda*, and others,—the neglect to keep touch with the Chinese fleet argues a failure to appreciate sea power in its true aspects. As a matter of fact, the Chinese fleet, even after the Yalu battle, was

so far left unwatched that Admiral Ting remained at Port Arthur a fortnight after the landing of the Japanese troops at Pitzewo on the 24th of October for the purpose of attacking the fortress, Admiral Ito being content to cruise for the protection of his transports, and allowing the Chinese squadron to proceed unmolested to Wei-Hai-Wei. It is clear that there was no attempt here at blockade, or even masking, though the two fleets were within seventy miles of each other for at least a fortnight, and it would have been easy to have sealed the Chinese ships up in Port Arthur, where they could have done little or nothing for the defence of the place, and where they must have been taken when the position fell.

On the 10th of August, again, at the beginning of the war, Admiral Ito appeared off Wei-Hai-Wei with a fleet of twenty-two ships in all, and exchanged a few shots with the batteries; but the Chinese squadron was not in the port, nor I believe at Port Arthur, so that it was naturally expected that the Japanese admiral would have endeavored to find his opponents and bring them to action,—Port Arthur and Wei-Hai-Wei being the only fortified harbors the Chinese had in the north; but he was content to proceed south the next day, leaving Admiral Ting free to cruise as he pleased, and Chinese transports to cross the Gulf of Pechili without risk of capture. Ting was, I believe, off the Yalu at the time to which I refer, and it would certainly have simplified matters for the Japanese had the naval action taken place, say on the 11th of August, with similar results to that of the 17th of September, more than a month later.

I have now dealt with the naval strategy of the war, and I have endeavored to show that the Japanese did not make full use of their naval predominance; and I now turn to their tactics, which were admirable in all cases. The way in which Marshal Yamagata's force was convoyed to Chemulpho by Admiral Ito, with his look-out ships and advanced squadron covering the main body of the fleet, which was concentrated in readiness to repel any hostile attack, showed a full appreciation of the necessities of the case; while at Pitzewo, before the attack on Port Arthur, and at Yung Ching Bay, when attacking Wei-Hai-Wei, the systematic cruising to prevent surprise, and in the latter case to keep touch with the enemy, which was done in great part by torpedo-boats, showed that the Japanese had little to learn from older navies. The torpedo-boat cruising off Wei-Hai-Wei in January and February, with the thermometer often little above zero, and with frequent gales, was first-rate; the officers and men showing wonderful spirit



as well as good seamanship in carrying out this most trying service. I doubt if any European navy could have done it as well. In other respects, too, the Japanese navy showed how thoroughly the problems of modern naval requirements had been mastered. The ships kept wonderfully efficient, being attended by their colliers, hospital and ammunition ships, and "nurses" for the torpedo-boats; the coaling being carried on almost continuously, when at anchor, by their own boats, which carried the coal in grass bags containing about half a hundred-weight each. The landing of the troops was carried on mainly by sampans, and by coolies admirably organized; the navy remaining prepared for service, an inshore squadron only assisting with steamboats.

But now to return to the naval battle of the Yalu. The very accurate account of the battle given (in the "Century Magazine" for August, 1895) by "Commander" McGiffin, a former American naval officer, makes it unnecessary for me to give it in detail; and Captain Mahan's remarks in the same magazine are so much to the point that I need only refer to a few circumstances, and to the matters on which I have been so frequently questioned, as set forth in the opening paragraph of this article.

Let us look at the tactics of the two admirals. The Chinese fleet, which had been at anchor when the Japanese were sighted, immediately weighed and attempted to adopt a fighting formation said to have been advocated by Captain Lang. It consisted in the ships acting in pairs in quarter line, the fleet thus forming a sort of indented line abreast; but it would be more properly described technically as "subdivisions (of 2 ships) in quarter line in line abreast," the leaders of subdivisions being only two cables apart. In arranging the pairs, sister ships worked together: thus the *Ting Yuen* and *Chen Yuen* formed a pair; the *Chao Yung* and *Yang Wei* formed another pair; and so on. The arrangement has much to recommend it, but it essentially demands specially well-trained officers accustomed to manœuvre in this formation. Under the circumstances it was a fatal error. As a matter of fact the formation was never completed, and if it was right to station the two big ships in the centre, it was certainly wrong to put the two weakest, the *Chao Yung* and the *Yang Wei*, as wing ships. These latter were tailing astern, as were others, so that to the approaching Japanese the Chinese appeared to be formed in a wedge or V shape.

The Chinese formation being as above, the Japanese attack was delivered in line ahead, and Captain Mahan justly criticises both admirals,—the Chinese for having placed his weakest ships on the

wings, and the Japanese for moving diagonally across the front of the enemy to pass around his right wing. But though this might be dangerous against a well-drilled squadron of equal force, we must remember that to Ito the Chinese appeared to be formed in a sort of wedge, and he reasonably trusted to the better speed of his ships and to the unwieldy formation of his enemy to avert ill effects. Like Nelson's at Trafalgar, the formation might not be theoretically perfect, but it was sufficiently good to lead up to victory, and perhaps after all was practically the best under the circumstances. In the lecture before referred to, Admiral Ito says:—

“I ordered the First Squadron to attack the right wing of the enemy, and then to come in upon his rear, utilizing for this purpose the great speed of the First Squadron.”

He then states how by this attack the *Chao Yung* was quickly disabled and set on fire, and that Admiral Ting—

—“concentrated his chief attack upon my Principal Squadron. I managed to keep as far away from him as possible, with a view to attacking him from both sides—front and rear—when the First Squadron got astern of him.”

This fully explains the intention of the Japanese admiral, who decided to take advantage of his better speed to give full effect to his strength in quick-firing guns.

I may here remark that though the nominal speed of the Japanese ships only averaged some three knots more than that of the Chinese squadron, owing to their being newer and better cared for, I have reason to believe that five knots would more fairly represent the real difference, the *Chao Yung* and *Yang Wei*, for instance,—nominally sixteen-knot ships,—being incapable of steaming more than seven knots. Practically, after the first collision, the Chinese lost all order, and contented themselves with a vain endeavor to keep bows on to their enemy,—an impossible problem which the advocates of bow-fire *quand même* should note. The Japanese, on the other hand, were always under control, and manœuvred effectually together in compliance with signal. Indeed it was not till the two Chinese ironclads were left alone, that the latter seem to have recovered any initiative, and the only wonder is that the Japanese did not succeed in destroying the whole of the rest of the squadron.

Before leaving the Yalu battle I should like to refer to some instances of special gallantry on both sides. On the Chinese side the



captain of the *Chih Yuen* is stated to have fought his ship with great determination: she was pushed forward toward the Japanese fleet in an attempt to ram, and was sunk by a storm of shot, though she continued firing to the last. The *Lai Yuen*, on fire so badly that the whole of her after part was literally burned out, was saved by the gallantry of her first lieutenant and brought to Port Arthur. It is stated that the captain proposed to run the ship ashore, but that the first lieutenant, who was down at the fire, persisted that it could be got under, and owing to his noble example this was eventually done.

In the Japanese squadron all seem to have behaved well. The *Hiyei* and little *Akagi*, having been left behind owing to their slow speed, were practically cut off from the remainder of their fleet, and had to run the gauntlet through the whole of the Chinese fleet, narrowly escaping destruction. Both ships were so much damaged as to be put out of action, the *Akagi* having her captain killed and her foremast shot away. The most notable instance of heroism, however, is stated to have occurred in the *Matsushima*. A shell from the *Chen Yuen* had exploded three of the heavy charges for the thirteen-inch gun, which had imprudently been allowed to accumulate in an exposed position, causing a loss of fifty killed and wounded, and there was imminent danger of the ship being blown up. It is stated that this would have happened but for the heroism of a petty officer stationed in the handling-room, who with great presence of mind instantly closed the door of the magazine, placing his back against it. It is satisfactory to hear that this man's life was saved, though he was badly burned.

I do not propose to follow the Yalu battle further. The Japanese only destroyed the four ships, *King Yuen*, *Chih Yuen*, *Chao Yung*, and *Yang Wei*,—the *Kwan Chia* being wrecked the same night off Talieu-whan Bay; and the two Chinese ironclads made such a good defence that toward nightfall Admiral Ito withdrew. But the victory was complete, and from the 17th of September the Pei Yang fleet, as a fighting squadron capable of meeting the Japanese fleet on equal terms, had ceased to exist. It might still be a "fleet in being," but so crushed and humiliated, as well as reduced in numbers, as to be of little value.

The obvious lessons to be drawn from the fight are as follows:—

1. The necessity for keeping a fleet under command.
2. The advantage of the offensive.
3. The advantage of speed.
4. The advantage of quick-firing guns.
5. The necessity of special precautions against fire, and of removing all wood-work.

6. The uselessness (or worse) of thin screens or shields to guns.
7. The necessity for not having accumulations of heavy-gun charges in exposed positions.

On the two last points only is it necessary to make any remarks. As regards the sixth lesson, the conclusion is drawn rather from the action of the 25th of July, and from the attack on Wei-Hai-Wei, than from the Yalu battle. On the 25th of July the shield of the *Tsi Yuen's* starboard eight-inch gun was struck by a shot, causing some loss to the gun's crew, and sending a shower of splinters across the deck, which killed or wounded nearly the whole crew of the opposite gun of similar calibre. As the result of this experience the Chinese had landed all their gun-shields before the Yalu fight. The second instance is one drawn from Wei-Hai-Wei, when a shot from the Chinese batteries struck the shield of a machine-gun of the *Yoshino*, causing a loss of two killed and seven wounded, none of whom would have been touched but for the protecting (?) shield.

With reference to the seventh lesson, the danger of the accumulation of powder is not a new one, and, as Captain Mahan argues, it is probably better to run some risk of explosion than for ammunition to be unavailable at a critical period.

On the above points there can be little difference of opinion; but there are others more debatable, such as the relative value of belts *versus* deck-plating. On this point constructors may remark with satisfaction that, if we except the *Saikio Maru* transport, no ship in either fleet had her motive power or steering-gear injured. It is also clear that the forty-five Japanese quick-firing guns practically got the better of the eight protected heavy guns in the Chinese ironclads. On the other hand it is claimed that the loss of life in the latter was comparatively small, and that their plating was never pierced by the Japanese projectiles, even though struck several times by the thirteen-inch guns of the *Matsushima* and her two sisters. It must be remembered, too, that the Chinese ironclads were thirteen years old, and that their guns were not of the newest pattern or supplied with a sufficient number of common shell,<sup>1</sup> so that the Yalu battle leaves the great question of armor protection and of cruisers *versus* ironclads much where it was.

What, then, of torpedoes? The Japanese certainly never fired any,

<sup>1</sup> I think it was "Commander" McGiffin who said, referring to the scarcity of common shell for the twelve-inch guns of the *Chen Yuen*, that when one came up from the shell-room during the action, "they nursed that shell, sir, like a hot-house plant."



and never intentionally closed to within fair torpedo range. The Chinese ships fired two or three, but, as I gathered, rather to get rid of them in view of the danger of their being struck by a shot than with any expectation of damaging the enemy. I think we may say, then, that the Yalu battle has proved that at least in a general action above-water torpedo discharges are useless.

I now leave the Yalu battle, and I have only space for a few lines on the lessons to be derived from the operations which ended in the capture of Wei-Hai-Wei. These are not numerous, and they convey nothing new to us. It is evident that a mere passive defence is useless, and generally the Chinese ships refrained from offensive action and became helpless as the net closed around them. It is probable that after the mainland batteries had fallen into the Japanese hands their fleet might have entered the harbor and taken the Chinese ships, demoralized as they were; but no doubt possible submarine torpedoes acted as a deterrent, and Admiral Ito might well feel that his prey could not escape him.

As to the successful torpedo attacks made by the Japanese, by which the *Ting Yuen*, *Lai Yuen*, and *Wei Yuen* were destroyed, whilst appreciating fully the dash and gallantry of the Japanese officers, as well as their splendid devotion and seamanship to which I have already alluded, we must remember that one end of the boom defending the harbor was in Japanese hands, and that the Chinese ships were huddled together as close under the island of Liu-kung-tau as possible, to escape from the fire of the Japanese batteries, making no attempt to defend themselves by an inner boom or other obstructions. The boats accordingly had every advantage, and no doubt the Chinese, as usual, were "surprised" at the attack being delivered from the southwest when they knew that the Japanese torpedo-boats must enter the bay in which they were lying from the east. Still the first attack was a failure, the boats being spitted on the boom, and in the first successful attack one boat got a shot through her boiler, and one was wrecked, though subsequently got off again.

One episode of Wei-Hai-Wei deserves a passing notice. On the 31st of January the Japanese carried all the eastern Chinese forts on the mainland, and as the attempts of the Chinese to blow up the batteries or to disable the guns had been only partially successful, the majority of the guns were serviceable, and, the forts being manned by seamen gunners from the fleet, the guns were quickly turned on the Chinese ships and the batteries on the island. Seeing this, the *Ting Yuen* got

under way that afternoon, and, taking up a position so as partially to enfilade them, she attacked two of the forts armed with twenty-one and twenty-four six-inch Krupp guns. The attempt was gallantly made, and one gun at least had its muzzle shot off by the ironclads' gunners; but an inspection of the fort—a fine modern one built under Von Hanneken's superintendence—showed the practical invulnerability of modern sea forts against naval attack, though possibly they might be temporarily silenced by a storm of projectiles from quick-firing and machine guns.

In reviewing the naval operations one must constantly read between the lines, and differentiate between Japanese and Chinese; as, unless this is done, they can be made to prove anything. At Wei-Hai-Wei, for instance, we have seen the success of the Japanese torpedo-boats; but the Chinese had twelve torpedo-boats there, and they did nothing, making no attempt to harass the Japanese cruisers or to engage the fourteen Japanese boats. Their career was indeed inglorious. On the 8th of February, during a bombardment of the island of Liukung-tau by the Japanese fleet, the twelve Chinese boats attempted to escape to the westward, making for Chefoo. They were immediately chased by the *Yoshino* and other fast cruisers, and were all driven ashore, captured, or destroyed. With two exceptions they were old boats which certainly could not steam fifteen knots; probably twelve would be nearer the mark.

I began this article with the question as to whether there was anything to be learned from the war which I have been considering, and I have endeavored to answer it; but as I proceeded I have become more and more impressed with what an old, old story it is. A nation imbued with courage, skill, and national spirit has triumphed over one which lacked those qualities, trusting to half measures and blind chance; each individual, with rare exceptions, being mainly intent only on saving his own life and his individual interests. Nevertheless, several instances, even in this war, have shown that the Chinese, when well led, are not wanting in courage, and with good organization they may yet become formidable.

From the naval point of view one is struck with the fact of the eternity of general principles in strategy, and even in tactics, modern appliances notwithstanding; and only shallow observers will fail to see the lessons which can be learned from the campaigns of a Nelson, a Rodney, or a Suffren, if care is taken to adapt them to the circumstances of our own times.

E. R. FREMANTLE.



## CRIMINAL CROWDING OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS.—II.

IN a previous article<sup>1</sup> I called attention to the overcrowded and unsanitary condition of the public schools in some of our large cities, a condition of which few of the otherwise well-informed residents of those cities were aware, and which the press in numerous editorials on the subject very properly characterized as alarming, shameful, and surpassing belief. I am now able to give more recent facts showing that, bad though the school accommodations were, they are in many cases growing deplorably worse. It should be kept in mind that the following statements are not those of thoughtless alarmists, but that they are based on information furnished by careful and conservative men,—men whose chief concern is for the welfare of the children in the schools, and whose personal interests would incline them to take as favorable a view as possible of the situation. These statements have never been called in question by any one at all familiar with the subject.

The condition of the schools in Brooklyn was miserable in 1893 : in 1894 it was disgraceful, as the following extract from the report of the Superintendent of Schools will show :—

“ The number of pupils on register in all grades exceeded the total seating capacity by 3,630. The number of pupils on register in primary grades exceeded the seating capacity of our primary-class rooms by 6,322.

It should be remembered, however, that, dreadful as is the condition of crowding shown by these figures, they tell only a part of the truth. They represent an average condition and not extreme cases ; they show the register, not when it is at its highest, but when, in midwinter, it is almost at its lowest. To appreciate fully the enormity of the evils caused by lack of sufficient school accommodations, it is necessary to take the register when it is at its highest,—in the month of October,—and to consider, not average conditions, but particular cases. In October, 1893, there were 377 classes whose registers exceeded 60 ; in October, 1894, there were no less than 447 classes whose registers exceeded 60. Of these 447 classes there were 278 that had registers between 60 and 70 ; 89 that had registers between 70 and 80 ; 17 that had registers between 80 and 90 ; 12 that had registers between 90 and 100 ; 10 that had registers between 100 and 110 ; 10 that had registers between 110 and 120 ; 16 that had registers between 120 and 130 ; 11 that had registers between 130 and 140 ; and 4 that had registers between 140 and 150.”

<sup>1</sup> “ The Criminal Crowding of Public Schools,” *THE FORUM*, May, 1895.

Each of these enormous classes was kept in one room and had but one teacher. Owing to overcrowding, only one half the pupils in primary grades could be taught effectively, and the entire school system was paralyzed and clogged. There were by actual count 14,000 children in Brooklyn "either improperly provided with school accommodations or seeking admission in vain." This condition of affairs galvanized even the city authorities into action, and the legislature was asked for permission to issue bonds to build additional school-houses. The defects of the Brooklyn schools are faithfully indicated by the Superintendent, and that the city is finally taking action in the matter is to a great extent owing to his clear delineation of the facts of the case.

The most important function of a school report is to make known the needs of the schools, and the first step toward reforming the lamentable conditions that exist in many of our cities is to have the facts fully set before the public. We have a right to know the worst, and no man can claim to be a friend of education who wilfully conceals or keeps back such humiliating details. The public schools are largely what public opinion makes them, and it is only by giving the greatest publicity to the crying defects of the system that the proper authorities can be shamed into correcting them.

It is difficult to get at the exact facts with regard to the schools in New York city. There are few towns of 10,000 inhabitants that do not issue a more complete school report than the small pamphlet of 69 pages which embodies the New York report for 1894. On the day when the schools began, in September, 1895, the New York "Herald" announced that there were 50,000 children who would not be able to obtain accommodations. It is to be hoped that this is a large overestimate. Those who desire information as to the character of the accommodations enjoyed by the 200,000 who were so fortunate as to get in are referred to Dr. Douglas H. Stewart's article on "Unsanitary Schools and Public Indifference," in *THE FORUM* for September, 1895. When we know that thousands are vainly seeking admission to such dark and dingy schools as the city of New York can afford to give her favored children, it is with a sense of the ludicrous that comes sadly near the pathetic that we learn that the new provisions of the Truancy Law are to be strictly enforced, and that parents will be held equally culpable with the children for pupils' absence from school.

In Jersey City, during the year 1893-94, 1,732 applicants were refused admission to the schools, and in September, 1894, there were



1,836 children attending half-day sessions, 1,606 more pupils than seats, and 775 had been refused admission. With that liberality to which we are so well accustomed where matters of education are concerned, the legislature authorized the issue of \$250,000 worth of bonds, when \$500,000 could have been "wisely, economically, and profitably expended." Owing to lack of funds, the State law of New Jersey, which requires that all books, stationery, and supplies be furnished to pupils free of charge, is systematically violated, and there is little if any money for the purchase of maps, books of reference, and the ordinary school apparatus. The work of the schools is seriously retarded because modern methods which require supplementary books in reading, geography, and other studies cannot be followed for lack of means. That children eager to learn should be turned away from the schools of a prosperous city, is unwise and unpatriotic, and we apparently have yet to learn that efficient schools may be a protection to the state as well as line-of-battle ships and armored cruisers.

Some of the Philadelphia school buildings are known to be defective in many respects, and there are numerous children who are forced to attend on half time, but it is not easy to obtain any information on the subject.

In Washington the wretched conditions of 1893 were accentuated in 1894. Practically all the white schools of the first and second grades, and 2,000 pupils of the third and fourth grades, were limited to half-day sessions, while two-fifths of the entire number of colored schools were in similar straits. Superintendent Powell calls the half-day system for schools above the second grade "a farce," and adds: "To give a lad twelve years of age opportunity to attend school but three and a half hours a day, knowing well that he will spend the rest of the time on the street, is robbery of the boy's time and a danger to society." The children of the poorer classes lose by this system one-half their schooling, because they must begin to earn a living before the time comes when they can enjoy the privilege of an entire day at school. There is one square mile in Washington, "well populated by colored citizens, in which there is no school at all, and several other sections are little better off." We read of floors in the colored-school buildings worn to the thinness of veneer, of window-sashes loose and so badly decayed that they will not retain the glass during a moderate wind-storm, thus rendering it almost impossible to heat the rooms. Doors are without proper fastenings, and thousands of dollars' worth of property left without protection.

The President of the Board of Trustees of the Public Schools, in his report to the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, makes the following statements, which show a situation that we should be more ready to believe of the schools of Pekin than of those of Washington :—

“It will be observed that these unfortunate conditions result solely from the failure to supply adequate schoolroom accommodation. A sufficient number of teachers is provided for all the schools ; and if we had as many schoolrooms as are needed, every child now in attendance could receive the benefit of a full day’s schooling without the employment of a single additional teacher or the expenditure of a single additional dollar for teachers’ salaries. As was pointed out on a former occasion, we occupy precisely the attitude, from a business standpoint, of an employer who finds it necessary to engage and pay the wages of 1,000 skilled employees, but who receives the benefit of only half-day’s labor from a third of their number because of his own refusal to provide working-room for them all.

“The showing thus presented is sufficiently unfortunate without the emphasis of any further facts. The board feel it to be their duty, however, both to you and the community, to point out the further fact that the above inadequacy of accommodation remains after resort has been had not only to rented rooms, —which, as shown by Superintendent Powell’s report, ‘are, without exception, unfit for school purposes, being without ventilation other than open windows and open doors, which are always harmful and fraught with danger, and are without adequate, and in some cases even without respectable, closet accommodation,’—but, even after converting the basements of the school buildings into schoolrooms, rooms never intended for such a purpose and wholly unfit for it, ‘having no means of ventilation, no proper means of heating,’ and lacking all the necessary conveniences. No member of Congress would consent to the use of such rooms for his committee, or for any other purpose which would require him to pass the working-hours of the day in them ; and no member, we are confident, would be willing to condemn the immature bodies of little school children to conditions, sanitary and otherwise, so unfavorable.”

In Baltimore, during the year ending December 31, 1894, there were 4,500 children who were housed in rented buildings that were “generally old dwellings or halls unfit for school use and detrimental to the health of those who occupy them.” In some such wretched room it is by no means unusual to crowd two schools with their teachers, where the school authorities frankly admit that there is only a sufficient supply of air for one class. There is not unnatural complaint that by these unwholesome conditions the health of teachers and pupils is impaired, and many children are deprived of educational advantages, because their parents dare not expose them to such risks. The appropriations for new school-houses are too small to permit of the erection of proper buildings, and the superintendent regrets that the classrooms in most new buildings are not large enough to allow sufficient



space outside the desks for persons to move about the room, and that there is not room enough in front of the desks for the placing of blackboards, maps, and other necessary apparatus for teaching.

In addition to the foregoing facts, Baltimore is, I believe, unique among cities of its size in that it possesses no training-school where its teachers may be equipped for their work. Surely the educated men and women of Baltimore must be ignorant of this condition of affairs, or they would make such a stir as would force even the City Council to provide proper schools.

Chicago labors under exceptional difficulties. There is probably no other city in the world where such an annual increase of population has to be provided for. The city is growing at the rate of 65,000 yearly, and 13,000 of this number are children of school age. Fifteen new buildings are imperatively required to accommodate this increase, and fourteen more for the nearly equal number of children now housed in rented rooms. But, fortunately for Chicago, her Board of Education does not have to cope with this tremendous problem with the feeble means that are at the disposal of too many other cities. They are not dependent on councils for school funds in Chicago, but have been empowered by the legislature to make a five-per-cent levy on real estate in the city, two-fifths of which may be used for salaries, and three-fifths for building purposes,—“a sum amply sufficient to provide wholesome and comfortable accommodation for every child of school age in the city.” The advantage of a fixed school tax on real estate is, that the increase in the value of real property is in direct ratio with the increase in population, so that the School Board always has adequate means to meet additional demands without having to appeal for funds to an ignorant city council. It is to be hoped that such a tax will be introduced into cities like Brooklyn and Boston. In Chicago, during the year ending June, 1895, no fewer than 16 new school buildings were opened and 21 begun (14 since January, 1895), and it was thought that before December 6 or 8 more buildings would be in process of construction; while for the year 1896 the magnificent sum of \$2,660,000 has been assigned for ground and buildings, with which it is expected that from 20 to 25 well-built and commodious school-houses will be erected. In addition to this all the school buildings in the city are reported to be in thoroughly good condition.

The energy and liberality with which difficulties are met in Chicago give us a gratifying instance of what Western business ability can accomplish when well directed, and we are confident that the 17,545

children who are now attending in half-day divisions will soon be properly accommodated. They have the right spirit in Chicago, and feel that "nothing should be left undone which modern science can suggest, or money secure, to make ample provision for the temperature, light, ventilation, and sanitation of our school buildings. Anything short of the best is without excuse; for, when it is considered that the schools are the abiding-places of our children for so large a part of each day and year, it is little less than criminal to neglect these provisions so essential to their welfare." Would that there were more cities where such manly and liberal sentiments were the spirit of the community.

That the city councils and not the school authorities are responsible for most of the defects of our school system I have already intimated; but I have never seen the responsibility for parsimonious appropriations more forcibly put where it belongs than in the following extract from the report of the President of the Board of Education of Omaha, Nebraska, for June, 1894:—

"The condition of our treasury is such as to occasion grave concern. We have been able to continue the schools during the year without interruption, but end the fiscal year with a deficit. This condition is not owing in any degree to extravagance or mismanagement on the part of the Board, but wholly to the refusal of the City Council to do its plain duty in the matter of levying such a tax as it has been advised by the Board of Education was necessary to support the schools.

"For example, for the fiscal year ending July 1, 1894, the City Council came \$33,580 short of providing the amount of money which it was informed would be required to carry on the schools for the year. It had the presumption, without warrant of law, and without any adequate knowledge of the situation, to arbitrarily reduce the amount asked for by that amount, without knowing or appearing to care whether the sum actually provided would enable us to keep the 16,000 children of this district in school or not; for the Council has nothing whatever to do with the schools, and knows nothing of their condition or needs. In fact, I venture the assertion that not a member of that body could have told at the time such action was taken, even approximately, the number of children enrolled, or even the number of schools in operation. Moreover, it is clearly the duty of the City Council, under the Constitution and laws of the State, to raise for the support of the schools such an amount of money as the Board of Education deems necessary.

"The time has come for plain speaking, and while we do not desire any controversy with that branch of the city government, it is only just that the citizens of this city should be advised of the facts; and should this unwarranted policy be continued by the Council until our schools are crippled, the responsibility should be laid—where it justly belongs—at the door of the City Council."

There is altogether too much anxiety to guard against possible extravagance on the part of our boards of education. We cannot hope



to introduce effective municipal reforms until our citizens are educated up to them; and while false economy cramps and impedes the public schools, as the foregoing examples and many others that might be cited show that it is doing, the progress of the entire state is retarded. Let the educated and public-spirited men and women of the community be brought as a class into close contact with the public schools, and it will then become apparent that there is no investment which can be made that pays for itself so many times over as the money honestly spent for school purposes.

Finally I would suggest, in view of the great diversity of opinion that exists with regard to the facts that should be embodied in a superintendent's report, that the National Association of Superintendents might very properly consider at an early session what subjects should enter into the construction of the ideal report, and how such a report may be made most useful to the community.

JAMES HOSMER PENNIMAN.

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCULPTURE IN AMERICA.

“No matter what its possibilities may be, no matter what seeds of thought or virtue, what germs of genius or of art, lie latent in its breast, until the appropriate environment presents itself the correspondence is denied, the development discouraged, the most splendid possibilities of life remain unrealized, and thought and virtue, genius and art, are dead.”

So writes Henry Drummond in his “Natural Law in the Spiritual World,” and every earnest thinker must agree with him. In this country we are inclined to force our arts as we do exotics, in the atmosphere of the hothouse,—or to attempt to do so. At first this process may seem plausible and possible, but on second thought the serious man or serious people will discover that an art can only be as the life of the individual or nation that creates it. Art is not invention, but evolution. In considering, therefore, the development of art in America, we must first of all consider the environment; we must ascertain what are the conditions that have produced great art in the past, and, comparing such conditions with those under which we live, we shall soon be able to find what place the American people hold in the world of art, and what outlook is before us for a great and lasting school of sculpture.

In reviewing the history of those nations which have produced noble works in the field of sculpture, one very quickly finds that a great development in this art has come only with a serious and fervid patriotism: countries whose patriotism has been tame and vacillating have produced no great works of sculpture. Coleridge emphasizes this thought when he says of the Greeks:—

“Reflect a moment on the history of this wonderful people. What were they while they remained free and independent,—when Greece resembled a collection of mirrors set in a single frame, each having its own focus of patriotism, yet all capable, as at Marathon and Platea, of verging to one point and of consuming a common foe? What were they then? The fountains of light and civilization, of truth and of beauty, to all mankind. . . . They lost their independence—and with their independence their patriotism—and became the cosmopolites of antiquity. . . . While they were intense patriots they were the benefactors of all mankind.”



But that intense patriotism once broken in upon and diluted with the aggressive and material life of the Roman, their arts begin to disintegrate. The sublime nude figures of Phidias fell to a state of mere sensual loveliness under Praxiteles, and soon to a much lower condition.

In this essay we must frequently refer to Greece, not only because she has taken a supreme position in the art of sculpture, but because our own state and commonwealth is more like the state under which the arts flourished in Greece than any other nation since their time. And it is a curious fact that our early sculptors produced works not unlike the crude sculptures of Greece, antedating the age of Phidias, which have lately been discovered near the Parthenon in Athens. The student of the beginnings of American sculpture will note that, while the works are crude in execution, they are characterized by a loftiness of thought akin to that spoken of above as characterizing the pre-Phidian sculptors. The faith that brought the Puritan to this shore and enabled him to remain notwithstanding the rigor of the climate and the hostility of the savage, showed itself in our art beginnings as an inevitable result. It was only when men went abroad and studied the arts of other nations that we began to produce pseudo-classical works. It is a very serious question whether our art has been greatly benefited by the sending abroad of so many students to be developed under foreign influences. It would have been well for us, I believe, if we had imported drawing-masters and men who could have taught us the dexterous manipulation of clay, and ourselves remained in our own country, developing an art which is an integral part of the life of the people. I realize that in saying this I am making a bold statement, yet I believe it to be true. Many critics will say that, had we waited for art to come to us, we should have been a century behind our present status, but philosophy and history do not justify such a theory.

When a nation rises to a point where it has a serious life and sufficient patriotism to find enduring expression in form, sculptors have invariably arisen to carve its ideals in marble and to cast them in enduring bronze. How did we produce in this country such men as Emerson, Hawthorne, and Whittier, to say nothing of men like Lincoln, Grant, and Sumner? Certainly not by an order of foreign study, or by subjecting these men, when young, to the influence of foreign nations. What is true of literature and statesmanship must be true of art. There is in our people a certain simplicity of purpose, honesty of endeavor, and nobility, which would have found expression in sculpture had Europe sunk beneath the seas. In the development of an

art, names count for very little, and one or two of the men whose names are now constantly before the public will have to take a second place when the history of American sculpture is written. Work may be brilliant without having the racial instinct or quality which lifts it above the imitation of the foreign model.

Since writing the above paragraphs regarding the development of art upon the native soil, I have found in an essay of Ruskin's an opinion which tallies precisely with this thought, and which I am glad to quote as the verdict of a critic who ranks among the first, if he is not the very first, in our tongue. Speaking of the Athenian and Florentine schools of art, he says that both are of equal rank—

—“as essentially original and independent: the Florentine, being subsequent to the Greek, borrowed much from it; but it would have existed just as strongly, and perhaps in some respects more nobly, had it been the first instead of the latter of the two. . . . The Greeks found Phœnician and Etruscan art monstrous, and had to make them human. The Italians found Byzantine and Norman art monstrous, and had to make them human. . . . But we mistake in supposing that Athens taught Florence the laws of design; she taught her, in reality, only the duty of truth.”

This duty *we* never had to learn from Europe, thanks to the Puritan.

The same task and problem were set before the American as before the Athenian and the Florentine; the crude art of the Mound-builder, the Mexican, and the Indian was to be softened, humanized, and uplifted to the sphere of civilized and cultured living. And it is curious to note that the Florentine in his time made the same mistake as that into which many of our earlier sculptors fell,—that of copying new-found classical sculpture, and setting aside all present inspiration and models. There are two chief dangers which threaten the art of sculpture in America. The one has been a tendency to copy foreign models, Greek, Florentine, and French: this we may call Charybdis. The other danger, which we may designate the Scylla of American art, is that which follows the opposite swing of the pendulum, and which threatens whenever an age is characterized by commercial and mechanical activity, absorbing the interest of the people to the detriment of higher pursuits; when it is forgotten that sculpture, especially monumental sculpture, deals with the ideal and the symbolic, and that it is the spirit and the entirety of a life and an age, rather than its accidents of clothing and feature, that are to be embodied.

In an essay upon the development of the art of sculpture in America, it would be of little or no use to give an exact catalogue of



the men who have carried it forward or pursued it as a mere means of livelihood, without abetting or hindering its progress. A few names will suffice to tell of those whose lives and work have contributed to American sculpture. This art has with us, for the most part, followed a normal and natural order of development; that is, it has come only after the necessities of life have been provided for, and some time after the love of painting had been developed. Considerable interest and not a little talent had been manifested in architecture before the word "sculpture" came into vogue. The fact that marble is expensive and has to be brought from Italy accounts partially for the lack of sculpture in this country; but we must account further for this lack by thoroughly understanding the conditions in life which engender and develop a love for art and pure form. Such conditions have not long existed in America. That they do exist to a certain extent to-day, however, I will attempt to demonstrate.

As early as the year 1784 we find mention of a Mrs. Patience Wright, born in Bordentown, N. J., in 1725, who achieved some success as a sculptor at home and in England. In the latter country she made likenesses of the King and Queen, of Lord Chatham, and others; and a year before her death in 1785 we find mention of a life-sized wax statue of Lord Chatham executed by her, and standing in a glass case in Westminster Abbey. When we consider the unfortunate accident of her birth in an environment and atmosphere not tempered to the artist, and when we remember that her instruction must have been of the most meagre nature, we must not only admire and pity her, but must also accord her a place of honor among the pioneers of American art. Mr. Adams, the American Minister to the Court of St. James, in an interesting paragraph describes a visit to Mrs. Wright in London. At this early date we had already a number of famous painters, such as West, Trumbull, and Stuart, while Mrs. Wright seems to have been the only American who had achieved a reputation in the almost despised art of sculpture.

The arrival of Houdon in 1785, persuaded by Jefferson and Franklin to come from France to this country to make a statue of Washington for the State House at Richmond, marked an era for such lovers of art as then existed in America. Mr. Madison tells us that Houdon modelled the head of Washington directly from life at Mount Vernon, and he was himself present at many of the sittings. From this excellent portrait bust, which is still in existence, and from the noble painting of his head by Stuart, we may form a just conception of

Washington's appearance. Houdon's bust is almost as common in France as in America; and although not so magnanimous a representation as the head executed by our own sculptor, Crawford, we must be very grateful to Houdon for having faithfully recorded the features of our first President. The visit of this French artist had the beneficial effect of awakening society to a desire to become more familiar with and to own good works of sculpture.

In 1789, four years after the death of Mrs. Patience Wright, there came to America a certain John Dixey, who practised ornamental stone-cutting and wood-carving. He was a man of some ability, for in 1810 we find his name mentioned as the vice-president of the new Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia.

William Rush, who was born in Philadelphia in 1757, and who died in 1833, achieved distinction as a modeller and as a wood-carver, but his chief contribution to American art was the interest he exhibited in the plan for the Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia.

In 1791, Ceracchi, well known in England and France, arrived in this country. He seems to have had a heartfelt desire to build a great national monument, but it is hardly necessary to say that Congress failed to appropriate the needed funds when called upon to do so. He threw himself heartily into the scheme for the establishment of the Academy of Fine Arts. While in America Ceracchi executed busts of a number of famous men, notably portraits of Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, Paul Jones, and John Jay. He remained here but four years, but worked with an industry which must have acted as a stimulus to all people interested in fine arts. His work is not great, and smacks of the pseudo-classical school of Canova, but we must thank him for handing down to us portraits of some of the greatest men this country has produced.

In the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington is a bas-relief signed by N. Genvelot, and executed in 1827. The subject is that of Penn making his famous treaty with the Indians. It seems impossible to find any history of this sculptor or his other works. In the same place is another bas-relief signed by A. Capellano, and executed in the same year. The theme here presented is Pocahontas saving Captain Smith. Other traces have been found of this sculptor's works, but of little or no artistic value. It is rather a sad comment on our present school of sculpture to note that these early artists—American or foreign—had the good sense to execute subjects from our own picturesque history, and were not obliged to ransack Greek mythology for suggestions.



But it also speaks volumes for that fraction of the community who desired their own history represented, and believed that its heroes were worthy of such perpetuation.

We now reach a name of much interest, because its bearer was the first American sculptor who was educated and pursued his art in this country. John Frasee was born in Rahway, N. J., and he learned the trade of a stone-cutter. The first statues he ever saw were in the New York Academy of Fine Arts in 1820, and these casts were a gift from Napoleon. It is pathetically recorded that his first original bust was made from his own dead child, and this work had sufficient merit to bring about an introduction to Trumbull, the president of the Academy, who has put himself on ignominious record by saying that "nothing in sculpture would be wanted in this country for a hundred years,"—to which Frasee made the worthy reply: "Is such a man fit for a president of an academy of fine arts?" Historically it is important to note that John Frasee made the first portrait bust attributed to an American, and executed after the death of the subject,—John Wells. Among Frasee's sitters we note Daniel Webster, Judges Story and Westcott, and Chief Justice Marshall.

An appreciation of sculpture in the early part of the present century was a rare instinct. We find the clear-headed John Adams writing in 1818 to a French sculptor, M. Binon, who wished to make his portrait:—

"The age of sculpture and painting has not yet arrived in this country, and I hope it will be long before it does. I would not give sixpence for a painting by Raphael or a statue by Phidias."

Still we find him later inviting the same artist to become his guest at Quincy, and permitting him to make a plaster cast of his face, and, moreover, according him numerous sittings. This bust may be seen in Faneuil Hall, Boston, to this day.

Names now begin to multiply. Horatio Greenough and Hiram Powers were born in the same year,—1805. Greenough was a man of scholarly attainments and artistic instincts, and a man of undoubted power and tireless energy. To him belongs the credit of being the first American to execute a group in marble,—the "Chanting Cherubs." It is interesting to note that Fenimore Cooper gave him the commission.

The name of Hiram Powers must ever bear a certain dignity, and he is one of the men who has placed sculpture before the public without leaving any deep impress upon it as an art. The

adulation once bestowed upon the "Greek Slave" led some critic to write the following lines:—

"Some pent glow, methinks, diffuses o'er those limbs a grace of soul  
Warm with nature and yet chastened by a holy self-control,  
Teaching how the loyal spirit ne'er can feel an outward chain,  
While its truth remains unconquered, and the will asserts her reign."

His "Eve" is a most lovely original, and looks "like nature in the world's first spring." She is holding the apple, and her face expresses thought and curiosity, mixed with a presentiment of future ill. We must believe that Powers was more of a man than we now can think him from the work he has left us, for we find John Quincy Adams writing to Powers, after that sculptor had made a successful bust of him, the following sonnet, which is certainly worth quoting as a comment upon the life of this statesman which cannot fail to interest all Americans:—

"Sculptor ! thy hand hath moulded into form  
The haggard features of a time-worn face ;  
And whosoever views thy work shall trace  
An age of sorrow and a life of storm !  
And canst thou model the heart ? For that is warm,  
Glowing with tenderness for all its race ;  
Instinct with all the sympathies that grace  
Those pure and artless bosoms where they swarm !  
Artist ! may fortune smile upon thy hand !  
Go forth, and rival Greece's art sublime ;  
Return, and bid the statesmen of thy land  
Live in thy marble through all aftertime !  
Oh, snatch from heaven the fire Prometheus stole,  
And give the sculptured block a living soul ! "

We must not forget Joel T. Hart, born in Kentucky in 1810, and who passed much of his life in Florence. He modelled a statue of Henry Clay, which is now in Louisville, and invented a clever machine by which the tedious labor of transferring the model or original to marble has been considerably diminished. He seems to have made a careful study of the human form.

Next comes Thomas Crawford, who has become famous, not only for his own excellent work, but for the rare affection he inspired in the nature of Charles Sumner. It was Charles Sumner who made him famous. He found him in Rome, poor, unknown, and discouraged, and encouraged him by saying that some day he would inhabit one of the palaces of that city, which prophecy was eventually realized. A figure



of an Indian chief, part of the group in the pediment in the Capitol at Washington, was so admired by the English sculptor, Gibson, that he wished to have it cast in bronze and set up as a monument to Crawford in Rome. We cannot but lament the untimely death of this genius, which took place in London in 1857. His friend and companion, Randolph Rogers, completed his unfinished work. Had he lived he would undoubtedly have produced great and original work, for such specimens as we have left to us display the workings of a mind original, vigorous, and artistic.

Nor should we omit the names of Henry Kirke Brown, born in Leyden, Mass., in 1814; Henry Dexter, born in New York State in 1806; and Erastus D. Palmer, also of New York, born in 1817. These men exhibited positive talent if not genius; they cherished high ideals and worked hard and conscientiously. Alas, that the times were not great enough for them to achieve the greatest results!

We now mention two men who have become widely known in this country and in Europe for the versatility of their gifts, their large culture, and, in some respects, brilliant achievements,—Thomas Ball, born in Massachusetts in 1819, and still living in Florence, Italy, and W. W. Story. It was Ball who executed the noble equestrian statue of Washington in the Public Garden, Boston, which has won for its author enduring fame, and which must be classed among the great equestrian statues of the world. In this statue, executed while Mr. Ball was still a young man, we see the effect of the intellectual surroundings in which he was born and educated; we see Emerson and Webster and Sumner, and the days when intellectual giants walked about the streets of Boston.

The name of William Wetmore Story—a son of an illustrious father (Chief-Justice Story), and a graduate of Harvard University—marks an era when men of refined birth (which the Greeks thought the highest good and greatest possible blessing) and liberal education entered the field of fine arts. His work in sculpture displays study, refinement, and elegance, rather than spontaneity, and that order of artistic comprehension which genius alone can give to the dull clay. Mr. Story also won fame for himself in the field of literature.

Two men who more than all others have influenced the art of sculpture in this country up to the present date are, John Rogers, born in Salem, Mass., in 1829, and J. Q. A. Ward, born in Ohio in 1830. Mr. Rogers has done more than any other living being to popularize the art of sculpture among us. When his work became known, the

cheap casts of the insipid figures of Canova and his school became less common. A number of his groups, especially those in which he represents homely scenes of New England life, and the stress and storm of the days that tried men's souls, exhibit a decided and acknowledged artistic merit. One sculptor has said that he has handled the ugly costume of the modern man better than any other living sculptor. His portrait groups of Joseph Jefferson as *Rip Van Winkle* will make Jefferson, Washington Irving, and himself immortal.

Randolph Rogers, who was born in 1825, executed the bronze doors of the Capitol at Washington, which are especially interesting because they represent scenes from the life of Columbus, and point to the depiction of American scenes rather than to the imitation of foreign models. At the present day we hear the names of St. Gaudens, Daniel French, and Olin Warner mentioned on every side, but we are too near these men to judge of their influence upon American art and to what extent they have drawn from foreign models.

To return to the conditions which produce great art. Sculpture comes last in the history of a people's development and culture. We can thus account for its tardiness with us, if such a criticism is made upon the American people. We are too young yet for the ripest achievements in the fine arts. To those who would take heaven by storm, we must cry, Patience! To those who claim that there is no reason for expecting the highest expression in sculpture from this hurrying people, we must reply, You do not understand them! And to those who would create and foster a love for the highest in the fine arts, but are paralyzed by the unhappy superficial aspects of modern life, we must commend everlasting patience, constant faith, and a looking back to the men who have framed this Constitution and made this Republic an enduring fact.

History shows that any people who have made themselves free and independent, and sustained that freedom courageously and constantly, have found expression sooner or later for the embodiment of the ideals of freedom. Sculpture is not only the last note in the people's development, but it is also the loftiest condition to which the individual can rise. It implies the subordination of the material and sensual aspects of life, and an order of self-surrender and discipline which but few fully realize. Yet while few rise to a complete understanding of this supreme art, there is a multitude who love, appreciate, and worship it from a distance. I do not know that we can ask more than this order of appreciation from the people. We do not demand it in other



arts, and I doubt if we have any right to ask it for sculpture. The most sincere and truest test of our love for it as a people will be the same as the test we may apply to the individual and his love for it. And this is simply its meaning or import to us. If it is a saving and inspiring grace to the beggar who kneels upon the stone floor of the cathedral before the face of a Madonna glorified with human sympathy, and who goes out from that holy atmosphere with a new life begun and the best in him drawn out, it is surely more to him than it can be to the man who cares simply for the display in his gallery of copies of all the masterpieces his money can purchase. The question then arises, How are we to educate this people to an appreciation of this great and simple art?

The first practical way which suggests itself is by making art-education in the public schools a part of the study, and as compulsory as word and cipher languages. Only a few years have passed since art-education in this country was a privilege of the rich. Now no academy in the land is considered well equipped which has not a certain course in the fine arts,—too often elected, we regret to say, as an escape from more earnest study rather than for the love of beautiful things. But even this aspect is changing, and the new men are learning to care for—to understand—the great masterpieces of the world because they afford an order of enjoyment and growth which mathematics and athletics do not furnish. We must endeavor to make art-education a genuine thing, a living force, and not in any sense an affectation,—not merely a pretty thing to appear in a catalogue. We must not place it in the hands of men to whom all art is over with Titian and Tintoret, who walk about the college campus and the schoolroom with long faces, as if art were a difficult thing to understand or was buried in a long-forgotten past. These men are Philistines, and we must weed them out and place in their stead men of present patriotism and living sympathy,—men who love their fellow-kind sufficiently to desire to reveal to them the divine inspirations and compensations that come from an appreciation of art. There are such men in this country, and they are finding their way into the right places, for which we cannot be too thankful. We must lift art out of the abstract and make it a personal matter. We must encourage it, and, to be practical, we must purchase it. We cannot all buy marbles and costly bronzes, but there is not one of us who cannot afford to have a photograph of some masterpiece, or a plaster cast of some lofty work of sculpture. We stint ourselves to purchase a ticket for the

opera, and many men would go without other luxuries to possess a book. Well and good! Now let us push on to that state of culture in which we are willing to deny ourselves something that we may possess a picture or cast which often furnishes a higher order of enjoyment than does the opera or the novel.

Art-education in the public schools is the surest and simplest way of bringing this people to that state of development where they can appreciate great art and what it holds for them. Year after year brings us evidence of the artistic genius of this people. It is needful that we should draw out wisely and with discretion this artistic inclination and precious instinct, and that we should encourage it, not only by the generous endowment of scholarships, but by personal sympathy whenever and wherever such genius comes to our notice. Only such discernment and sympathy can beget great art for this people. And only in this way, on the other hand, may we become a highly civilized people. It is a contradiction in terms to imagine a high state of civilization without a great existing art. As I have said before, the conditions when great art may be possible for us depend not only upon effort, but upon time. Art never comes as did Minerva, fully armed.

A great art for America naturally implies a wide knowledge and reverence for the art efforts of the nations which have preceded our own. This is not incompatible with the intensest patriotism. We have, in reality, more to learn from the nations which now exist only through their art products, than from contemporary peoples. If we study contemporaneous art too closely, we find ourselves desiring to copy it, or unconsciously doing so. As an instance of this, note the tendency of our painters and sculptors to copy French art and to adopt its principles and ideas, and with what pernicious effect upon our own advancement and our faith in the ideals of our ancestors! A great art, then, implies experience and a knowledge of the world's history. Some critics have claimed that our topographical isolation is a detriment to our advancement in fine art. This is surely a mistake. That very isolation has enabled us to maintain our freedom unmolested, and to carry on an order of government which has endured longer than any known republic. It has produced great types of manhood, and it is an absurdity to assume that, having accomplished so much, these conditions should suddenly fail us when we demand of them a great art to embody the ideals of loftiest manhood. It is fairer to assume that our art has suffered, as well as our morality, by contact with a nation like the French, whose moral sense, to say the least, is confused.



Certain causes have, however, interfered with our producing great art thus far. In sculpture it has been chiefly the lack of sufficient time and culture for its normal development. The country is so vast that a large portion of the population is still given over to conquering the forces of nature. As I have mentioned the word "morality" in connection with our people, and the lack of it in the modern expression of art by the French, let me dwell a moment on this way of thinking, for which so many men are called Philistines by the very ones who are themselves the most pronounced Philistines because they do not realize that they are such. If one had suggested to the clear-eyed Greek that a great art might exist without a great and true standard of morality, he would have relegated the speaker to the shades. I use the word "morality" in its broadest sense; I use it simply to imply all that means cosmos out of chaos; and when I say that we need time to round out this nation so that it may produce great work in the fine arts, I consider it essential to know what is fine before we can produce it.

Many will ask how we are to know if a work of sculpture is good or bad art. The simplest way that suggests itself is to ask one's self if the work is true to nature. And this surely is a good rule and a happy way of proceeding. But we must be sure that we have an adequate idea of the highest aspects of nature. It would never be fair, for instance, for a man who had never seen the beautiful sculpture of the Greeks, or their casts in the museums, or who had never studied the more wonderful forms of his own people, to venture to say that a statue is not good art because it is not true to some distorted idea of nature which he holds in his imagination. We must be careful, then, that we understand the highest aspects of nature as well as the lowest. No man who has passed his life entirely in the streets of London or New York can be a fair judge of a picture by Turner or George Inness. We must use our common sense in this respect, as we do in the common walks of life. We must hold the mirror up to nature, and be careful that our eyes do not look through an inverted or distorted lens. Nature assumes myriad forms and aspects.

We are driven back fairly upon the idea I have before advanced, that the art which a man or nation produces depends upon the order of man who creates it. We cannot get away from this fact. We must, then, not only study art for the people, and see that the children in the public schools are educated, but we must demand that our artists be properly trained and educated, so that they may reflect the noble rather than the ignoble aspects of their time and surroundings. We

must demand that our artists first of all be educated in an environment that produces great men, no matter if that environment be a conventional one or not. We must demand that they be imbued thoroughly with reverence for the great men who have gone before them. We would not permit a man to enter the pulpit and preach those things that are immoral and destructive to the individual as well as to the nation, and why should we permit the artist to do so? We will not allow our historians to falsify the records of this people and its struggles, fostering lower ideas of life and belittling our manhood, and yet we often permit the artist who is writing indestructible history in stone to do so. If the American people will use in the fine arts the common sense with which they are generously endowed, and which they apply to many other aspects of life, great art will be inevitable.

Men of science teach us that nothing can be evolved that is not involved, and that energy cannot be destroyed,—it can only be transferred. Surely there is no nobler way to change our vital energies than by transferring them to beautiful and lovely forms which must pass on and inspire generations yet to come. Perhaps it will be wise to show the people that art-education in the public schools is a matter of political economy. France affords abundant means for artistic study and inspiration, because she finds it to her profit to do so. Thousands of visitors are attracted to her gay capital by the alluring charms of an art atmosphere. Not only do our students carry large sums of money to Paris, but France yearly sells her millions of dollars' worth of art products to Americans. She has found it the truest political economy to establish great museums, where fine-art products are preserved and exhibited, such as the Louvre and the Luxembourg and the Cluny Museum. These institutions are thronged on holidays and Sundays by the working-people, and thus, by presenting fine art to the common people, she educates them. In each quarter of the city one may find schools where these arts are taught, and there are numerous day and night schools subsidized by the government, where both sexes may learn gratis, or at little cost, the arts of design. The one thing that has done more than all else to raise the standard of instruction in France was the report of the jury of the Exposition of Schools in Paris, which affirmed that "the study of linear drawing based upon geometry ought to be the foundation of the programme of all academic and industrial schools."

In 1869 a Congress of Art was held in Paris which emphatically declared the same principle, and furthermore insisted upon "suppressing the print, and founding the first studies in drawing upon the



elements of geometry." This principle has been followed in France since 1865. In technical art education, France, Belgium, Prussia, Switzerland, and Austria have been, until late years, far in advance of Great Britain; and only in a few instances has the United States been able in any measure to compete with England in this respect, and only in articles of coarse manufacture, such as spades, shovels, axes, etc.: rarely, if ever, in those articles of commerce to which taste and finish give an enhanced value. England soon found it necessary to establish schools of design, museums, and libraries in order to compete at all with France and Prussia. The Kensington Museum has done the greatest good to English art and art products, and has established a training-school from which hundreds of teachers have gone forth over the whole kingdom. The work at Kensington has been carried forward with the same thoroughness that the English people show in all branches of government work. In the official directory may be found, in the regulations for promoting instruction in art, four separate orders of schools,—elementary schools, training-colleges for teachers, art night classes, and schools of art. I mention these facts, which may seem a little apart from the subject, because I believe they will be useful to us in the forming of like schools.

It is a crucial time with the American people and their fine arts; and it behooves the public to demand great art of the sculptor, and not to accept that which is commonplace or meretricious. It should refuse that which is mere photographic reproduction, and that order of sculpture which belongs to the maker of plaster casts. It must demand of its artists a high order—and, above all things, a sane order—of living. There is no reason why the public should tolerate eccentric and ignoble living from the sculptor and painter, any more than from the author, or, in fact, from any man. It must compel its artists to be great. It is not too much to demand of the artist of to-day that his life be as thoughtful, high-toned, and generous as the lives of Raphael, Angelo, and Leonardo da Vinci. Even the standard of Emerson is not too lofty for a man who is to embody a people's highest ideals:—

"If we live truly, we shall see truly. It is as easy for the strong man to be strong as it is for the weak to be weak. . . . When a man lives with God, his voice shall be as sweet as the murmur of the brook and the rustle of the corn. . . . If anybody will tell me whom the great man imitates in the original crisis when he performs a great act, I will tell him who else than himself can teach him. Shakespeare will never be made by the study of Shakspeare. Do that which is assigned thee, and thou canst not hope too much or dare too much."

What did Michael Angelo learn from schools and masters? Not

more than he learned from the cloud-forms and the effects of the moonlight falling through the branches of the rugged stone-pine. Never will one become a great sculptor by shutting himself within the four walls of a studio, thus barring out the letters that go to make up the alphabet of beautiful art. But these cloud-forms and this moonlight we must not attempt to measure with the compass or to fix with the camera. If we try to do this we shall have the same result that comes when we hold a dead bird in the hand, its song and movement ended. These effects should become so much a part of the artist that he puts them into his work unconsciously, and they in turn uplift the public with a measure of the same inspiration by which he has been moved. So an artist, to be great, must be true. He must not borrow his glories,—he must own them.

What should a sculptor himself be, in his life and training, in order to do enduring work? Let us glance again for a moment at the only people of the world who have done really great work in monumental sculpture,—the Greeks. The French, even, are not excepted; for, when all is known, they are at their best only clever,—rarely great. The Athenian republic was not unlike our own in point of civilization and literary achievement. But it was unlike our own in one vital aspect. The artist was a rounded man, and not a one-sided creature. Why was Phidias great? Because of Pericles. Why was the age of Pericles great? Because of Phidias. The weakness is thus traced from the art to the artist; from the artist to his world, which will not recognize that essentially artistic work can be done only by a man so educated, environed, and manually trained as to conceive great thoughts and execute them. He should be able to compare notes with educated men in the different professions and arts, thereby obtaining the attrition necessary to a proper rounding of thought.

We must, then, forever do away with the thought that art can be invented or borrowed. Not only must the artist be taught to appreciate the limitations of his art, but the people must be made sensible of the respective arts and their limitations,—that is, they must not expect sculpture to represent scenes that do not lend themselves to the severity of this art, but are more suitable to the painter. Then, too, the artist must not permit the advertising craze to attach itself to him, or even to his dealer; and let him remember, when he exhibits his work, that he is appealing to the lowliest, who may have as sincere an appreciation as the most cultured. Joseph Jefferson says that he endeavors to remember that he is playing to the man who has paid his shilling to



sit in the pit, equally with the man who sits in the orchestra stall. Then we must sell our paintings and statues only to those who really care for them. To sell a painting to a man who does not care for it is a degradation of one's art,—one might almost say a prostitution of one's highest. And the people must grasp, once and forever, the fact that great art is always popular art; that is, only that art has become great in the world which has received the final approbation of the people.

Brother artists, open wide your souls and let the beauty of the world fall upon them! Then will you give back that order of art which makes the Gothic period in architecture supremely beautiful,—the period when men lived by faith as well as by works. You will take into yourself the divine inspiration that awaits you at every turn in the world of nature and of men, and give it back to the world in forms of beauty and truth, making life on earth only a little short of the life of heaven. We must not look alone for the nymphs of Greek mythology in our streams and woodlands, but find deeper and richer suggestions. The only escape and safety for the artist is in letting his brain work with his feeling, cultivating his intelligence to a point where he will not be carried off his feet by every change of sentiment.

And what shall be the result of the development of sculpture for America? What shall it make of us? It must not be less lovely than the art of Greece, but more so. For we shall have breathed into it the spirit of a new life. This new art will owe much to those that have gone, and acknowledge it frankly and gratefully. It shall be an art in which buffoonery plays no part. Harlequin will find no place upon its stage. How shall we know this art of the future? First of all, by its uplifting power, as we know and believe in nature, and love to keep in tune with her. What shall be its chief characteristic, to distinguish it from all others? Character,—in the Christian sense. Our conception of nature must tally with the wide knowledge we have gleaned of the universe and the men who inhabit it. If we do not see in nature more than the Greek found there, it is surely our fault, and the doors of the heart and soul are closed to the revelations of the hour. "Dwell up there in the simple and noble regions of thy life, obey thy heart, and thou shalt reproduce the foreworld again."

WILLIAM ORDWAY PARTRIDGE.

## A STUDY OF CHURCH ENTERTAINMENTS.

I AM in receipt of an attractively printed advertisement of a "Fair." It is issued by a group of ladies and gentlemen who are pleased to denominate themselves a "Church." The card is a programme of ingenious devices for obtaining money under false pretences; it is inscribed with an italic sentiment intended to set forth the spirit of the affair,—a sentiment eminently delicate and proper, though not out of the body of writing supposed to be venerated by churches; out of "Two Gentlemen of Verona," if I recognize it:—

*"'Tis an honorable kind of thievery."*

I call this delicate and appropriate; I may also say it is admirable for its candor. It is the robust candor of the clergyman who, in his speech opening a similar church Bazaar, said:—

"They come to be cheated [*laughter and applause*], and if they don't come to be cheated a little, they deserve to be cheated a good deal" [*renewed applause*].

It will not be well to take this too seriously, and to wax with the indignation that will rise in the bosoms of some old-fashioned honest folk who still cherish the notion that Christ's Church should ever promote holy living and a serious and dignified morality. Let us have our laugh over its naïve immorality, almost saved from itself by confessing to itself; but *then* let us think a moment what it means that such a confession can be made thus easily, jocularly,—that is, can be made without horror,—by a Christian Church! The confession can be made so calmly because it is a confession to what everybody knows and is known to know. It is a matter of common knowledge that churches have methods of raising money which are fraudulent, and nobody is horrified by the knowledge, because nobody to-day takes the churches any more seriously than they take themselves.

It is indeed difficult for the imagination to connect these modern societies, occupied in giving fairs, suppers, and popular entertainments, with the undivided Church which once worshipped God in simplicity



and seriousness, filled with heavenly aspirations. Modern religious methods do not find their patterns in the earlier Church. We are not informed, I ventured to submit to the last Church Congress in the United States, that the Church at Ephesus or Philippi ever advertised a bazaar, a clam-bake, or a strawberry-sociable. We have no information that St. Paul was accustomed to give stereopticon lectures, Barnabas operating the lantern. It is not clearly established that St. Athanasius ever arranged a kirmess, a broom-drill, or a pink tea. There seems, then, to be no inherent necessity for the Church to undertake the amusement of the public. Our Lord knew, I conceive, what the nineteenth century would need at the hands of His Church; but He left it no direction, explicit or implicit, to open eating-houses and theatres. He seems to have been entirely ignorant of any time to come when it would be best for His blood-bought Church to transform itself into a system of concert-halls, kitchens, and entertainment-bureaus.

The necessity under which it has done so is not one inherent in its character, but one forced upon it by conditions which are the result of divisions in the Church; it is sectarianism which has made the religious show a necessity. Does any one claim that churches have awakened to a better understanding of their function than the Founder and the Apostles had? No one claims it. Is it pretended that sacred negro minstrels, dances, light opera, and vaudeville are to-day more essential to the salvation of men than prayer, worship, the reading of the Scriptures, and the administration of the Sacraments? It is not pretended. The plain fact is that the luxury of having one hundred and forty sects is expensive, and the money to pay for it has to be raised in some fashion. In communities where one Catholic Church would be gladly and fully supported by the voluntary offerings of the community, half a dozen denominations cannot gain a support without going into business and baiting the public with fairs and theatricals.

I do not undertake to say that our unhappy divisions are entirely responsible for the commercialization of religion. Shows and fairs are not unknown in lands where there is practically but one Church. But nowhere else do they attain anything like the vogue they have in the United States. Nowhere else do they approach ours in frequency and sensationalism. And it is as undeniable that here they are engaged in, nine cases out of ten, because of the necessity of obtaining funds, as it is undeniable that that necessity arises from the partition of the contributions of Christians among the various sects, instead of their application to the maintenance of one Church. The chances are that the

minister who made the humorous speech at the opening of his Bazaar was sick at heart when he made it. I have indulged my fancy in making a little sketch of the genesis of that Bazaar: it is entirely fanciful, but I venture to believe that, were the truth known, it would prove to be not unlike the description given in the next paragraph.

This minister came to his church spiritually eager to lead his new people into a higher life, and to persuade them to deeper devotion to their Master. Soon after his arrival, the Presbyterians, to offset the novelty of a new preacher at the other church, got up a Girls' Sewing-school. Whereupon the deacons urged the new minister to organize a Boys' Brigade. He did so, and ran in debt for the equipments. Then the Methodist Sunday-school gave a Picnic; whereupon the new minister felt constrained to put an orchestra into his Sunday-school. Presently there was discovered a leak in the roof; and the organ required tuning; and new books were needed; and there was a deficit in current accounts; and there was nothing for it but to devise some means of getting money out of people who had given all they thought they could, and other people who could not be asked to give at all. The Baptists had just had a War Concert; the Universalists a Lawn Fête; the Free-Will Baptists a Chocolate Drill; the Congregationalists a Mrs. Jarley's Wax-Works Show; the Unitarians a Fancy Dress Ball; the Swedenborgians a May-pole Frolic; the Episcopalians a *Café Chantant*; and the Zion Church a Cake-Walk. What was there left but a Bazaar?

Every one will see without argument that division of the contributions for the support of the Gospel not only makes church fairs and entertainments necessary, but also brings about the condition that these must constantly grow more sensational. If churches go into the business of entertaining the public, they must entertain it; when the public wants a new drill, they must supply it. After the Methodists have given a successful show, the Baptists, if they would be successful, must have something still more striking to advertise, and then the Congregationalists must beat the Baptists. I present a study of church entertainments, which may reveal something of the enormity of the evil which has grown up amid the conditions of ecclesiastical rivalry and competition which obtain in America.

From June 1, 1894, to June 1, 1895, I have kept a record of the events arranged by religious societies for raising money, which have come to my attention. My sources of information have been advertisements received by mail or observed in public places; press reports,



chiefly from half a dozen New England papers; and private intelligence sent or given by other clergymen. The record notes over two hundred occasions; these, of course, are but a fraction of those which have occurred, even in a limited district, but they may be regarded as fairly typical of what is going on in the country.

A scrutiny of my list gives some gratifying conclusions. I am glad to put them down. The lottery has almost disappeared from church entertainments. The Roman Catholics retain it; a favorite device with them being the making of "books" upon contributed articles,—a form of raffle. At one Roman Catholic fair barrels of beer were among the prizes. There has not come to my notice a single Congress of Beauty. The selling of kisses, with which some sections used to be familiar, has been entirely discountenanced by growing discernment of the proprieties. No Midway Plaisance has come to my notice this year. If I am not mistaken, I observe an effort to prevent interference with the hours of worship, though one thrifty Methodist society gave up its Thursday evening prayer-meeting in order to set a supper for a crowd in attendance upon the laying of a corner-stone near the church. It may be concluded, on the whole, that fairs have risen in character, and have become less frequent. Suppers remain the standard resort of religious societies in the smaller towns. These are quiet occasions, and afford an opportunity for kindly intercourse, which does much to excuse them.

Nothing could be more disheartening, however, than a review of the list of church entertainments proper,—public performances for money: these occupy most of the record. No attempt has been made to gather sensational items, but of those which have come to my attention more than half have features which make them sensational; some have features which must be declared indecent. These are not admitted among the specific examples which follow.

On the first page of my book is pasted a slip cut from the amusement-columns of the Boston "Herald." Here is a two-inch advertisement, spicily worded, announcing a performance at "The People's." Next to it, identical in make-up and display, is the announcement of a performance at "The Howard." "The People's," to judge from the advertisement, gave distinctly the livelier show. One is the most notorious variety-hall in Boston,—the Howard Athenæum; the other is the People's — *Church!*

I have also preserved an advertisement of "Austin & Stone's,"—a resort of like character with "The Howard,"—which informs the public

that a person named Kelly will give "the inimitable act, 'Casey at the Bat.'" I am not sure whether it was Kelly, or some other sketch-artist, who recently rendered the inimitable act, "Casey at the Bat," in the Methodist church in Middleboro, Massachusetts, for the benefit of the organ fund.

The same paper not long ago printed a column account of the notable success scored by the Church of the Epiphany at Winchester, Massachusetts, in its presentation of "The Mikado." "There was nothing heavy in the performance," we are informed; the Church of the Epiphany "succeeded in imparting a clever swing to the catchy solos and rollicking chorus that took the audience by storm." It seems that the Church of the Epiphany has not before attempted opera, having confined its religious work to the more conventional lines. "Winchester people were of the opinion till last evening that the minstrels of the Calumet Club, a local lot of fun-makers, could hardly be excelled in arranging a first-class home entertainment. Though the Calumets did wonderfully well in their chosen line in pleasing the public, the Church of the Epiphany" has beaten them. *Pish Tush*, by the leader of the Church of the Epiphany choir, was a most happy impersonation. *Nanki Poo*, in his cream tights, made life indescribably sunny for *Yum Yum*. *The Mikado* himself, a Calumet Club end-man, delighted all with his happy local hits. In short, as the account enthusiastically concludes, "the Church of the Epiphany, as the producer of light operatic diversion, has crowned itself with glory."

Had the rector of the Church of the Epiphany assembled his people in worship that evening, he would have had to lead them in a solemn prayer, the collect proper for the day, beseeching God to "grant unto all those who are admitted into the fellowship of Christ's religion that they may avoid those things that are contrary to their profession." He would also have read to them, as the Gospel-lesson, the immortal story of a poor widow who by a simple act—just the giving of two mites to God—won, we may believe, a heavenly reward, and, besides, an earthly glory as a faithful, loving soul, quite as imperishable as that glory with which the Church of the Epiphany has crowned itself,—as the producer of light operatic diversion.

A special despatch of three hundred words from Montclair, New Jersey, to the New York "Sun," gives the particulars of a Poverty Sociable given there. The First Baptist Church—it may be presumed under a profound conviction of the sinfulness of the pride of the flesh



and the vain pomp of the world—invited its young people to a social gathering to be distinguished by plainness of dress. The wearing of various specified articles of costly apparel was punishable by fines ranging from two cents to ten dollars. At about nine o'clock the reverend pastor of the church entered, and the judges promptly fined him five cents for wearing a linen collar. The pastor, however, turned the collar up, and there, written in ink, were the words, "Borrowed from Mr. C——." The fine had to be remitted, but the pastor was then fined in the sum of two cents for his linen cuffs, whereupon he turned the cuffs, and the legend appeared, "Borrowed from Mr. K——." The reverend gentleman was not permitted to go, however, without paying ten cents as a penalty for false pretences. The judges fined one visitor ten cents for wearing a linen shirt, but upon investigation the supposed shirt was found to be nothing more than a pasteboard bosom, and then the judges fined him fifty cents for deception. While another guest was being examined by the judges as a suspect, he bolted to the garret, and was captured only after a threatened levy of an increased fine. Money was exacted from two young men for the privilege of flirting, and the wearing of varnished shoes was a source of considerable income. Altogether the fines netted seventy-five dollars. We get here one of those tender and beautiful scenes which do so much to impress the world with the consecration and earnestness of the modern Church. The timid Christian flees to the garret; the pastor turns his collar and his cuffs. How inspiring and sweet and Christ-like!

It was the same evening that the enterprising Baptist Church of Avon, a small town in Massachusetts, delighted the public with a Living Picture Show. Before the uncurtaining of the *tableaux vivants*, a soprano sang "Heart of my Heart," and that dainty love-song "Celeste"; and an elocutionist rendered humorous selections,—he did it well, the town paper adds, with a touch of local color, in spite of a bad cold. "Over the Garden Wall" and "Rock of Ages" were appropriately sung during the presentation of those scenes in the living pictures.

That week, in the adjoining town of Stoughton, the Universalist Church, with an eye single to the glory of God, gave a Female Negro Minstrel Show. The jokes of the black-faced merry-makers were uproariously funny. Some of them were of such a character, being profane, that they would not be admitted to the pages of *THE FORUM*; but this one will give an idea of their moral elevation:—

"Do you know why Mr. B—— built his new house away up there beyond the cemetery?"

"I don't. Why did Mr. B—— build his house away up beyond the cemetery?"

"He wanted to be sure of a home beyond the grave."

It is gratifying to see a Christian Church thus witnessing to the reality of the other life, and so reverently employing expressions sacred to all men.

Female Minstrel Shows have been this year the most popular of church entertainments in Massachusetts. These interesting religious events have exerted their enlightening and refining influence in almost every part of the Commonwealth. Most of them have been arranged and conducted with great ability, and with the keenest appreciation of the tastes of the sporting and amusement-loving public. At Middleboro the Unitarians enlivened their minstrel performance with a song-and-dance turn, an impersonation of the Bowery Girl, and a skirt dance.

As I close this record, the account of the last annual May Festival of St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church at Melrose, Massachusetts, reaches me. This year the festival, following the prevailing fashion, took the form of an entertainment by female minstrels,—“Miss Trilby Foote, the interlocutress, taking the lead in one of the liveliest performances which this ancient town has witnessed for many years. No less pleasant was the dance which followed, lasting till two o'clock in the morning.”

No real novelties in the entertainment line appear to have originated in church circles this season, unless the Menagerie of Living Animals, advertised by St. John's Church, Bangor, Maine, be one. I do not recall having heard before of this method of making the beasts and cattle praise the Lord. The Coxey Social, a sacred dissipation sufficiently described by its name, has not proven popular. It was invented by “The Monthly Social,” a prosperous-looking magazine for the promotion of ecclesiastical entertainments, which brings many diverting novelties to the attention of the reverend clergy. I refrain from advertising it by mentioning the place of its publication.

Of one act which is recorded among this year's contrivances for raising funds, it is impossible to speak calmly. In the Congregational Church of Middleboro, Massachusetts, on Sunday, March 24, 1895, being the Lord's Day, at the regular hours for divine worship, morning and evening, a sale of small pictures was conducted. The pictures found nearly a hundred customers, and brought from one to two dollars each. They were sold by the pastor, the communion-table being turned into



an auctioneer's stand. The payments were made, and the goods delivered,—on the spot! This is not a case concerning which it is adequate to refer to Christ's driving the buyers and sellers out of the Temple. The offence of the Jews was nothing to this, which not only defiled the house of God, but also profaned the Lord's Day, mocked the holy desire of those who wished to worship, and insolently violated the statutes of the Commonwealth. It may be too much to expect religious societies, in their ungodly strife, to remember the laws of Him whom they profess to serve; but when they thus openly and impudently defy State law and common morality, on what ground can decent people be asked to support or even to tolerate them? And when a priest who feels upon him the vows of his office, who esteems his Holy Orders a divine commission to rebuke sin and call men to righteousness in the name of God, sees division of those who should be one, the desecration and commercialization of holy things, and religion made an article of traffic or an actual crime,—what considerations of delicacy, of regard for private feelings, or for his own personal ease, what disheartening knowledge that he will be left to stand in his fight alone, can stop his mouth?

I charge, then, that, besides its hundred other sins, the division of the Church—most absurd and inexcusable of economic errors—has desecrated holy places and holy days; has assaulted all reverence; has given thousands who might have been won to the higher life an utterly ignoble conception of religion; has reduced Christian congregations to the level of fakirs and poor actors; has turned clergy into scrambling mountebanks; and has dishonored Christian womanhood.

The world does not need the Church as a purveyor of vaudeville; the Church does not deserve perpetuation even for the glory with which it may crown itself as the producer of light operatic diversion. The world does need and is piteously crying out for the Church to do that for which—divided—it is hopelessly inefficient. Let the vision of the Catholic Church take possession of the souls of men, and in place of the pauperized sects which, rivalling each other in vulgarity, contend for the miserable dollar of the public, the world will see an Institution consecrated again to the service of humanity, to the proclamation of the Gospel, to the spreading of the story of the tragedy and sacrifice of Calvary, generously maintained by a charity eager to witness to the constraining power of the love of our Saviour.

WILLIAM BAYARD HALE.

## WOMAN AND THE BICYCLE.

WHEN the social and economic history of the nineteenth century comes to be written, the historian cannot ignore the invention and development of the bicycle. The "wheel," as it is familiarly called, is now seen in all parts of the world ; its production has given rise to a large and profitable industry ; and in the United States alone there are a hundred manufactories for the construction of these machines. A large capital is invested in them, and they furnish occupation and a livelihood for thousands of wage-earners.

Bicycle-riding has changed the habits of hundreds of thousands who formerly took little or no exercise in the open air. It has widened the mental horizon for many by inducing them to undertake long rides far away from their homes, and has even become a link of international intercourse. Many an American now spends his vacation wheeling in England ; and English bicyclists are often seen on the fine roads of France or on the picturesque and historical borders of the Rhine. A couple of young Americans have even successfully traversed the wilds of Asia, through countries that had never before received the imprint of a white man's foot. The bicycle has also called into new and flourishing life the old-fashioned, cosy, but unpretentious wayside inn, that had been almost driven out of existence by the railroad.

One of the striking and most charming characteristics of wheeling is that it is indulged in by persons of nearly every age. We meet the little five-year-old boy and his white-haired grandfather astride of their bicycles. Women have taken to the new sport with no less enthusiasm than men ; and, finding their costume unpractical, have to a great extent changed it. Dress-reform, talked of for a generation or two, has suddenly become a reality.

In order to be an enjoyment and to reach the perfection of which it is capable, bicycling requires good, smooth roads. No wonder, therefore, that when so many thousands of people everywhere took up the new exercise, the demand for better roads became universal. In several places special roads have been constructed for the exclusive use of bicyclists, and others on a magnificent scale have been promised



or are being built,—such as the forty-mile Aqueduct Road in the State of New York, and the twelve-mile road from Trenton to Asbury Park in New Jersey.

To trace the origin of the bicycle we must go back to the beginning of the century. In the year 1816 the “celeripede” was invented in France, and the “draisine” in Germany. Both these machines had two wheels of equal size, like the modern “Safety” bicycle, but no pedals; the rider propelling the machine by striking his feet against the ground. The driving-gear was invented by a Scotchman, McMillan, in 1840, and improved in 1845 by Dalzell, another Scotchman; but both of these used rods instead of a chain. Michaux, a French carriage-repairer, invented the crank and pedal in 1855, and may be regarded as the real inventor of the modern bicycle. The first bicycle—or, as the machine was then called, “velocipede”—was exhibited at the International Exposition in Paris in the year 1865, and during the two following years velocipede-riding was fashionable in Paris, the Prince Imperial himself being an elegant rider. At that time elegance was more aimed at than speed, the rider sat upright on the machine, and there was no racing. Subsequent improvements of the velocipede were made chiefly in England, where the “high” or “ordinary” wheel took shape about the year 1876. Since 1869 the word “bicycle” supplanted “velocipede.” The first foreign bicycles exhibited in America were seen at the International Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876; and the first manufactured here appeared in the following year, the first rider being Alfred D. Chandler, a distinguished lawyer of Boston.

This development of the high wheel may, however, be considered as a step in the wrong direction, as the machine was so difficult to mount and so dangerous to ride that its use was almost wholly limited to young men. This type is now nearly obsolete, but if it had been retained, bicycling would never have reached its present importance,—indeed it would perhaps soon have been superseded by other pastimes. But in 1885 the “Safety” bicycle was started in England, and soon became so popular all over the world that since 1890 practically no other machines have been sold. A “Safety” consists essentially of an iron frame, to which are attached two wheels of equal or nearly equal and moderate size, about twenty-eight inches in diameter, and placed one behind the other. At the lower end of the frame is a sprocket-wheel, which is driven round by two pedals fastened to cranks so disposed that one is at a distance of 180° from the other—that is to say, when one is

all the way down toward the ground, the other is on the top above the sprocket-wheel. From this sprocket-wheel an endless chain goes to a similar but smaller wheel placed at the hub of the posterior riding-wheel. The proportion between these two sprocket-wheels varies considerably on different wheels, but is, on an average, such that for every revolution of the sprocket-wheel driven by the pedals, the hind wheel makes about two and a half revolutions. The saddle is fastened to the frame so as to be situate over the front part of the hind wheel. Over the front wheel is a horizontal and curved handle-bar, by which is turned a perpendicular pivot ending in a fork attached to the centre of the front wheel. The front and rear wheels have thick rubber tires, which counteract the vibration caused by the inequalities of the road,—so-called “cushion” or “pneumatic” tires, the former of which has a smaller hollow core than the latter.

As to the way of using a bicycle, we may distinguish mounting, position, propulsion, direction, and equilibrium. Mounting is to most beginners a difficult task. As a rule, it is advisable to have assistance in doing so until one has learned to ride. There are many ways of mounting, but it is more or less difficult to obtain the necessary equilibrium to start with. Men commonly, at least in the beginning, mount from behind, push the machine forward, and place the left foot on a little step found at the hub of the hind wheel. A good way of mounting for a woman rider is to slant the machine a little toward the body, step on the farthest pedal, which should previously be placed (on the downward stroke) at an angle of about thirty-five degrees with the ground, raise herself with a downward pressure into the saddle, and place the other foot on the lower pedal while it is rising. In regard to attitude, three different positions are in use by bicyclists,—the upright, the curved, and the bent. In the upright posture the spinal column is kept straight, the shoulders are thrown back, and the weight of the body rests on the saddle. This posture is by far the best from a hygienic and medical standpoint. It is also safer in case of falls; it is the only one that can be called graceful; and it makes easier the direction of the front wheel and the maintenance of equilibrium. It should therefore be used by all except racers, and especially by beginners, old men, children, and women. However, it is seen quite exceptionally in the male rider, and even many women prefer the second posture.

In the second posture the back is curved, and the spine forms a somewhat acute angle with the saddle; the head hangs forward; the shoulders fall forward and inward; and a great part of the weight of



the body is carried over on the handle-bar, and from it to the front wheel. By assuming this curved position the rider realizes some gain in swiftness, and in a better distribution of the jars caused by inequalities in the road; but he buys it at a high price. The lungs are compressed, and the circulation in the lower limbs—which ought to be particularly favored, since they do nearly all the work—is impeded by pressure on the large blood-vessels, arterial and venous, which are situated in the pelvic cavity and convey the blood to and from the lower extremities. The cartilages separating the vertebræ are compressed in their anterior part; and if much riding is done by children and young people before full bodily development has been reached, this may cause a permanent atrophy and the resulting incurable curvature of the spine. The pressure on the anterior wheel makes the movement necessary for directing the whole machine less delicate. If the rider is thrown from his wheel, he is much more likely to fall on the head or hands, which may cost him his life, or lead to a fracture, not to speak of the loss of nearly all grace in attitude and movement.

The third position, which, to distinguish it from the second, we call "the bent," is an exaggeration of the preceding, the rider stooping so much forward that his back is almost parallel with the ground. This posture reduces the resistance of the air to a minimum,—an item of considerable importance when the wheel is driven at a great speed, and especially when against the wind. It becomes, therefore, a necessity for racers, whose only thought is of winning the race; but it should never be used by others, as from both hygienic and æsthetic standpoints it is the worst possible position. The rider goes at a speed that makes falls quite dangerous, and he submits his heart to an amount of work to which it may not be equal.

In order to understand how a bicycle is propelled, it is necessary to know that all bodily movements are accomplished by muscles, bones, and joints. The muscles are the real motors, the bones form levers, and the joints are the hinges between them, allowing them to work under constantly varying angles. A muscle is only capable of contraction and relaxation. It is only by contraction that it moves the levers, approximating the points of its origin and insertion. Relaxation is a more passive process, which facilitates the work of another muscle or set of muscles. These two conditions of contraction and relaxation are under the control of the nervous system, a bundle of nerve fibrils entering each muscle and bringing it into connection with certain parts of the nerve centres,—the brain and the spinal marrow.

A bicycle is propelled by a pressure exercised by the lower extremities. The rider places the balls of his feet on the pedals, and presses the upper one down. This is the chief active movement, and is consummated by extension. The corresponding flexion is, however, not entirely passive, although it is greatly aided by the extension of the other extremity. Thus there is a continual and rapid alternation between extension and flexion. At the end of the downward movement the foot has to carry the lower pedal backward, or at least has to be stretched in order to be able to follow the pedal in its backward movement caused by the front movement of the other pedal. Otherwise the foot loses hold on the pedal,—an accident that usually compels the beginner to dismount. The foot is necessarily carried backward if—as expert riders often do for amusement—only one pedal is used. Only those muscles used for extension are vigorously worked, and by a law of nature are thereby much increased in size. We shall therefore find the muscles on the back of the pelvis, the front of the thigh, and the back or calf of the leg, largely developed in those who ride the wheel much.

On the other hand, the movements needed for flexion being much less active,—in fact mostly passive,—the muscles needed in their execution are not much increased in bulk. An unfounded anxiety, therefore, has been caused by some writers who have predicted an aggravation of labor pains for the parturient woman, on account of the increased bulk of the muscles contiguous to the entrance of the parturient canal—the superior strait of the pelvis—namely, the psoas and iliacus internus. We shall later see that, by riding the wheel, woman, far from diminishing her fitness for this supreme act in her life, actually renders herself more capable of meeting the ordeal.

The direction in which a bicycle moves depends on the position of the front wheel, which is determined by the handle-bar. This wheel also serves another purpose in preventing the rider from falling. By turning the front wheel in the direction in which the machine tends to fall, and at the same time leaning the trunk of the body in the opposite direction, the vanishing equilibrium may be regained.

The body being so much wider than the rim of the wheels placed on a line one behind the other, the keeping of the equilibrium on the machine is an art to be learned. It is particularly difficult to obtain it in mounting, while once acquired it is comparatively easy to maintain, and the faster the machine is driven the easier it becomes. When once a person has become familiar with the machine, there are few



limits to his successful defiance of the law of gravitation. Most riders of experience acquire such facility that they ride with the legs alone, without using the arms; *vice versa*, they coast down a hill without using the pedals; or they drive the machine by means of one pedal alone,—an accomplishment of great practical value in case of an accident at a distance from a place where repairs can be made.

Every beginner will fall frequently, and it is as necessary to learn to fall in the right way as to ride properly. Although it is easier to keep one's equilibrium in riding fast than when the machine is driven slowly or stands still, the inevitable falls become much more dangerous if they occur while the machine is in rapid motion. The first rule for a beginner is, therefore, to ride slowly until he has mastered the difficulties of equilibration. Next, in falling, he should never let go his hold on the handle-bar, but direct the wheel as best he can; and he should, if possible, give the machine time to slow up before he falls. He should throw the leg on which he is to fall well out, and follow the machine by hopping on this foot after it has reached the ground.

For comfortable and safe riding a suitable attire is necessary, the object being to avoid anything that is apt to be caught by the machine. Men are obliged to tie a string around the lower ends of their trousers above the ankles, or to use the convenient steel bands made for the purpose. But it is certainly more convenient, and presents a better appearance, to wear breeches that only descend to the knee, and to cover the leg with tight-fitting stockings or leggings. The upper part of the body should be covered with a garment exposing as small a surface as possible, be it a buttoned coat or a so-called "sweater." The shoes should preferably be low-cut and have transverse furrows in the soles for a better adaptation to the pedals.

But how should women be dressed for bicycling? The usual long skirt is objectionable in every respect. It impedes the free movement of the legs, pumps air up against the abdomen, and is in great danger of being caught by projecting parts of their own machines or those of other riders, as well as by other obstructions found on the road. To avoid these inconveniences many women have shortened their skirts, and some have done away with them altogether, wearing so-called "bloomers," a wide, bifurcated garment extending from the waist to the knee. This garment, combined with a waist and leggings, forms a neat, practical dress for a woman rider. True, it is at present ridiculed and even condemned by some as immodest. However, before men say anything against the decency of bloomers, they had better reform their

own trousers, which are not much more decent than becoming; and since a bathing costume—allowing the lower limbs from the knees to the tips of the toes to be exposed in tight-fitting stockings—is admitted by every one as a proper costume for a woman to appear in on a beach frequented by hundreds of lookers-on of both sexes, it is hard to understand what objection there is in the name of modesty against a piece of wearing-apparel that by its wide proportions entirely hides the outlines of the body.

From a medical standpoint bicycling is valuable both as a prophylactic and as a curative agent. Like other outdoor exercises it takes its votaries away from the vitiated air of closed rooms; but it has several advantages peculiarly its own. It is less expensive and safer than horseback-riding. For the female sex it is also healthier, since horseback-riding, if indulged in too much or at too early an age, is apt to produce a funnel-shaped pelvis, which abnormality may prove a serious obstacle to childbirth. It has much more variety and interest than walking, except in localities that offer such steep ascents and descents that the bicycle cannot be used. It also allows the rider to see much more and to cover a much greater distance in the same time. It has the advantage over games that it can be indulged in for a longer time without causing fatigue or becoming tedious.

Although we have seen that certain groups of muscles come chiefly into play, all the muscles of the body are used more or less, and are thereby strengthened. Good fresh air is plentifully drawn into the lungs, and the capacity of these organs is increased, especially by maintaining the straight position in riding. A person who only works and walks hardly ever fills his lungs; but the bicyclist needs all the air he can inspire, and good respiration causes a more perfect oxidation of the blood, and good blood means healthy tissues, strong nerves, and normal secretions. Normal peptic juices digest all food. The elimination of waste material through the skin and lungs is increased; which also purifies the blood. The whole nervous system is highly benefited by bicycling. The rider must constantly use the senses of hearing, seeing, and feeling in order to avoid collisions, direct his machine, and keep his equilibrium. This exercise, therefore, is in a high degree apt to draw the mind away from its usual pursuits and the cares of daily life. It is highly exhilarating and promotes sociability, since it is both pleasanter and safer to ride in company than alone. In women it is apt to overcome the impulsiveness and whimsicality which render so many of them unhappy. It has also a beneficent effect on a purely



physical condition peculiar to their sex. From the upper corners of the womb extends a string that goes through a canal in the lower part of the abdominal wall, and is fastened to the bones and skin between the thighs. This string is called a ligament, but microscopical examination shows that it is composed of both voluntary and involuntary muscle-bundles. This organ is of the greatest importance in maintaining the uterus in its proper position, and in preventing its displacement backward and downward, a fruitful source of suffering. This same organ is much enlarged during pregnancy, and in childbirth has the important function of directing the child under a favorable angle against the entrance of the canal it has to pass in order to begin its separate and individual existence. And this organ, being of muscular construction, is, like all other muscles, strengthened by bicycling.

If bicycling is an excellent preventive of disease and a promoter of good health, it is of no less value as a remedy for certain pathological conditions. It is not compatible with the limits and nature of a magazine article intended for general readers to enter into details about the treatment of diseases. I shall therefore limit myself to a few remarks. By its effect on respiration and digestion, bicycling becomes a potent remedy for anæmia, that condition of the blood which consists in a diminution of the red blood-corpuscles, and shows itself in pallor of the skin and the mucous membranes. Numerous nervous troubles are relieved or cured by this exercise: such as neurasthenia, or nervous prostration,—a condition usually due to overwork or worry, and in which the normal strength is lost, and the slightest exertion causes fatigue and physical and mental exhaustion. The same holds good in regard to headache, insomnia, and neuralgia. The writer once treated a little girl for a wound received by falling astride of a sharp edge. The wound soon healed, but the patient continued for years to have a neuralgic pain in the scar, which pain entirely disappeared when the sufferer took to bicycling. Among the nervous affections benefited by bicycle-riding may also be included that troublesome disease, asthma, a cramp-like contraction of the muscles of the bronchial tubes, which causes a painful sensation of choking. In the beginning of phthisis, where parts of the lung tissue become condensed and less pervious, moderate bicycle-riding is helpful. Many diseases of the intestinal canal—such as dyspepsia, constipation, and hæmorrhoids—yield to the effects of wheeling. A case has recently come to the writer's knowledge in which the stiffness remaining after a fracture of the leg was successfully treated by riding a bicycle.

But if bicycling is a valuable resource in certain diseased conditions, there are numerous others in which it is harmful or should only be indulged in very cautiously. Most acute diseases demand rest, and bid the bicyclist abstain from his favorite pursuit; and many chronic diseases are made worse by riding. Since wheeling considerably increases the rate of the respiratory movements it would be folly for a person with advanced pulmonary consumption to attempt to ride. The heart being whipped unmercifully to work in driving the machine, bicycling should be strictly forbidden in serious diseases of this organ; and persons affected with minor cardiac troubles ought at least never to race or otherwise expose the heart to a fatigue which it is not prepared to stand.

Women should abstain from riding during those periods in which undue exercise is apt to exert a deleterious influence on their general health. They ought also to abstain during pregnancy, since the riding might cause a miscarriage, and a fall from the machine might endanger two lives. Pelvic inflammation, which is so common in their sex, is also a barrier to wheeling so long as any pain or soreness is felt.

Even for people enjoying perfect health, bicycling is not free from dangers and drawbacks which cannot be ignored, and which cannot always be guarded against. Collisions with other riders, with vehicles, or with pedestrians, are of constant and sometimes fatal occurrence, and such accidents are frequently entirely independent of the riders' skill, especially on the streets of populous cities and on crowded suburban roads. But in order to prevent an exaggerated estimate of those dangers we ought to keep in mind the enormous number of the devotees of the exercise. It is calculated that a hundred thousand machines are in use in the city of New York alone, and a proportionately large number is used in other cities and in the country. Taking this widespread use of bicycles into consideration, the percentage of accidents is certainly a very small one, and the "wheel" in this respect compares favorably with horseback-riding, driving, swimming, sailing, and skating.

Apart from injuries, the rider's health and harmonious development may suffer; but, as a rule, he can obviate this in different ways. In order not to draw cold air and dust into the lungs, he should invariably keep his mouth closed and breathe through his nose, the many narrow passages and profound anfractuositities of which are well fitted to warm and, as it were, filter the air. This kind of breathing is the best for every one, but it is of particular importance to the bicyclist, who often rides on dusty roads, and by the exertion is compelled to breathe much more



frequently and more deeply than a person who sits still or who walks at a moderate pace. Since the rapid motion and muscular exertion make the rider perspire freely, he is apt to catch cold while he rests. He should therefore use woollen or silk underwear, be careful to avoid draughts while resting, and change all his clothes at the end of a trip that has made him perspire. Those who ride much at a very early age are apt to become deformed by a disproportionate development of the lower limbs. Persons who spend much time in the curved or bent posture are likely to become round-shouldered and hollow-chested. If a person uses a wheel that is too heavy in proportion to his strength, he is obliged to move from side to side in order to utilize his weight as a propelling force,—a motion which is fatiguing and looks bad, and in women is decidedly objectionable.

From a sanitary standpoint athletics ought to be used for a harmonious development of the *whole* body,—the doctrine and practice of the old Greeks. Bicycling gives more general development than most other sports, but on account of the preponderating use of the lower extremities, and the drawbacks of the stooping position so commonly affected by bicyclists, it ought to be combined with other exercises; as rowing, which develops the muscles of the back and the arm; and the use of dumb-bells, which develops all muscles of the body and more especially those of the arms and trunk.

I have spoken of bicycling only as a pastime and a sport, but it has already proved itself capable of being utilized for many purposes in practical life. In some cities and in some parts of the country physicians have adopted the wheel as a means of inexpensive, pleasant, healthful, and rapid locomotion. In a city like New York, with its poor cobble-stone pavements, this would hardly be feasible. The policemen have to some extent adopted the wheel, if for nothing else than for the power of overtaking erring bicyclists. Many stores have small delivery-wagons built as tricycles. The Street-Cleaning Department is mounting its inspectors on bicycles. Even for warfare the peaceable bicycle has been pressed into service, wheelmen being used to carry messages from one part of the territory occupied by a military force to another. Bicycling is therefore no longer a mere fashion that may fall into disuse and give way to a new one. It is a wholesome and inspiring exercise, and has proved of practical value as a means of rapid locomotion.

HENRY J. GARRIGUES.

## THE "GERMAN VOTE" AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

ONE of the most characteristic features of the history of American party politics during the year 1895 is the peculiar prominence given to the political attitude of the great class of Americans of German birth or extraction, more especially in the State and city of New York. As was the case in Wisconsin in 1890, and in Illinois in 1891 and 1892, local questions of quite subordinate importance to national issues created an apparent solidarity of what was called the "German vote"; and a serious divergence of views—not to say antagonism—was observed between the aims and aspirations of many patriotic native Americans and the great mass of their countrymen of German origin. Should this solidarity and this antagonism continue, it would be a serious and disturbing factor in our political and social development. A new force would in that case confront politicians of all parties, the true character and importance of which they have as yet shown few signs of comprehending. Such a result would be deplorable from every nobler point of view, and with wisdom, patriotism, and a better understanding it can easily be avoided.

Political antagonisms based, however remotely, upon race prejudice, afford the most dangerous opportunities to demagogues and small minds of every description. Accordingly, German-Americans are constantly warned against "nativistic" conspiracies against their welfare, and on the other hand a tendency to underestimate their services in the upbuilding of this nation, and to sneer at "beery and ignorant foreigners," is also noticeable. Not that any American politician would so far forget himself as to underestimate the numerical strength of his German-American fellow citizens: on the contrary, the magnitude of this vote is always spoken of most respectfully; and among the most valued bait in the average candidate's outfit there will invariably be found an affable recognition of the deliciousness and invigorating qualities of beer; a eulogy of German family life; and a cordial praise of gymnastics (for a *Turn-fest*), of target shooting (for a *Schuetzen-fest*), and of the deep, rich harmonies of a male chorus (for a *Saengerbund* or *Liedertafel*). Occasionally, too, an ambitious citizen with a German-



sounding name succeeds in having himself nominated—generally for the office of coroner or county superintendent of the poor (although instances of higher offices are not wanting)—for the purpose of catching the "German vote." The returns generally prove that such candidates get few of the German votes,—less than their American or Irish competitors,—much to the surprise of the politicians who have been duped into making the nominations; and this surprise is apt to be deepened into uneasy amazement when the fact is observed that, somehow or other, the most honest and high-minded candidate on either ticket, and the one most clearly standing for fitness, progress, and true Americanism, seems generally to run best where the "German vote" is strongest. A brief examination of these phenomena and their causes, as well as their exceptions,—more especially as illustrated by the New York campaign of 1895,—may not be without interest.

Of all forecasts that can be made to-day regarding the future of the United States of America, none seems more reasonable than that the civilization of this nation will be essentially Germanic in its fundamental characteristics. It may in truth be said that, from the loftiest point of view of universal history, the most important event in the nineteenth century—at least so far as Western civilization is concerned—may easily prove to be the reunion (after a separation of fourteen hundred years) of the Germanic race—Anglo-Saxons and Teutons—upon the virgin soil of the new continent. A century ago, as Mr. Kidd graphically describes in his "Social Evolution," it was a grave question whether the Celtic or Anglo-Saxon race was to predominate in the nineteenth century. This question was answered for Europe by the expansion of England and the decline of the purely Celtic peoples. So far as the United States was concerned, the issue was never doubtful: and it was settled for all time when the great tide of German, Austrian, and Swiss emigration to this country set in. The descendants of those sturdy and enterprising tribes who bade farewell to each other on the bleak shore of the North Sea in 449 are to-day the undisputed masters, for good or for evil, of the destinies of this great continent. As Lord Acton beautifully expressed it in his inaugural lecture at Cambridge, "the dense web of the fortunes of man is woven without a void; . . . in society, as in nature, the structure is continuous, and we can trace things back uninterruptedly until we dimly descry the Declaration of Independence in the forests of Germany." It remains to glance briefly at the part which the newest comers from the fatherland of all took in the most recent political struggles of their new

home. At the outset, however, it should be clearly understood that I hold no brief for my fellow countrymen of German birth or descent, and that my right to speak for them is measured by the impartiality and sincerity with which I have endeavored to learn and observe the phenomena here described, as well as by the accuracy of my observations. For the fact that I write from the point of view of a Republican I have no apology to offer. The time has not yet come when the political events since the war can be considered entirely without partisan bias. I have, indeed, endeavored to minimize this feeling, and to present what I consider to be the views of a great majority of German-Americans, often without regard to my individual opinion.

Mr. James Ford Rhodes calls the Kansas-Nebraska Act "the most momentous measure that passed Congress from the day that the Senators and Representatives first met, to the outbreak of the Civil War";<sup>1</sup> and among its most important consequences he counts the fact that "it caused the Germans to become Republicans." The same impartial authority has declared that "never in our history, and probably never in the history of the world, had a more pure, more disinterested, and more intelligent body of men banded together for a noble political object than those who now enrolled themselves under the Republican banner."<sup>2</sup>

The German-Americans of that day were fresh from the idealistic but ineffectual struggle for liberty in their Fatherland in 1848. Reared upon the liberty-loving literature of the "Young Germany," knowing by experience the hateful tyranny of Metternich and the Holy Alliance, and having their ardor inflamed by their very failure, they threw themselves into the struggle for freedom against slavery in their adopted country with all the fervor of German idealism. The class of German emigrants which came to this country from 1849 to 1859 was superior in intellectual force to any that preceded or followed it. Accordingly they not only took the most lively interest in the affairs of their adopted country, but also remained in close touch with thought and discussion in their Old-World home. German political speculation was never more liberal than in this very decade, and never was it more intensely national in its tendencies. The weakness of the disrupted, prince-ridden Fatherland was doubly felt under the newly strengthened reign of reaction and feudalism; and who can wonder that the revolutionary emigrants sought the inspiration of a truly national life, and that, land-

<sup>1</sup> "History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850," Vol. I, p. 491.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Vol. II, p. 210.



ing on these shores, they felt themselves as Americans rather than as citizens of any particular State.

The Republican party—being at once national, liberal, and eminently idealistic—naturally attracted all these elements. Accordingly the young German leaders—Schurz, Kapp, Stallo, and Salomon, with Lieber, Koerner, Hecker, Muench, and other veterans—became Republican partisans and did excellent work upon the stump in both English and German. Of eighty-eight German papers, eighty opposed the Kansas-Nebraska iniquity of Douglas, and only eight ventured to defend it.<sup>1</sup> Another cause helped this tendency. The Irish element remained faithful to the Democratic party, and while there has been no hostility between the two races, two prominent characteristics of Irish-American politicians put them into direct antagonism with the Germans. These were, first, a proneness to trade on nationality as a political makeweight; and, secondly, the corruption of city governments by considering them simply as the spoils of local quasi-political warfare. German-Americans abhorred both propensities most intensely. The professional "German-American" politician did not exist, and has never been able to exist for any length of time. In fact it soon became apparent to both parties that the Germans were inclined to look with suspicion upon candidates of their own nationality, and that the slightest indication of a desire to use a candidate as "bait" for German votes was fatal to the chances of the ticket. As to municipal government, the Germans remembered the model administration of the cities in Germany, and naturally regarded with shame and indignation the semi-criminal combinations for municipal plunder which were organized in various cities, generally calling themselves "Democratic," and in which the Irish element predominated.

The entire intellectual and political force of this new element was thus thrown into the new Republican party with a momentum which seemed irresistible and likely to be as permanent as the party itself. As a matter of fact, the impulse then given has not been overcome so long as the German-Americans were convinced that the Republican party was indeed the national party of progress; and only when the party seemed to fall short of this ideal has it lost its hold upon this vote. Of course it is not claimed that there was ever even substantial unanimity on the part of the Germans in their political action, and the

<sup>1</sup> Rhodes, "History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850," Vol. I, p. 495. See also Von Holst's "Constitutional History" (Lalor's translation), Vol. IV, pp. 427-429, for a general discussion of the subject.

history of the efforts of patriotic and high-minded German Democrats to idealize and purify their party, and to remove from it the taint of disloyalty and separatism, is most honorable and interesting. Still the preponderance of the Republicans down to 1892 was sufficiently great to warrant a disregard of German Democrats everywhere—except in New York and perhaps Missouri—as a negligible quantity.

The loyalty of the Germans during the war, known of all men, and proved on every battlefield, included a sincere and unwavering support of the party entrusted with the imperilled government. When peace returned, the question of honest money became more urgent, and appealed to the sturdy sense of financial honor which has always distinguished the Teutonic races. The honorable stand taken by German-Americans everywhere against inflation, as well as against the silver craze, has been too often noted and commented upon to require more than slight mention here. In the eyes of the German-Americans the Democratic party has never entirely recovered from its surrender to unsound-money schemes, beginning with the repudiationist Greenback platform of 1868. The absurd candidacy of Greeley in 1872 was not calculated to shake their loyalty, nor were they deeply impressed with the cry of "Tilden and Reform" in 1876.

With the Administration of President Hayes the questions arising from the war seemed to be settled, and on the issue of sound finance against greenback inflation, or the free-silver movement, and of civil-service reform against the spoils system, scarcely an effort was necessary to retain this vote on the Republican side. But about this time the first signs of serious party deterioration, from the German-American point of view, became visible. New issues were sought, to take the place of those which had been so honorably decided; and to the superficial mind of the average politician,—especially in the West, where activity and excitement for some "moral" cause seemed a necessity,—the suppression of intemperance by rigorous prohibition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages seemed to be a reform worthy of a great party's championship. The moral wrong involved in the curtailment of reasonable personal liberty which was necessary to make prohibition effective, was overlooked, and almost without a warning Republicans in the two "banner" States of Iowa and Kansas were committed to a cause diametrically opposed to those principles of freedom upon which the party was founded. Prohibitory laws were enacted by Republican legislatures, signed by Republican governors, and indorsed by Republican conventions, which vied with the Southern



slave codes in injustice and atrocity. A flood of fanaticism on this subject and upon the two kindred issues of woman's suffrage and Sabatarianism arose all over the country, and the stanchest Republican—unless he happens to be a sympathizer with these ideas—must confess that his party showed little of its old-time moral courage or wisdom in meeting and disposing of these new and difficult issues.

Heinrich von Treitschke, in his great "History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century," repeatedly refers to one characteristic of the German mind when applied to politics, as being a most important factor in modern German history; namely, its insistence upon complete harmony of thought, doctrine, opinion, and performance: in other words, absolute political sincerity. In its extreme form this virtue leads to abstract theorizing and bootless action, of which, indeed, the inner history of Germany from 1815 to 1866 is a series of examples. Applied to American politics, where healthy realism and the Anglo-Saxon genius for compromise was never wanting, this habit of thought was a most valuable contribution, and its first practical effect was to make the Germans, with few exceptions, abolitionists. Similarly, such questions as prohibition, restriction of harmless and quiet Sunday pleasures, and female suffrage, were invariably measured by the thinking German with the rigorous standard of pure theory,—religious or secular. Failing to stand this crucial test, no amount of sentimental regard for sobriety, for Sunday rest, or for the wrongs of down-trodden females, can make any appreciable impression on his rule of action, and it would be churlish and unjust to ascribe this attitude to mere selfish indulgence. Among the German churches, and more especially the Lutheran, which is the largest of all, the objection to prohibition will be found as pronounced as among the secular societies, and this opposition is all the more effective since it rests upon a nobler and impregnable foundation.<sup>1</sup> Not in order to gratify his appetite, but as a protest

<sup>1</sup> In "Der Lutheraner," the ablest and most widely read organ of the orthodox German Lutherans in this country, Oct. 23, 1895, p. 180, the following language is used upon this subject:—

"We are decidedly against the saloon, in so far as and because it is, in this country, a place where godless worldliness asserts itself. Against drunkenness, as against all public sins, we proceed with church discipline. As a denomination we have indeed nothing to do with prohibition. But the reason for our attitude is not that we have so recently come from Europe, but because the Holy Scriptures do not command prohibition. We hold that the Church can forbid only what is forbidden in God's Word, and must permit all which God's Word permits. We know full well what terrible abuses are committed with spirituous liquors, and woe to the congregations who do not aggressively combat this abuse

against a false and mischievous moral standard, does the temperate and liberal-minded American or German oppose all extreme legislation regarding the traffic in alcoholic beverages or the prohibition of harmless amusement on Sunday. He believes, upon the assurance of science as well as of reason, that the temperate use of pure stimulants is not only a positive good, but that it connotes—to use the logician's phrase—a higher and manlier type of character than bigoted total abstinence; and his fundamental principle regarding Sunday observance is a liberal and enlightened construction of the words of Christ: "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath." Nor does he demand absolute freedom from governmental control for the liquor traffic, or unbridled dissipation on Sunday. On the contrary his support may always be had for rational and even severe restrictions in the interest of sobriety and order, so long as a great and fundamental difference is made, in excise legislation, between wines and beers on the one hand, and distilled liquors on the other, and so long as no Sabbatarian interference with proper enjoyment and recreation is permitted. Not by indiscriminate and silly denunciation of the "rum power," or cheap flings at "Sunday beer," but by serious and kindly work in the direction indicated, is it possible for sincere friends of sobriety, and of an orderly, attractive, and enjoyable Sunday, to check the evils which they are combating; and in these efforts they will have no sincerer assistance than that of their American fellow citizens of German birth or extraction.

Simultaneously with the struggle against prohibition, the German regard for the purity and inviolability of the family life, and the deep reverence with which the German race, since the days of Tacitus, has cherished the position of woman as the sacred guardian of domestic happiness, was offended by the continued overwrought agitation for female suffrage,—another phase of fanaticism which the Republican party, especially in the West, failed to condemn as vigorously as it deserved. That many intelligent and well-meaning persons of both sexes supported this "cause" could not be denied, and it was evident that most of them were Republicans. This did not, however, make the idea less offensive to the plain common sense of the Germans, who

wherever it asserts itself among them. Drunkards will not inherit the Kingdom of God. But we will not be driven to forbid, as a Church, more than God's Word forbids. To make additions to God's Word is popish. And, as Luther often said, where human commandments are countenanced by the Church, there God's Word is commonly soon disregarded."



cordially accept the doctrine of St. Paul as being founded upon nature and reason, whether it be regarded as divinely inspired or not; and by whom the recent attempts, sometimes successful, to place women in positions of power and authority over men, for which they are at least no better qualified than their male competitors, are regarded simply as signs of that degeneration which Dr. Nordau has so powerfully described. Whatever their differences may be on other points, in these questions the German-Americans may always be counted on as unitedly and grimly determined to protect both the sanctity of family life and the liberty of the individual. It is most creditable to their independence that, notwithstanding the fact that in local and State elections support of the Republican ticket was thus often rendered impossible, this had no influence on their course in national elections. The Republican party remained for them the party of progress, and even in 1884 and 1888, when extraordinary efforts were made to shake their allegiance, the great States of the West and Northwest, where the German vote is largest, remained faithful to the party.

As a general statement it may doubtless be affirmed that the great mass of German-Americans are moderate protectionists. This attitude involves opposition to the extreme position taken on the one hand by President Cleveland's tariff message of 1887, and on the other hand by the McKinley bill of 1890. The limits of this article forbid entering into details, but it cannot be doubted that the very general German-American support given to the Democratic ticket in 1892 must be ascribed in great part to this cause. Local reasons—such as the passage of the well-intentioned but ill-advised Bennett Law in Wisconsin, and the Edwards Law in Illinois—no doubt helped along the general drift; and there is little doubt that if the great victory of 1892 had been followed upon the part of the Democratic party by a vigorous and efficient administration of national affairs both at home and abroad, it would have retained the support of many of its new adherents.

So far as municipal reform is concerned it is safe to say that on the 1st of January, 1895, the eyes of the entire country were centred as they have never been before upon the city of New York. The election of 1894 had resulted in the complete overthrow of that gang of criminal or semi-criminal plunderers who under the name of Tammany Hall had held the city at their mercy for years, and had made its name a by-word the world over. In the overthrow of Tammany the German-Americans of New York had borne a most conspicuous part, although, even at this election, the one prominent German candidate

upon the Reform ticket received twenty thousand votes less than the candidate for mayor; and this defection was largest in the German-American wards of the city, thus proving beyond doubt what has been said before, that the mere fact that a candidate seemed to trade on his nationality for his nomination was sufficient to lose to him much of the support which he otherwise might have obtained.

This is not the place to recount in detail the history of the Reform administration of the city of New York. After its first five months two facts stood out prominently above all mistakes and minor differences of opinion: one was that New York, for the first time in its history, had been made a clean city,—cleaner than London or Paris, and quite as clean as Berlin or Vienna; the other was that a bench of City Magistrates and Judges of Special Sessions had been appointed of so high a character that good citizens could once more breathe freely when thinking of that most important interest, the administration of justice in its relation to the poor and to minor offenders. If at that time—say about the middle of June, 1895—the election could have occurred, presenting the issue of a continuance of Reform, or a return of Tammany Hall to power, it is safe to say that the majority for Reform would have been simply overwhelming.

On May 6, 1895, the new Police Commission, bi-partisan by law, was completed, and once more the police force of New York was controlled by men of the highest character and standing in the community. Among the problems which confronted the new Commission none seemed more difficult in some respects, and in others so simple, as that of the suppression or tolerance of open saloons and beer-gardens on Sunday. The letter of the law was perfectly clear, and it is a great mistake to suppose that it was entirely ignored in the Tammany *régime*. On the contrary, though considered obsolete by the public at large, its occasional enforcement was the most potent weapon for blackmail in the hands of the corrupt Tammany police force. The publican who paid tribute to his captain or roundsman was left unmolested, whereas his poorer or more refractory competitor was beset by spies in the shape of policemen in citizens' clothes, or paid hirelings and stool-pigeons, who first caused him to commit the offense of selling them liquors and then ruthlessly dragged him before a Tammany police justice, where his resistance to regular blackmail was speedily broken. A more infamous system of oppression, and a more criminal prostitution of governmental power, it is difficult to imagine; but perhaps its most vicious feature was the introduction, into the administration of petty criminal law in



this city, of the system of spies and *agents provocateurs*. While no reasonable man can deny the necessity for the employment of detectives in the case of crimes and felonies which are dangerous to the public weal, their use for the purpose of detecting violations of mere police ordinances or administrative regulations has always been regarded as wrong and demoralizing to the last degree. More infamous still are the practice of sworn officers of the law resorting to mendacity and deceit to persuade barkeepers to break the law for the purpose of making arrests, and the hiring of outsiders with public money at an agreed sum for each arrest, and a higher sum for each conviction. In no branch of the law has the difference between *mala in se* and *mala prohibita* been more carefully pointed out than in that branch of administrative law which treats of permissible methods for the prevention and detection of crime; and in no branch of administration is the maxim more dangerous that "the end justifies the means." The older class of emigrants from continental Europe are perfectly familiar with the outrages committed by the police, using similar methods, with reference to political offences, and consequently, among Americans of German birth, the hostility to the spy system, with its attendant scandals, is peculiarly deep-seated.

It is clear that only two methods were open to the new Police Commission, whose first object was necessarily to suppress the levying of blackmail by members of the police force. These were, either impartial toleration of open saloons and beer-gardens on Sunday, so far as they were quiet and orderly, on the ground that the law forbidding them was essentially obsolescent by common consent; or impartial suppression of the illegal acts so far as such suppression was possible by honest methods, and without greater scandal than is caused by the illegality itself. The first method had proved to be a complete success in the neighboring city of Brooklyn, during the brilliant administration of Mr. Seth Low, a man whose civic courage was open to as little doubt as his sturdy and delicate sense of public duty. Moreover the same policy was successfully carried out at this very time by Mayor Schieren in Brooklyn, and in every other large city of the State of New York, as well as in the great cities of the West. As a reason for not following these examples, the Commissioners gave their conscientious scruples against omitting the enforcement of any provision contained in the law which they had sworn to uphold. There can be no question as to their sincerity, although it may be doubted whether they realized that they were ostentatiously setting up a standard which

branded many of the highest-minded men and administrators of the State as being, or having been, recreant to their official oaths. Moreover the Commissioners—goaded no doubt by the impudent tone adopted in the beginning by the representatives of loud-mouthed bibulousness—indulged in much heated denunciation of their critics, branding them all as criminals or as the allies of criminals, and, worst of all, insisting that any method was justifiable to get evidence against an offending barkeeper. Accordingly a series of weekly raids upon all saloons doing business even in a quiet and orderly manner during prohibited hours was organized. These raids have continued with more or less virulence ever since, and the rather grotesque name of "enforcement of the law" was persistently applied to them by their supporters, while all who doubted their wisdom were branded as traitors to the cause of law and order, who put the enjoyment of a glass of beer on Sunday above the welfare of the community and the sanctity of law. The Sunday raid became a standing attraction of the sensational Monday newspaper; and the manifestoes, letters, and speeches by some of the officials most deeply concerned, and by their opponents, became so numerous as to give apparent national importance to a purely ephemeral municipal teapot tempest.

When officers of the law are compelled to act as spies, scandals are bound to follow. Stories were soon heard of shameless mendacity, and of appeals to the humanity of barkeepers on the score of personal sickness or illness in the family, and other disreputable devices adopted by the over-zealous police spy. Paid stool-pigeons appeared in the police courts, and testified that they received out of the police fund \$3 for each arrest and \$5 for each conviction; and although honest magistrates promptly ordered such witnesses off the premises, some convictions were ultimately had. These were followed in some instances by sentences of barbarous severity.

Perhaps the time has not yet come to judge of these occurrences with the calmness of historical perspective, although signs are not wanting that the effervescence of this much-lauded "reform" has gone, leaving merely the rather stale result of a Tammany victory, and a serious division in the ranks of the friends of honest government.

In tracing its effect upon the so-called "German voters," a further glance at the Sunday controversy can hardly be avoided, and in view of the persistent misunderstanding and misrepresentation of their motives, from which sincere and thoughtful advocates of a more liberal policy suffer, it will be useful to re-state their principles and course



of reasoning. They hold that no Sunday laws can be justified which interfere with such recreation and enjoyment as does not constitute an undue infringement of the substantial rights of others, and they maintain that the experience of Brooklyn and other cities at home and abroad proves that the quiet and orderly sale of stimulants does not necessarily constitute such an infringement. They point to the experience of the same cities under a system of impartial toleration, as a refutation of the argument that such a policy would result in police blackmail. They claim that it ought not to be necessary to remind an Anglo-Saxon community of the fact that legal fictions, and the assumed obsolescence of penal laws originating in a period of earlier development, and perhaps of less enlightenment, are as well recognized a method of legal progress as legislation. If by reason of the continued predominance of earlier and stricter views in a politically determining portion of the State, a repeal of such laws is impracticable, this expedient may properly and honestly be adopted by conscientious officials, in order to avoid greater injustice by apparent petty righteousness. This is particularly true in communities where the main object of the law is accomplished, even under a policy of toleration; where, moreover, a literal compliance with the statute would engender the fundamentally dangerous and evil passions of class hatred, malice, backbiting, and widespread hostility toward all law; and where public service on the part of any official lacking the requisite wisdom and steadiness, or having conscientious scruples against legal fictions and obsolescent statutes, is not compulsory. If answer is made that this theory, logically carried out, would result in haphazard nullification of law by different officials, and finally in anarchy, the reply seems conclusive that as a matter of fact the progress of English law *has been along just these lines*, involving in many instances a disregard of existing provisions which is absolutely unjustifiable in abstract theory. No human enactment can wholly and under all circumstances do away with the element of discretion in its enforcement, and the utmost which can be attained is that this discretion should be exercised wisely and with absolute good faith, instead of being used as an instrument of blackmail, or abandoned from a sense of mistaken righteousness. No law seems more fitted for gradual modification by the advance of public opinion than the Sunday law, especially in so far as it endeavors to maintain Puritanical ideas. It is indeed often admitted, even by Sabbatarians, that the only just reason for the intervention of the state in the preservation of Sunday is the general secular advantage to be derived by the community from one

day's rest in seven; but as a matter of fact, both in argument and in actual legislation, a different and essentially Puritanical position is tacitly assumed: to wit, that the state should enforce the moral duty of "keeping holy the Sabbath day," and that the just wrath of the jealous Almighty Ruler of the Universe should in some way be averted from these United States by at least passing laws, and enforcing them so far as practicable, which discourage any conduct on Sunday inconsistent with the (divinely inspired) early Hebrew precepts and traditions. The Anglo-Saxon sentiment of reverence for law in the abstract is invoked in aid of such Sunday enactments, and many disputants do not hesitate to characterize their violation as *malum in se*, placing the offender in the category of criminals, and justifying the employment against him of all recognized police agencies for the detection and punishment of a felony. In this they are surely quite as sincere as Cotton Mather and his disciples in the enforcement of the command, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live"; or as the slaveholders in their vindication of the Divine curse of Canaan.

This is not the time or place to discuss this curious social, religious, and intellectual phenomenon. That it is merely ephemeral, notwithstanding its firm rooting in the past, no observer of the rapid liberalizing of public opinion of the last half-century can deny. Doubtless our successors fifty years hence will learn with amazement that within the last decade of the nineteenth century an enlightened American State had upon its statute-books a law which provided that "every person who shall . . . engage in any sport or recreation on Sunday, between sunrise and sunset, shall be fined not more than four dollars nor less than one dollar."<sup>1</sup> The attempt to prohibit the sale of flowers and soda-water, as well as the amusement of fishing or playing golf on Sunday, will no doubt strike the same historical investigator very much as the laws against certain "Popish rites," in the early Plymouth colony, strike us to-day. From the point of view of the liberal-minded American, and more especially the one of German birth or descent, the New York Sunday raids were therefore utterly unjustifiable; and that the political effect would be far-reaching was soon evident. The danger that the cause of municipal reform would be confounded with the Sunday raid became apparent, and it is a significant fact that no political convention for the nomination of candidates for the city election openly indorsed the new policy. A change in the law was demanded by all, and it was perfectly understood that

<sup>1</sup> Laws of Connecticut, title XIX.



that change should be in the direction of liberality, although a *referendum* on the maintenance of the present policy was perhaps most frequently advocated.

When the so-called "Fusion" ticket against Tammany was nominated, great care was taken to avoid any indorsement of the course of the Police Commissioners, and it was hoped that under these circumstances the German-American friends of good government might be induced to defeat Tammany once more. These hopes were doomed to disappointment, and although it was known that great bitterness of feeling existed against the new policy, the formal indorsement of Tammany Hall by the German-American Reform Union came as a clap of thunder out of a clear sky to all who had counted upon continued assistance from that quarter in the struggle for purer city government. It may be said with truth that no greater blow to the prestige of German-Americans as friends of good government under all circumstances has ever been dealt. From the point of view of practical politics it was a blunder worse than a crime, for by it the German-Americans ran into the danger of almost, if not quite, losing the sympathy of the one great political body which had the power, as well as the inclination, to modify the law in a liberal sense,—the great body of liberal-minded Republicans. It made all the friends of German ideals of freedom and social progress grieve, and furnished their detractors with the most available catchwords and arguments. Accordingly, on the platform and in the press, "beer," "Sunday beer," the "beer and delicatessen party," and similar terms, were freely applied to the aims and principles of that entire section of the community which in truth, at this particular juncture, represented truly American ideals at least as faithfully as any other. It was hard to blame any one for thinking that the larger portion, at least, of the German-Americans set the enjoyment of their Sunday beer above their regard for law and order and for decency in local government; and yet it would be rank injustice to the great mass of German-Americans in New York city to assert this view. The great fact remains that the platform of the Fusionists, while it did not indorse the Sunday raid and the spy system, failed to condemn them as vigorously as many German-Americans—to whom the whole question was one of principle—condemned them in their own minds. The desire for complete harmony of thought and action, to which allusion has been made before, was therefore not gratified to its fullest extent by a vote for the Fusion ticket. On the other hand, many conscientious voters believed that a

Tammany victory this year, when the offices to be filled were few and comparatively unimportant, with the practical assurance of further Tammany victories to come, provided the obnoxious and unjustifiable administrative policy was continued, would do more to clear the atmosphere, and to ensure a modification of the law, than any thing else which could happen.

The writer has nothing to say in defence or extenuation of this view, so far as it led any honest man to vote for the Tammany ticket; but a regard for fairness and historical truth requires that the motives of conscientious citizens—quiet, sober, law-abiding, and church-going German-Americans—should be emphasized quite as much as that of the handful of beery politicians whose noise and impertinence is in inverse ratio to their right to speak for their fellow-countrymen. Nor is the explanation any more tenable that the indorsement of Tammany by the Reform Union was the result of a corrupt deal; and while a readiness to enter into a deal on the part of many so-called "leaders," both of the Germans and of Tammany, may perhaps be assumed, the idea that it was really consummated by the Reform Union shows an utter misconception of the attitude of the average German-American voter toward his so-called leaders. Envy (that peculiar German vice) and the passion for individualism (which led Bismarck to say that where four Germans are assembled five political opinions may be found) exist in the German-American as much as in his cousins in the Fatherland, and make anything like political hero-worship or even moderate party discipline almost impossible. The vote which was cast, and which elected the Tammany ticket, was certainly guided in many instances by purely material—not to say brutal—instincts; but the large majority of votes came from citizens who condemned the attitude of the Reform administration as a matter of principle, quite as sincerely, and with quite as pure motives, as are to be found in their adversaries shouting for an "American Sabbath,"—meaning, in the minds of each politician, a Sunday on which the saloons are closed *in some other place*. *Noblesse oblige*: the Reform administration could not with impunity use methods which seemed appropriate to Tammany, especially in view of the distinct condemnation of just such methods by the mayor in his speeches before election. The answer is indeed complete that all this did not justify the restoration of Tammany; but, so long as human nature is unchanged, it will be harder to forgive friends than enemies for real injuries, and a present wrong will be more acutely felt than the remote advantages of political consistency.



Had the great mass of German voters in New York city been convinced that a vote for the Fusion ticket did not mean, and would not be interpreted as, an indorsement of the weekly saloon raid, with its attendant features of spies and informers, their votes would have defeated Tammany as decidedly as in 1894. It was the fatal weakness of the rival organization and its leaders, that they did not with sufficient emphasis condemn the administrative blundering of which the deplorable situation of the last campaign was only the inevitable result. Thus an impression of disingenuousness—unjust but real—was created, which even the noble and eloquent appeals of Mr. Carl Schurz could not wholly remove.

In the interior of New York State the German vote remained true to the Republican party. The principal cause of this was no doubt a regard for honesty and efficiency in government, and abhorrence of the Democratic "machine,"—causes which led to equal or greater Republican majorities elsewhere. The Sunday question was not taken seriously. Despite the clap-trap contained in the platform, and some unimportant speeches about the "American Sabbath," the Republican party was trusted as the true party of progress and liberality under the law. Had it been otherwise, it may be doubted whether even the great Republican tidal wave could have saved the ticket; and nothing can be more certain in politics than that, in the absence of such a tidal wave, a policy of continued hypocrisy, cowardice, and pharisaism will bring the party to grief.

Perhaps the most encouraging feature of the election was the absolute proof afforded of the fact that, without this unexpected succor, Tammany was in a small minority in the city. Nothing can convert this minority into a majority in the important municipal elections to be held a year or two hence, except a continuance of the policy of oppression in the interests of Sabbatarianism; and it should be understood by the friends of good government that it is immaterial whether that policy be the result of mistaken conscientiousness or of hypocrisy.

The events of the last summer have accomplished one thing. The Sunday question has been made a live issue,—so live, in fact, that, notwithstanding its immense majorities all over the country, the Republican party cannot safely ignore it. Let it be repeated once more,—the German-Americans want no "Continental Sunday" of unbridled license. They are perfectly willing to be guided by the experience of that country (England) which of all others, as a nation, "keeps holy the

Sabbath day," and which permits the open sale of stimulants during certain hours on Sunday, in the interests of labor and morality. That such a law will be passed in New York sooner or later scarcely admits of doubt, and the question is simply how far the legislature of 1896 will have the moral courage to go in that direction. The issue between fanaticism and liberalism, between progress and retrogression, is clearly drawn; and should it ever become national,—a result which is not impossible, and which would be very deplorable for many reasons,—the American citizens of German birth or descent are undoubtedly in a position where they can hold the balance of power between the contending parties. Their inclination is clearly toward the Republican party, and to retain their support, and with it national as well as local ascendancy, the party need not stoop to conquer. It need not have the slightest fear of attempted dictation in the interest of individual ambition, of "foreign ideas," or of "un-American" legislation. Blood is thicker than water, and the kinship in race, law, language, manners, and moral characteristics which even fourteen hundred years of separation have not been able wholly to efface, will surely assert itself more and more as the inevitable re-amalgamation of the races increases. Meanwhile, all that makes for mutual confidence and respect, as well as for better understanding of each other's peculiarities and true motives, is a contribution, however insignificant, to the welfare of the country. So far as the Republican party is concerned, all that is necessary for its continued success is that, both in its national policy and in its local administration, it be true to itself and its early ideals,—liberty, honesty, and efficiency in government, and that highest and truest development of all which is best in our national character and aspirations, which patriots fondly call "Americanism."

FREDERICK WILLIAM HOLLS.



## THE FEDERAL CENSUS.

THE Eleventh Census is practically out of the way. The volumes of reports relating to it that are yet unpublished will come from the Government Printing Office as rapidly as possible, but for all purposes of experience as to methods, cost, and scope, it is finished. In the past, when a census has been completed, all interest in it has ceased until within a brief period prior to a subsequent enumeration. Herein lies the chief reason for delays, great expense, and unsatisfactory results. So, with the experience of the Eleventh Census fresh in mind, it seems wise to call attention to the Twelfth Census, with a view to understanding not only what is essential, but also the necessity for immediate action so far as legislation is concerned.

There are fourteen countries whose governments have provided, either by their constitutions or through legislative enactment, for the periodical enumeration of the population. With one exception a census will be taken in each of these fourteen countries either in 1900 or in 1901; namely, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Hungary, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States in 1900; France, Great Britain, Italy, and Norway in 1901, and Holland in January, 1899. Thus the leading countries of the world will open the new century with a new enumeration of their people.

It has long been the desire of statisticians to secure some uniformity throughout the world in these enumerations. The International Statistical Congress, which met for the first time in 1853, and at intervals afterward, undertook to accomplish something in the way of obtaining uniform census statistics, but it was unsuccessful. There is now an association bearing the name of the International Statistical Institute, whose membership is limited to one hundred and fifty, comprising the leading official statisticians in the world, but which also admits to membership those outside of official positions who have distinguished themselves as statisticians. This Institute meets biennially. Its last session was held in Berne in August, 1895, when unanimous action was taken toward securing uniformity in certain respects in the census inquiries to be made in 1900. For this purpose the Institute charged

a special committee (composed of members who in their respective countries are charged with census duties) with the task of studying the question and making a report at the next session, to be held in 1897. The duties of this committee are: to seek and consider information regarding the most convenient date to recommend for a universal census; to determine and put into proper form the various important questions of general interest which may thereafter obtain a place upon the schedules of a universal census; to define with precision the terms used in the schedules of the enumeration, in order to avoid all ambiguity and to obtain uniform and identical information; and to inform the members of the Institute as to the best manner of procuring an understanding, as early as 1898, among the various states interested. In the opinion of the Institute the uniform questions to be chosen for adoption should everywhere be asked in the same manner, and the terms used should have the same signification, in order to obtain exact results. It was particularly pointed out that the chief question which would necessitate international agreement related to occupations.

The scope of the United States census is much wider than that of any of the countries involved in the proposed universal census, and it collects information not only on the lines which should be brought into uniformity, but upon many others. There is no reason, therefore, why it should not enter into any judicious arrangement whereby the form of the questions which are common to the censuses of all the countries shall be determined, and to this end the officer in charge of the Eleventh Census is making a preliminary study for the use of the committee of the International Statistical Institute. Something more, however, is essential. The Congress of the United States should consider this matter at as early a date as possible. The United States cannot now take the lead in this idea of uniformity, but it can and should take the lead in official action upon it, for our government was the first to establish by law a periodical census, and we have been the leading nation in the expansion of census inquiries. For this reason, therefore, if for no other, there should be early legislation; and there is no doubt as to the prompt action of Congress, for it has ever taken a lively interest in census work. Irrespective of these considerations, however, there is a much more important reason why there should be early legislation, and this relates to the preparation for the Twelfth Census without regard to the action of other countries.

There have been three fundamental Census Acts. The first six censuses of the United States were taken under the Act of March 1, 1790,



with amendments and extensions thereof. This Act was very brief and simple in its provisions. The Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth censuses were taken under the Act of May 23, 1850, with some modifications at each census period. This Act went more into detail, and marked a departure in census-taking in this country. There was a considerable expansion of the inquiries; but under the law the attempts to secure industrial statistics, or those relating to the products of the country, were not entirely satisfactory. Prior to the census of 1850 such attempts had been practically failures. The Tenth and Eleventh censuses were taken substantially according to the provisions of the Act of March 3, 1879,—a radical departure from any previous legislation, and the census was greatly expanded in its comprehensiveness.

It is significant that all the Acts have been passed just previous to the enumeration, and in hardly any instance has sufficient time for proper preparation been given. We need not consider the remote censuses. Taking the Ninth Census,—that of 1870,—which was carried out in accordance with the Act of 1850, we find sufficient tardiness in legislation to account for many things which have been the subject of the severest criticism. March 24, 1869, Mr. Garfield introduced a bill to provide for taking the Ninth and subsequent censuses,—a measure intended to make improvements indicated by previous experience. This bill passed the House of Representatives April 6, 1869, but was defeated in the Senate. So the Ninth Census was taken under the law substantially as passed in 1850, but the pendency of legislation delayed all action, on the part of the proper officers of the government, for the vast preparations necessary for the enumeration.

The legislation for the Tenth Census—that of 1880—was initiated May 20, 1878, by the introduction of a bill by Mr. Garfield, but nothing came of that effort. January 7, 1879, Mr. Cox, of New York, introduced a bill for taking the Federal census of 1880. A substitute for this bill was reported the same month by Mr. Cox from the Select Committee on the Census, and on the same day Senator Morrill, of the Senate Committee on the Tenth Census, reported the same bill in the Senate. This bill, substantially as reported, became a law March 3, 1879, and the census of 1880 was taken in accordance with its provisions, although, strangely enough, some important amendments, without which the census could not have been taken properly, were made in an act approved as late as April 20, 1880, while the main appropriations for the Tenth Census were not made until the passage of a bill June 16, 1880, two weeks subsequent to the commencement of the work.

The legislation providing for the Eleventh Census—that of 1890—was started on its course January 4, 1888, when Mr. Cox introduced a bill for taking the Eleventh and subsequent censuses. This bill was substantially the Act of March 3, 1879, so far as system and principles were concerned. It embodied some new features of census-taking, and undertook the correction of some of the faults of previous legislation; but for scope, system, and methods it was practically the law of 1879. Mr. Cox's bill, with some amendments, was passed by the House of Representatives July 11, 1888, at an evening session. The bill had been before the House six months. I have been informed that the Committee on Census of the House of Representatives never had a session to consider the bill in full, and at the time of its passage, one exceedingly hot night, there were but twenty-seven members of the House present. It was received in the Senate July 13, 1888, toward the close of the session, and became a law March 1, 1889. In addition, legislation making provision on the population schedule for certain inquiries concerning the ownership of homes and farms was not approved until February 22, 1890, barely three months before the enumerators commenced their work.

It should be remembered that the enumerations have been made as of June 1 of the census year in each decade, yet in 1870, 1880, and 1890 the officers charged with the enumeration had but little over a year under the laws in which to make the vast preparations necessary for the census, and in 1880, as stated, nothing could be done of any great moment until after the amendments of April 20, 1880. These delays have been costly in every respect. They cannot be charged to Congress, nor to any one else specifically, because there is no officer of the government whose duty it is to watch the affairs of the census and to see to it that the proper measures are brought before Congress, and at the proper time for securing the best results, or, in fact, for securing any results. So the initiative has been left almost to chance. The census, as such, goes out of existence when the work of each decennial census has been completed, and there is no officer, as stated, whose especial duty it is to call the attention of the legislative branch of the government to the necessities of the case. The necessity for such an officer clearly appears when we consider the stages of the work.

There are three great stages in every census: first, the collection of material; second, its tabulation and analysis; third, its publication. The first and second involve the great labor and expense of the census. The first should not be undertaken, even, until the second is not only



thoroughly understood but carefully and completely outlined. No officer should be allowed to enter upon the work of the collection of the raw material for census reports until he has a complete plan from the beginning to the end. Unless this rule is laid down by law, future censuses will be as expensive and as unsatisfactory in many respects as have been some of the past. No officer should be held responsible for great cost, for long delays, or for any inaccuracies when compelled to work as superintendents of the past censuses have worked. The collection of the material involves all the plans necessary therefor: the division of the country into proper districts of supervision; the division of the supervisors' districts into proper enumeration-districts; and the preparation of all blanks, instructions, and paraphernalia for the use of supervisors and enumerators. The officer in charge of the census should outline beforehand, as already stated, all classifications and tables necessary for the final tabulation and analysis of the material collected,—a task for which he should have at least two years in which to perfect his plans. This may seem an extravagant estimate of the time required, but when the great variety of the industries, business interests, etc., of the country is considered, the statement becomes reasonable. The preparation of blanks for the collection of facts relative to population would require a less time, perhaps; but the schedules for the collection of manufacturing, agricultural, mining, and other statistics relating to the material wealth and the welfare of the country require not only great care, but the consultation of experts in all the various industries involved. Furthermore, the officer charged with a census should study the methods and systems in vogue in other countries. If England, France, Germany, or any other country has adopted methods of collecting or tabulating material whereby time is saved, or better, clearer, and more satisfactory results secured, the United States should take cognizance of them and incorporate them in its own census work. All this preparation should be done under the direct personal care and supervision of the superintendent himself. He should delegate but little of this work to clerical assistants. He should have the services of the best statisticians of the country, and, if time be allowed by law, the outcome of his labors would be schedules harmoniously constructed with a view to securing the very best results,—a thing never yet attained in any census in this country.

Under the legislation of the past the superintendent has been obliged to rush into the work, to hurry up the printers, and to drive everybody engaged in the task. The lack of time for proper prepara-

tion has been found one of the greatest drawbacks to census-taking. It has been the cause of more than half the complaints and criticisms concerning the work, and to a considerable extent the long delay in the final publication of the census reports can be traced to it. In the Eleventh Census there was barely time between the enacting of the final legislation (in February, 1890) and the first Monday in June (on which day the enumeration had by law to begin) to print and ship to the enumerators more than twenty million schedules and the necessary blanks. In many cases the outfit of forms reached the enumerator only a day or a few hours before his work should begin, giving him little or no time in which to familiarize himself with the inquiries to be made on the various schedules and the printed instructions concerning them. Furthermore, the subdivision of the supervisors' districts into enumeration-districts—which by law was made by the census supervisors subject to the approval of the superintendent—could not always be made and the papers transmitted to Washington in time for proper inspection prior to approval; and in several cases these subdivisions were approved without any inspection whatever. This was also largely true with respect to the appointment of the enumerators. For want of time not much more than a hasty examination, if any at all, could be made of the lists of persons recommended for appointment as enumerators, together with their written applications and indorsements as to their honesty, intelligence, and ability to do the work; so that these lists were practically approved in bulk by the superintendent, in several cases lists which did not reach the Census Office until after the appointment of the enumerators and the commencement of their work being approved by telegraph.

Another very important reason why plenty of time should be given for preparation is found in the matter of ascertaining the distribution of population by civil divisions, the enumeration of which in the last census was attended by the conditions just noted, and which entailed a vast amount of correspondence with supervisors and enumerators after their work was finished, and oftentimes with county clerks and other local officers, in order to determine the boundaries of smaller areas and the population comprised within them. This information should be in the possession of the census officers prior to the enumeration itself, so that proper subdivisions of the country into enumeration-districts, based upon such information, could be made by the Census Office, and specific instructions given to each enumerator as to the various incorporated places or other subdivisions included in his



district for which a separate return of population should be made. The people grow more exacting under each census, and the population of hamlets, villages, and other minor civil divisions is required; but without previous information the Census Office is often at a loss to know what constitutes one of these divisions. As a consequence of the lack of this information, the greatest source of trouble in the tabulation of the returns of the Eleventh Census was to determine the population of incorporated places included within the limits of the primary divisions of counties. In hundreds of cases no statement as to the population of such places could be made in the final report.

Could the plans for the use of material be considered in connection with those for the collection thereof, much expense, annoyance, and criticism would be avoided; but unless this is accomplished, and harmony is secured by one mind passing upon all points, there will be incongruity in the whole work. These considerations are based on the supposition that the standard set by the Tenth and Eleventh Censuses, under the supervision of General Walker and Mr. Porter, respectively, will in no wise be lowered, that their comprehensiveness will not be lessened, and that the demands of the public will increase; and these considerations constitute the second great reason why early and prompt attention should be given to legislation providing for the Twelfth Census.

The third reason for early legislation lies in the fact that in all probability a permanent Census Office will be established. It hardly seems necessary to state any reasons for such an establishment, but some of the principal ones may be given. By the establishment of a permanent office its chief would always be on the lookout for improvements in methods for the collection and tabulation of census data; he would always be informed of what was going on in other countries; he would understand the necessity for legislation by Congress and be in a position to point it out; he would be enabled to avoid all the difficulties which have just been enumerated that are attributable to delays; he would be ready, when he approached the census year and month, to proceed in an orderly and systematic manner; he would avoid crowding into a week what should take a month or three months to do; he would have his work all laid out, his plans perfected from start to finish, a trained force as a nucleus at all times, men skilled through experience to assist him, and harmony secured in all methods of tabulation and presentation through his ability to pass upon them himself.

From a purely business point of view no other reasons need be

given, but there are other considerations of equal importance. Under the present system, or rather lack of system, the superintendent is expected during the census year to collect a vast amount of material. The population must be enumerated; the account of the products of manufactures and of agriculture taken; the facts collected as to the fisheries, mineral products, transportation, insurance, wealth, debt, taxation, home indebtedness, churches, schools, Indians, and all the other subjects named in the existing census laws. The result of the attempt to collect the information relating to these great subjects is literally to "snow under" the Census Office, and it is almost an impossibility to get out from under the crush. The attempt results in the beginning of many pieces of work which must be suspended or even abandoned; it results in variety instead of uniformity in forms and methods; it prevents the superintendent, however skilled as a statistician or an administrative officer, from attending to anything thoroughly and well; it results in vast expense through sending agents over the country on different errands; and, worst of all, despite all efforts, nothing is brought out promptly or within a reasonable time. To be sure, under the last two censuses, bulletins of important facts were sent to the public with very great promptness, but to compile, tabulate, and analyze the information filling twenty-five huge quarto volumes is a task which might well stagger any man.

Another bad effect of the present method of doing business is the necessity of bringing together a large temporary clerical force without a nucleus of skilled clerks to influence the whole body. This results in delay, poor service, and a vast expenditure of money for corrections. A temporary force does not work as industriously as a permanent one. Each member understands that the better he works the sooner he will be out of a job; and while the integrity of the census force cannot be impugned, there is nevertheless a silent influence which works to the disadvantage of the Treasury.

All these difficulties would be corrected and avoided by the establishment of a permanent Census Office, and, above all, the information would be brought out more promptly, and of an improved quality; for under a permanent system of census-taking the work now crowded into the first few years of each decennial period would be extended over the whole period. By the Constitution the enumeration of the people must be taken each ten years, and on or before June 1 of the census years; so the enumerators must travel over the country for this purpose. While doing it they should be called upon to collect infor-



mation on schedules having but few inquiries relating to agriculture and manufactures. All the topics heretofore treated by the censuses could be distributed over the remainder of each ten years, in some cases dropped entirely, or in others postponed, while in others still they could be taken up more frequently. It would be convenient and economical to make brief inquiries relative to agriculture and manufactures, as stated, but the account of agriculture and manufactures should be taken every year,—or once in two or three years, perhaps. For some of the topics information once in fifteen or twenty years would be ample, but with the Census Office relieved in the way indicated there should be no reason for much delay in bringing out the results in each case.

The organization of a permanent Census Office should be effected under civil-service regulations. Its nucleus organization should be comparatively small, and its annual cost of maintenance, as such, limited. Aside from a competent head, it should consist only of the necessary clerks and employees to attend to its purely administrative functions, and a force of trained experts and experienced clerks of the higher grades to carry on the constant statistical part of the work. Every ten years, when the enumeration of the population is made, a large temporary force would have to be added to the permanent force; but the two forces should be absolutely independent of each other so far as appointment to them is concerned. The persons comprising each should be secured through civil-service competitive or special examination, or by transfer if within the classified service; but transfer from the temporary to the permanent force should be restricted and made in accordance with civil-service regulations, and then only under certain contingencies which should be clearly defined. I am perfectly well satisfied that had the Eleventh Census been taken under conditions of permanency the cost would have been at least two million dollars less than it has been, and the results would have been finished and before the public in complete form at least a year prior to the present time.

The objection may be raised that a permanent Census Office would involve too much expense, or an expense much greater than has already been applied to the work. A little examination of the subject, however, leads to a different conclusion. The last three censuses have been the most comprehensive. The census of 1870 cost in the aggregate \$3,336,511; that for 1880 cost \$5,862,750. The amount already appropriated for the Eleventh Census is \$11,271,500, and this can be

taken as its cost, no further appropriation being necessary, except, it may be, for printing and binding a very few of the final reports. If, now, there should be a permanent Census Office established, it should be on a basis of comprehensive work each year, and of the great work of the enumeration of the people and the account of agriculture and manufactures every tenth year. A reasonable appropriation for seven years consecutively for permanent work would leave a margin—taking the cost of the Eleventh Census as a guiding-point—ample in every respect for the decennial work.

There is no question as to the advisability of securing, in some way, a very material reduction in the amount of work given to the ordinary census enumerator. Every effort should be made to obtain complete and accurate data concerning population, both as to the care and thoroughness with which the enumerator canvasses his district, and the completeness of the answers to the inquiries made concerning each person enumerated; but such questions are substantially dependent upon a house-to-house canvass, and they cannot be obtained readily in any other way. The work of the enumerator is now so increased through the multiplicity of inquiries that it is almost impossible for him to be faithful in his work and at the same time secure reasonable compensation: but by spreading the present work over ten years; by instituting a closer supervision of enumerators; by increasing the number of supervisors; and by making some preliminary examination of the enumerators selected, as was done in Massachusetts preparatory to the census just taken in that State,—it is believed that great improvement can be secured, not only as to the quality of the work done, but in the time necessary to do it. There should be ample preliminary instruction of the supervisors and enumerators, and they should be made familiar with their work before they enter upon it. This desirable result can be secured only by having ample time for preparation. The fact that very many of the enumerators find, after appointment, that it is impossible for them to carry on the work and at the same time secure proper remuneration therefor, and are thus led to throw up their commissions, compels the Census Office to make other appointments without due consideration of the qualifications of candidates. More expense in the supervision and instruction of supervisors and enumerators would result in a great decrease of the expense necessary for the correction of crude and bungling work.

The Senate on the 16th of February, 1891, by resolution, directed the Secretary of the Interior to consider the expediency of the estab-



lishment of a permanent Census Bureau, and to embody the result of his consideration in a report to be made at the opening of the Fifty-second Congress, such report to include a draft of a bill should the Secretary consider it expedient. Under this resolution the Superintendent of the Census, Hon. Robert P. Porter, made a very elaborate report, through the Secretary, to the Senate. This report is known as "Executive Document No. 1, Fifty-second Congress, 1st Session," and was forwarded December 7, 1891. It is an exceedingly valuable document, and gives in full all the reasons why a permanent Census Office should be established. It also gives the testimony of a very large number of statisticians, churchmen, representatives of commercial organizations, commissioners of agriculture, officers of boards of health, officers of institutions, and officers of State bureaus of statistics.

The House of Representatives also took up the question of a permanent Census Bureau, and directed the Select Committee on the Eleventh Census to inquire into the expediency of establishing such an office. This committee made a report, known as "Report No. 2393, Fifty-second Congress, 2d Session"; and as a result of the hearings which this committee gave, and of the evidence which it collected, a bill providing for a permanent census service was reported unanimously. This bill, however, was never acted upon, but it is especially noticeable that in the consideration of these two reports there was no opposition on the part of any one to the establishment of such an office: on the other hand, every one indorsed it heartily and emphatically.

The point now made is that if a permanent Census Office is to be established at all, the initiative legislation looking to that result should be taken without delay; for under such legislation whoever might be placed at the head of such an office would have ample opportunity to study the whole question and to report to Congress full and comprehensive plans for future census work. There are these three reasons, then, for prompt legislation: the action looking to the unification of certain inquiries in the various censuses of the world for 1900; the necessity of preparation for the Twelfth Census; the desire to establish a permanent Census Office. In considering these three reasons there is no necessity of indulging in any criticisms, for all criticism must come back to the fact that there has been no one whose particular duty it was to see to it that proper preparations were made, not only for legislation, but for the real work of the census.

CARROLL D. WRIGHT.

## MATTHEW ARNOLD'S LETTERS.<sup>1</sup>

"It has ever been a hobby of mine, though perhaps it is a truism, not a hobby, that the true life of a man is in his letters."

So wrote John Henry Newman to his sister thirty-two years ago. Truisms, like paradoxes, must be taken with a grain of salt. Newman's own letters hardly bear out his own theory. Less than the *Apology*, less than the *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England* (1851), less even than some of the famous sermons, such as the sermon on the *Parting of Friends*, are they the man. "Biographers," says Dr. Newman, "varnish, they assign motives, they conjecture feelings, they interpret Lord Burleigh's nods, but contemporary letters are facts." Letters are conclusive evidence of the fact that they were written, but not necessarily of the facts which they allege. If some letters are the most natural, others are the most artificial of all human compositions. They may be written with the fear that they will be published, or with the fear that they will not. Mr. Chamberlain addressed a private letter on a public question to the editor of a newspaper. Cicero, in one of his letters to Atticus, explains that he would not have expressed himself with so much freedom if he had not felt confident that his words would never be read by any other human eyes. But if Newman's remarks are true of any one, they are true of Matthew Arnold. His letters are, if possible, more natural than his conversation. In his witty, genial, and delightful talk there was a serio-comic pretence which people with no humor mistook for affectation. His friendly, chatty, confidential letters combine the simplicity of a child with all the mental and imaginative resources of a scholar, a poet, a philosopher, and a man of the world. Mr. Arnold's family had either to deprive the public of what, apart from enjoyment, it must do every one good to read, or to run the risk of spoiling the letters by cutting out much that was most private and therefore most characteristic. Very few letters could have endured

<sup>1</sup> "Letters of Matthew Arnold," 1848-1888, collected and arranged by George W. E. Russell. 2 vols. Macmillan.



the severe process of excision and retrenchment to which these have been exposed. But Mrs. Arnold has rightly judged that they could stand even such a test. If she has erred at all, it is in the too scrupulous removal of affectionate references to herself.

No praise can be too high for the manner in which Mr. George Russell has discharged his task as editor. He has unhappily felt himself bound, by Mr. Arnold's expressed wish on the subject, to abstain from anything like a biographical narrative; and the letters are left to tell their own story, which it was not their purpose to do. But in a brief Prefatory Note he describes, with the knowledge of an intimate friend and the skill of a literary artist, the genuine character of Matthew Arnold. I was one of those who attended a meeting held in the Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey soon after Mr. Arnold's death, to arrange some fitting memorial of his poetic genius and his public service. Some of the most distinguished men in England were there, and addressed the audience. There were the Dean of Westminster, Lord Coleridge, Mr. Jowett of Balliol, the fifteenth Earl of Derby, and Archbishop Thomson, all of whom are now gone except the Dean. To the eloquence of the speeches any testimonial from me would be impertinent. But what must have struck every one who heard them was the deep personal feeling of irreparable loss that inspired them all—a feeling so strong that words were quite inadequate to do it justice. All the speakers were men of great intellectual power, fully appreciative of Mr. Arnold's poetry and criticism. But it was the moral beauty—the "nobility," as Mr. Jowett called it—of his life upon which they almost exclusively dwelt. He was indeed a good man in the best sense of that term. As Mr. Russell says with equal insight and force, he was "gentle, generous, enduring, laborious; a devoted husband, a most tender father, an unfailing friend." The sort of biography to which Cardinal Newman referred has become altogether obsolete since 1863. It used to be said that the only "Lives" worth reading were those of actors, because they were not supposed to be respectable and so their biographers did not mind telling the truth about them. Times have changed indeed. Actors are now more respectable, or at least more respected, than bishops; and the new school of biography, which will always be associated with the name of Mr. Froude, aims at nothing less than the canonization of what I once heard a lady call the biographee. Mr. Arnold's memory, though it is to be spared that ordeal, would have nothing to fear from it. "Whatever record leap to light, he never shall be shamed."

Those who knew him best loved him most. He was a saint in his family, a hero to his publisher, and the idol of his friends.

At a dinner of old Balliol men, held when, for the first and last time in this century, there was a really great Primate of the English Church, Matthew Arnold had to return thanks for the toast of his health. He followed Archbishop Tait, an admirable speaker as well as a great statesman, and remarked with exquisite urbanity that after such an impressive performance it might perhaps refresh the company to see a Balliol man who had not got on in the world. The writer of the descriptive report which appeared in the next day's "Times" translated this into the rather coarse paraphrase: "Mr. Matthew Arnold contrasted his own position and emoluments with those of the Archbishop of Canterbury." But Matthew Arnold's spirit of cheerful content was not the least excellent of his many excellent gifts. Men with a fiftieth part of his natural capacity, who work for themselves, often realize an early competence and an ultimate fortune. Mr. Arnold worked for the country, and much of his leisure was spent in adding, by hook or by crook, to the pittance doled out to him from the Education Department. Matthew Arnold was blessed with the soundest of digestions and the sunniest of tempers. But the secret of his happiness was that self-denial was a pleasure to him when it was endured for the sake of those he loved. He enjoyed living, even in London, and his passion for the country was as strong as Thoreau's. Whether he was at home or abroad, nature interested and charmed him. In the earliest of these letters, written to his mother on the 2d of January, 1848, he says:—

"It was nearly dark when I left the Weybridge Station, but I could make out the wide sheet of the gray Thames gleaming through the general dusk as I came out on Chertsey Bridge. I never go along that shelving gravelly road up towards Laleham without interest, from Chertsey Lock to the turn where the drunken man lay. To-day, after morning church, I went up to Pentonhook, and passed the stream with the old volume, width, shine, rapid fulness, 'kempshott,' and swans, unchanged and unequalled, to my partial and remembering eyes at least."

Although Mr. Arnold was an enthusiastic fisherman and rather fond of shooting, his interest in the country was not primarily that of a sportsman. It was rather the devotion which inspired his favorite modern poet and made him as good an interpreter of Wordsworth as Wordsworth was an interpreter of nature. Of all his critical writings there is none more full of perception, as there is none more characteristic of Matthew Arnold, than the Preface to the Selections from Wordsworth.

A very large number of Matthew Arnold's letters are addressed to



his mother, who died in 1873 at the age of eighty-two, having survived her famous husband more than thirty years. Every one knows the poem on Rugby Chapel, and can learn from it that Matthew Arnold revered the memory of his father. His letters to his mother show that his father was rarely out of his thoughts, and he never loses an opportunity of tracing Dr. Arnold's influence upon modern thought. Dr. Arnold is chiefly known as the awful pedagogue of "Tom Brown's School Days." Even in his "Life" by Dean Stanley the literary side of him is too much ignored. It was upon that side that his son delighted to dwell, the side presented in the "History of Rome" and the "Thucydides." Dr. Arnold did not live to complete the "History," which has perhaps suffered from the popular impression that the early annals of Rome are all a myth, that Sir George Cornwall Lewis said so, and that there is no use in bothering about them. But the late Professor Freeman, no mean authority, was an ardent admirer of the book, and considered Dr. Arnold to be a true historian. And if anybody wants not to study the text of Thucydides from the point of minute verbal scholarship, but to read the greatest of all historians with an intelligent guide, he will find Dr. Arnold exactly the guide he wants.

A remarkable proportion of the letters are addressed to members of Mr. Arnold's own family. But perhaps the best of all were written to Mrs. Matthew Arnold when he was travelling. They give all the information which the most anxious wife could require, and they are never trivial or dull. It is certain, both from internal and external evidence, that no idea of publication ever entered the writer's mind. Yet every reader will cordially thank Mrs. Arnold for allowing them to appear. Among his correspondents outside the circle of the Arnolds, Lady de Rothschild must be esteemed peculiarly fortunate. In writing to her Mr. Arnold seems to have been always at his best. That, however, is not surprising. For while there were qualities in Mr. Arnold which irresistibly attracted ladies of every age, there is no one more capable of appreciating at the same time his intellect and his character than that ablest, most accomplished, and most sympathetic of women.

In these *Epistolæ ad Familiares* literature occupies a comparatively small place. Nevertheless there is enough to throw an interesting light upon Mr. Arnold's strength and weakness as a critic. At the so-called Jubilee Dinner of the Oxford Union in 1873, the late Dr. Liddon, in proposing the toast of "Literature," for which Mr. Arnold was to respond, remarked that the great critic had taught them to criticise even himself. Matthew Arnold's satire was never barbed. It left no

rankling wound behind it, and many of his victims were among his warmest admirers. The critical quality in which he most excelled was the invaluable gift of detecting merit below the surface. He liked to praise rather than to blame, as all good critics do. But it may be doubted whether he had the supreme faculty of judgment. He admired more than he imitated Sainte-Beuve. The dullest man cannot read "Essays in Criticism" without having his mind stimulated and his views enlarged. The cleverest man cannot read the "Causeries du Lundi" without feeling chastened and humiliated by that vast learning, that infallible taste, that exquisite lucidity of style, that impregnable fortress of common sense. Writing to his mother from London on the 7th of May, 1848, Matthew Arnold says:—

"I have just finished a German book I brought with me here; a mixture of poems and travelling journal by Heinrich Heine, the most famous of the young German literary set. He has a good deal of power, though more trick; however, he has thoroughly disgusted me. The Byronism of a German, of a man trying to be gloomy, cynical, impassioned, *moqueur*, etc., all *à la fois*, with their honest bon-hommistic language and total want of experience of the kind that Lord Byron, an English peer with access everywhere, possessed, is the most ridiculous thing in the world."

Of course this is a private letter, and Matthew Arnold's real view of Heine must be sought in his essay and his poem. But really they are almost as inadequate as this, of which indeed they are chiefly an expansion. The "Reisebilder" contains much that is foolish, and much that is repulsive. But no one would gather from the passage quoted that it was one of the wittiest books ever written, or that it contained one of the most beautiful poems in the world. Heine himself may be said to have acknowledged the difficulty about the language by rewriting the book in French. He certainly never pretended to be an aristocrat, for he dwells frequently on his plebeian origin, and he was a disciple of Sterne rather than of Byron.

"Why is 'Villette' disagreeable?" This question was put by Matthew Arnold to his sister on the 14th of April, 1853. And he answers it himself as follows:—

"Because the writer's mind contains nothing but hunger, rebellion, and rage, and therefore that is all she can, in fact, put into her book. No fine writing can hide this thoroughly, and it will be fatal to her in the long run."

He then proceeds to contrast "Villette" with "My Novel," admitting, with a simplicity which seems not to be feigned, that "Bulwer's nature is not a perfect one either." It certainly was not, even according to the



mundane standard of fallen man. But an Oxford scholar like Mr. Arnold should have remembered his Aristotle: *ὅτε τὸ διότι*. You establish your fact before you inquire into its causes. Dr. Johnson once sat down with Mrs. Hannah More before the outspread Sonnets of Milton to consider why they were so bad. Is "Villette" disagreeable? And what of "Shirley," by the same author? Does that, too, contain nothing but "hunger, rebellion, and rage"? Miss Brontë was a woman of genius, and her genius forced its way through every disadvantage of material circumstances and mental training. Bulwer was a clever, highly cultivated man of the world, with immense industry and consummate skill, enjoying all the advantages of wealth and station, but not possessing a spark of the true inward fire. "Sublime mediocrity" is the utmost that can be said of Bulwer, and Matthew Arnold preferred him to Charlotte Brontë. On the 22d of September, 1864, Mr. Arnold wrote to Mr. Dykes Campbell on the volume of Tennyson's poems containing "Enoch Arden." He was at first inclined to write a review of it, thinking—oddly enough—that "Enoch Arden" was "the best thing Tennyson had done." He gave up the task because he feared that if he depreciated Tennyson he would be suspected of jealousy. He wrote:—

"I do not think Tennyson a great and powerful spirit in any line, as Goethe was in the line of modern thought, Wordsworth in that of contemplation, Byron even in that of passion; and unless a poet, especially a poet at this time of day, is that, my interest in him is only slight, and my conviction that he will not finally stand high is firm."

It is no less doubtless eccentric to put Tennyson below Byron than to put Bulwer Lytton above Miss Brontë.

But there must have been something wrong with a critic who could not appreciate the greatest poet of his own age and country, a man only thirteen years older than himself. May it not be—I speak with diffidence—that Mr. Arnold expected from poetry something which it is not the function of poetry to give? Mr. Arnold did not seem to feel—what as a critic he surely should have felt—that he had to account for Tennyson, to explain how a man who was not "a great and powerful spirit" had leavened the speech of educated men, had become a classic in his lifetime, only less a part of their language than the Bible and Shakespeare. If the true poet must be always setting traps or constructing puzzles, if every poem is to prove or disprove something, then "Tithonus" is not a poem, and Tennyson was not a poet. But if the true office of poetry be to express the great commonplaces of life, the objec-

tion that Tennyson has not a "line" falls to the ground. What was Homer's "line"? What was Shakespeare's? What was Keats's? They were on their own lines; they were themselves. Even if we take the case of Wordsworth, it is not the argumentative verse of the "Excursion," but such pieces as "A Slumber did my Spirit Seal," that stamp him as the true poet, not merely the metrical philosopher. Lovely and melodious as so much of Matthew Arnold's own poetry is, haunting the memory like a strain of music, he is best when he is simplest: when he draws from nature, as in the "Scholar Gypsy"; or from human experience, as in those magic verses—

" For each day brings its petty dust  
Our soon choked souls to fill;  
And we forget because we must,  
And not because we will."

If Mr. Arnold liked "metaphysical poetry," he ought to have revelled in Browning. But he did not. His classic taste was shocked, as Tennyson's also was, by the frequent harshness and roughness of that undeniably "powerful spirit." He admired Browning just when Browning left his problems and wrote with true simplicity.

Mr. Arnold was justly proud of the vogue which his pet phrases had, and the readiness with which they were picked up by educated men. "The writing world was," as he said, particularly fond of him. He supplied them with quotations, and they were not ungrateful, as he points out in his inimitable way. He writes to his mother:—

"I have been amused by getting a letter from Edward Dicey, asking me, in the name of the proprietors of the 'Daily Telegraph,' to give them a notice of Blake the artist, and to name my own price. I sent a civil refusal, but you may depend upon it Lord Lytton was right in saying that it is no inconsiderable advantage to me that all the writing world have a kind of weakness for me, even at the time they are attacking me."

Afterwards he wrote a good deal for the "Pall Mall Gazette" when Mr. John Morley was its editor, and his objection to anonymous writing, which had been very strong, disappeared. Mr. Disraeli congratulated him on the popularity of "Philistines," "Sweetness and Light," and the rest of them. This was a real compliment coming from a master of many phrases, and highly appreciated. But this sort of success was really valuable less in itself than as a proof that his books were read. "Philistines" is from the German, "Sweetness and Light" from Swift. The description of Oxford at the end of the Preface to "Essays in Criticism" was his own, and will be read with pleasure, like



"Dover Beach," while the English language endures. There is nothing more interesting in these pages than the account of Mr. Arnold's conversation with Mr. Disraeli at Aston Clinton, the late Sir Anthony de Rothschild's house in Buckinghamshire. Mr. Disraeli, who unaffectedly liked and admired men of letters, and whose sense of humor never slumbered, was at his best with Matthew Arnold. With him he was not only courteous, as he was not always, but simple and sincere, as he was seldom. Those who have read Mr. Disraeli's beautiful speech in the House of Commons on the death of Cobden, quoted in Mr. Morley's biography, will find that on this occasion he expressed the same opinion in private. "He was born a statesman, and his reasoning is always like a statesman's, and striking." Being reminded that he had met Mr. Arnold some years before, Mr. Disraeli said:—

" ' Ah, yes, I remember. At that time I had a great respect for the name you bore, but you yourself were little known. Now you are well known. You have made a reputation, but you will go further yet. You have a great future before you, and you deserve it.' "

Could anything have been better said? Having acknowledged the compliment, Mr. Arnold referred to Mr. Disraeli's abandonment of literature for politics.

" ' Yes,' he replied, ' one does not settle these things for one's self, and politics and literature both are very attractive ; still, in the one, one's work lasts, and in the other it doesn't.' He went on to say that he had given up literature because he was not one of those people who can do two things at once, but that he admired most the men like Cicero, who could."

There is no "Life" of Lord Beaconsfield except Mr. Froude's little book, and there probably never will be. But among all the scattered notices of that eminent and extraordinary man in the political memories of his generation, I do not know one which exhibits him in so attractive a light as does this spontaneous and contemporaneous letter from Matthew Arnold to his mother.

When Mr. Arnold returned from the United States full of delight at the unbounded courtesy and hospitality with which he had been received, he told with glee and gusto a story of the late Mr. Barnum. The great showman, he said, had invited him to his house in the following terms: "You, sir, are a celebrity. I am a notoriety. We ought to be acquainted." "I could n't go," he added, "but it was very nice of him." The letters do not deal much with the private lives of public men. They are for the most part concerned either with higher or more homely topics. But there is a charming and most characteristic anecdote

dote of Samuel Wilberforce, the famous Bishop of Oxford, which is too good to be passed over. It occurs in a letter to his mother, dated the 2d of February, 1864, and it refers once more to Aston Clinton a house where he always liked to stay :—

“The Bishop of Oxford had a rather difficult task of it in his sermon, for opposite to him was ranged all the house of Israel, and he is a man who likes to make things pleasant to those he is on friendly terms with. He preached on Abraham, his force of character and his influence on his family ; he fully saved his honor by introducing the mention of Christianity three or four times, but the sermon was in general a sermon which Jews as well as Christians could receive. His manner and delivery are well worth studying, and I am very glad to have heard him. A truly emotional spirit he undoubtedly has beneath his outside of society-haunting and men-pleasing, and each of the two lives he leads gives him the more zest for the other. Any real power of mind he has not. Some of the thinking, or pretended thinking, in his sermon was sophistical and hollow beyond belief. I was interested in finding how instinctively Lady de Rothschild had seized on this. His chaplain told me, however, that I had not heard him at his best, as he certainly preached under some constraint.”

Neither bishop nor chaplain held the opinion, which a clergyman ought to hold, that the way to be a gentleman is to be a Christian.

There are in these volumes no letters to the late Lord Coleridge, who was perhaps Mr. Arnold's oldest and most intimate friend. They happened to meet in America, and Mr. Arnold describes himself as embarrassed at the unction of the eulogies bestowed upon him in public by the Lord Chief Justice of England. Lord Coleridge was a various man, a great orator, a great social personage, a man of letters even more than of law, an admirable talker, but, above all, a consummate master of irony and sarcasm. A letter from Matthew Arnold to his wife, written in 1854, contains a delicious reference to a review of his own poems by the future Chief Justice :—

“My love to J. D. C. [John Duke Coleridge], and tell him that the limited circulation of the ‘Christian Remembrancer’ makes the unquestionable viciousness of his article of little importance. I am sure he will be gratified to think that it is so.”

This is in the true Coleridgean style, and quite perfect in its way. But of course it must not be taken as an expression of annoyance or resentment. Matthew Arnold was never spiteful, and hardly ever angry. It was his fun, and his fun was always irresistible.

Mr. Arnold's politics are, I suppose, as well known in America as they are here. They were rather French than English. He adopted early in life, and retained to the end, the opinion that his own country was intellectually behind France ; that the French were logical whereas



we were not; and that there was a serious danger in the British preference for common sense, or the rule of thumb, to principles and ideas. The sort of prejudice embodied in Mr. Disraeli's celebrated dictum that this country is not governed by logic, but by Parliament, he held to be mischievous clap-trap, if indeed Mr. Disraeli was not laughing in his sleeve. It is curious that with this turn of mind he should have been such an enthusiastic admirer of Burke, with whom the British Constitution was an idol, not to say a fetish. Perhaps he was captivated and carried away by the "grand style" of that splendid and princely writer. However that may be, Mr. Arnold, though he called himself first a Liberal and afterward a Liberal-Unionist, never belonged to any political party. Although he liked Mr. Disraeli in private,—and no wonder,—he called him a charlatan in reference to his public career. In Mr. Gladstone he had no confidence, believing him to be swayed by ecclesiastical bias, at the mercy of fitful enthusiasm, and opposed to real freedom of thought. While he wrote warmly in praise of Burke's attachment to his native land, and pointed out that the liberality of his Irish policy was unaffected by the general reaction of his opinions after 1789, he would not hear of Home Rule. The fact is, that although he took an interest in politics from time to time, and always interested others when he wrote about them, he treated them, as he was well entitled to do, piecemeal and in a desultory fashion. He made too little allowance for men who had to act and to do the best they could with the imperfect means at their disposal. "I hold," he said once, in a sentence printed under the clever caricature of him in "Vanity Fair," "I hold that the critic should keep out of the region of immediate practice." Fortunately for mankind he did not follow his own maxim in poetry. In politics he certainly did. But now and again, with the true critical insight, he drew the mental portrait of a statesman as no one else could have drawn it. In 1870 the University of Oxford, which he loved and served, conferred upon him an honorary degree, and made him, according to the rather absurd form in such cases, a Doctor of Civil Law. Lord Salisbury, as Chancellor of the University, presided at the ceremony, and in Mr. Arnold's opinion performed his part very well. Concerning him Mr. Arnold writes to his mother:—

"He is a dangerous man, though, and chiefly from his want of any true sense and experience of literature and its beneficent function. Religion he knows, and physical science he knows; but the immense work between the two, which is for literature to accomplish, he knows nothing of, and all his speeches

pointed this way. On the one hand he was full of the great future for physical science, and begging the University to make up her mind to it, and to resign much of her literary studies; on the other hand he was full—almost defiantly full—of counsels and resolves for retaining and upholding the old ecclesiastical and dogmatic form of religion. From a juxtaposition of this kind nothing but shocks and collisions can come; and I know no one, indeed, more likely to provoke shocks and collisions than men like Lord Salisbury.”

All this is profoundly true, though as different as possible from the ordinary praise and abuse of the present Prime Minister. People argue that Lord Salisbury is a man of letters because he can write a good style. They forget that he was a journalist when journalists were required to know the English language. If any one will turn to Lord Salisbury's address, delivered at Oxford as President of the British Association in 1894, he will see how thoroughly Matthew Arnold understood the man. Religious equality has been enforced at Oxford in spite of Lord Salisbury; and religion, being left to its own resources, is more powerful there than it was in the old days of compulsory and conservative orthodoxy. Physical science is amply recognized. But one change there has been which neither Lord Salisbury nor Mr. Arnold in 1870 foresaw,—Oxford has fallen into the hands of the specialists. Philologists and physiologists, historians and lawyers, geologists and theologians, have substituted for the old idea of a liberal education a multitude of narrow and technical schools for cramming the memory and starving the intellect. The old education may have been defective. But at least it was an education, and not an apprenticeship.

When he was in Rome in 1865, Matthew Arnold wrote to his mother:—

“Here in Italy one feels that all time spent out of Italy by tourists in France, Germany, Switzerland, etc., is—human life being so short—time mispent. Greece and parts of the East are the only other places to go to.”

Thousands, from Goethe to *Mr. Foker*, must have felt the same about Italy. But Matthew Arnold discovered twenty years later that the West, as well as the East, was worth a visit. His letters from America are naturally more interesting to English than to American readers. One to his younger daughter, now Mrs. Wodehouse, gives a graphic account of the way in which his time was spent. It was written from the Union Club, Chicago, January 21, 1884:—

“We got here late last night. We are staying with a great bookseller, who is also a general and is always called General McClurg. He really was made a general in the Civil War, being a brisk and prominent man, but it is odd to address a bookseller as *General*. We arrived at the station at eight in the evening, and



drove to his house. After a hasty dinner he hurried me off to a reception at the Literary Club, explaining to me on the way that I should have to make a speech. This was the programme. The hundred members of the club were gathered together when we arrived. The president received me, and then the whole club filed out to supper, I standing by the president and being presented to each member and shaking hands with him as he passed me. The supper-table was splendidly decorated with flowers. I was put in a great chair by the president, and, having just dined, had to go through the whole course from oysters to ice, with plenty of champagne. . . . We have had a week of good houses (I consider myself now as an actor, for my managers take me about with theatrical tickets, at reduced rates, over the railways, and the tickets have *Matthew Arnold troupe* printed on them)."

Mr. Arnold gave the American people of his best. He told Mr. Russell that he would rather be remembered by the lectures he delivered in the United States than by any other of his compositions in prose. He did not altogether like lecturing. He had not been accustomed to addressing large audiences, and he had a good deal of trouble with the management of his voice. But the kindness of his reception was such that, as his letters show, he thoroughly enjoyed himself.

Mr. Russell, in his Prefatory Note to these volumes, expresses the opinion that Matthew Arnold's theology, "once the subject of some just criticism, seems now a matter of comparatively little moment; for indeed his nature was essentially religious." Mr. Russell's Note, as he modestly calls it, is so good that one hesitates to find fault with anything it contains. But this sentence introduces so many controversial questions, and bears so distinctly upon a most significant part of Mr. Arnold's first work, that it cannot be passed over in silence. I respectfully demur to the logic. That Mr. Arnold's nature was essentially religious his life and writings alike prove. But does it follow that because his nature was essentially religious his theology should be a matter of comparatively little moment? That is rather a cynical view of the relation between theology and religion. An irreligious man could never have written "St. Paul and Protestantism," or "Literature and Dogma," or "God and the Bible." Matthew Arnold's theology was not original. It was the theology of Ewald and of Renan, men of great power and learning, who must be refuted by argument and not dismissed with an epithet. By his adroit use of the adjective "just" Mr. Russell disposes of three volumes in one syllable. It seems, however, probable that by Mr. Arnold's theology is meant, not his opinions, but his methods; not his theology proper, but his theological style. A wider issue could hardly be raised. We have all in our youth composed more or less tedious and unprofitable essays upon the

thesis that ridicule is (or is not) a test of truth. For my part I do not propose to repeat my offence. But it so happens that in one of these very letters Mr. Arnold endeavors to show, with obvious sincerity, that the criticism upon his theological manner was not "just." The passage occurs in a letter to his sister, Miss Arnold. He belonged to a very orthodox family, and in religious matters his foes were those of his own household. In 1874 he writes:—

"There is a levity which is altogether evil ; but to treat miracles and the common anthropomorphic ideas of God as what one may lose and yet keep one's hope, courage, and joy, as what are not really matters of life and death in the keeping or losing of them, this is desirable and necessary, if one holds, as I do, that the common anthropomorphic ideas of God and the reliance on miracles must and will inevitably pass away. This I say not to pain you, but to make my position clear to you."

Nobody who reads that passage can doubt that the writer meant every word he wrote, and the irresistible inference is that in all his theological works—if indeed they are to be so designated—he intended to free religion from what he considered injurious to it. The expression which of all that he wrote gave the deepest offence, and which need not be repeated, he withdrew on finding that it had inflicted especial pain upon the distinguished philanthropist who was associated with it. Even in this letter to his sister Mr. Arnold could not refrain from one retaliatory blow at his accusers. "The religious world which complains of me," he says, "would not read me if I treated my subject as they say it ought to be treated." When Samuel Rogers was reproached for saying disagreeable things, he replied: "I have a very low voice, and if I did not say disagreeable things nobody would hear what I said." Some of Mr. Arnold's critics must have been acquainted with Pascal. The profundity of Pascal's genius was only equalled by the fervor of his piety. Yet in his "Provincial Letters," which deal entirely with theological subjects, he exhausts the resources of wit and irony in making the doctrines of the Jesuits ridiculous. Mr. Russell may reply that the doctrines of the Jesuits are false, while the opinions of "the Bishops of Winchester and Gloucester" are true. But that is hardly the point.

Many years before Mr. Arnold himself took up religious subjects he fell in with Greg's "Creed of Christendom," and thus wrote of it to his mother in 1863:—

"Greg's mistake lies in representing to his imagination the existence of a great body of people excluded from the consolations of the Bible by the popular



Protestant doctrine of verbal inspiration. That is stuff. The mass of people take from the Bible what suits them, and quietly leave on one side all that does not. He, like so many other people, does not apprehend the vital distinction between religion and criticism."

Those were just the people whom Mr. Arnold's treatment of the Bible especially irritated. They were conventional without being serious. He was serious without being conventional. They took his humor for flippancy because their own flippancy was devoid of humor. The essential connection of humor and reverence can be missed by no student of literature and of life. No one could be more nobly serious than Mr. Arnold, as in his poetry, which is the best and the most enduring part of him. But there are delusions, absurd as well as pernicious, for which laughter is the proper cure. When Voltaire exposed religious persecution to the ridicule and contempt of civilized mankind, he did a real service to religion as well as to humanity. I remember a preacher before the University of Oxford exhorting us to "hold fast to the integrity of our anthropomorphism." I cannot help thinking that a dose of Matthew Arnold would have been good alike for him and for his congregation.

Not that Mr. Arnold was without prejudices. Far from it. He did not like Nonconformists. Referring to James Montgomery, the Moravian hymn-writer, he says: "Of all dull, stagnant, unedifying *entourages*, that of middle-class Dissent, which environed Montgomery, seems to me the stupidest." In his hatred of Dissent and of the middle class Mr. Arnold was at least impartial. For while on the one hand he was a clergyman's son, he certainly belonged to the middle class. He was too fond of classification. He should have remembered his own excellent saying that in England there is no such sharp division between classes as exists in some Continental countries. The middle-class Dissenter does not divide his time between sanding his sugar and saying his prayers. Nor do "aristocrats" all eat off gold plate, fare sumptuously every day, and entertain reasonable doubts of their own paternity. The House of Lords is like a dull and empty House of Commons. The working-men in the House of Commons are much the same as the rest, except that, if anything, they have rather better manners. It is true that when Mr. Arnold thus wrote of Dissent, the Dissenters were excluded from the Universities, or at all events from posts of honor and emolument therein. But Dr. Martineau is a more learned man and a more subtle thinker than Mr. Arnold.

Matthew Arnold never for a moment forgot that he was his father's

son. In 1855, when he was thirty-two, his mother found and sent him a letter of his father's. He acknowledged it in the following terms:—

“I ought before this to have thanked you for sending the letter, which is ennobling and refreshing, as everything which proceeds from him always is, besides the pathetic interest of the circumstances of its writing and finding. I think he was thirty-five when that letter was written; and how he had forecast and revolved, even then, the serious interests and welfare of his children—at a time when, to many men, their children are still little more than playthings! He might well hope to bring up children, when he made that bringing-up so distinctly his thought beforehand; and we who treat the matter so carelessly and lazily—we can hardly expect ours to do more than *grow up* at hazard, not be *brought up* at all. But this is just what makes him great—that he was not only a good man saving his own soul by righteousness, but that he carried so many others with him in his hand and saved them, if they would let him, along with himself.”

Dr. Arnold was cut off in the prime of life, leaving his “History of Rome” a fragment, and his work at Rugby incomplete. The true presentment of him is given by Dean Stanley rather than by Judge Hughes. His system of school management he introduced from Winchester, adding only the sermon to the cane. His ideas of political philosophy were much more interesting and remarkable. Like his son, he was considered a heretic by the Scribes and Pharisees of his day. Dr. Stanley, who ought to know, says he was a Broad Churchman. But he held the theory that Church and State were two aspects of the same thing: that the Church was the State on its ecclesiastical side, and that the State was the Church on its political side. Nonconformists were erring brethren, who really belonged to the Church, although they chose to reject its ministrations. But those who were not Christians were outside the State as well as the Church, and, though entitled to protection because they paid taxes, had no right to sit in Parliament, or even to vote. While Matthew Arnold travelled a long way beyond his father's theological ceremonies, and was certainly not opposed to the emancipation of the Jews, he inherited and adopted Dr. Arnold's invincible faith in truth, righteousness, and innocence. No line of his poetry suggests anything but what is lovely and of good report. No act of his life could have been condemned by the puritan rigor of his father. From his father also he derived much of his inbred taste and literary sense. Dr. Arnold's style is always lucid, dignified, and impressive. His mind was steeped in that standard and touchstone of perfection, the literature of Athens. Plato and Thucydides were the favorites of the father; Homer and Sophocles of the son. Greece is justified of her children.

HERBERT WOODFIELD PAUL.



## REMINISCENCES OF AN EDITOR.

I HAVE been in newspaper work for about thirty years. I have held places of various grades of responsibility on daily journals in New York, Philadelphia, Washington, and Boston. I have been reporter, correspondent, managing editor. I have assisted the sporting editor, taken assignments from the dramatic critic, and risen to the altitude of "writing brevier." To say that I have been in and of nearly a generation of American newspaper life would be less than the truth, for I agree with a philosophic fellow-worker who fixed the term of a generation of newspaper men at thirteen years. They do come and go with wonderful rapidity, and some of us who are already in the third cycle of change feel like apologizing either for our perverse inability to die, or for our incapacity to find some more profitable sphere of effort. I felt this way the other day, when (in my hearing) a successful physician, who began life as a reporter, spoke very scornfully of the newspaper man who had not sense enough to discover that the talents needed to earn him a bare living in "journalism" would bring him substantial rewards in any other business or profession. I suppose it must have been some such idea that was at the root of Horace Greeley's fixed objection to paying any man a salary of more than twenty-five dollars a week; it being his opinion that if an employee of a newspaper could earn more than that he ought to strike out for himself. Considering the number of second- and third-rate newspaper men who have made first-class reputations in politics, have adorned Presidential cabinets, and made their mark generally in the public life of the country, there does seem to be something wrong with the old hands at the bellows who can find nothing better to do.

I am not a panegyrist of the past at the expense of the present in newspaper-making or anything else, but the fact cannot well be ignored that on the daily press of 1895 the qualities that are acquired by training and experience count for less than they did even twenty years ago. A mature and reasonably accurate knowledge of public men and affairs has not ceased to be useful in newspaper offices, but it has ceased—even when accompanied by a talent for vigorous writing—to

be the most lasting kind of journalistic capital. That is significant of other things besides the change that has come over the spirit of the press, for, in truth, the conductors of newspapers have merely changed the character of their wares to suit their public. A man may aspire to the highest position that a newspaper offers in these days without knowing anything about the principles contended for by John C. Calhoun, and without being ashamed of his ignorance concerning the division of parties at the Presidential election of 1844. The few who want to know anything about Nullification or Abolition turn to books, not to newspapers. Such words stand for controversies whose fires are spent at last, and for movements whose work is done. But none of the newer controversies has had the power to stir men's souls like these; and, since 1877, nobody save some casual crank has dared to interject into public discussion an issue involving the tremendous possibility of civil war. If newspapers do less to mould public opinion than they used to do, it is probably because the political questions of our day are such that most people feel capable of judging their merits for themselves.

At a dinner of the New York Press Club, some fifteen years ago, I listened to the grandiloquent statement that there is no newspaper in the country which is deliberately written down to the moral and intellectual level of the lowest class of its actual or possible purchasers. There are a number of good people who think that here in New York at least we have changed all that. I must be permitted to doubt the existence of any radical change in this respect: if the statement was true in 1880, it is true to-day. But I confess to a rooted scepticism about the sense of moral responsibility that goes to the making of newspapers. I have known of quixotic sacrifices being made in newspaper management for what is called "principle," but in my own experience the only uniform rule of conduct for an editor was to avoid libellous matter and keep the standard of decency at about the level presumed to be that demanded by the average reader. It does seem as if the average man—and woman, too—can stand more in the way of salacious reporting than they used to do. The erotic problems explored in literature, and spread out at large with extreme frankness in widely-circulated novels, indicate a breaking-down of the moral censorship to which newspapers had to conform a quarter of a century ago. The one coherent theory of newspaper management is to make the kind of sheet that sells best. Now that the momentous issues which shook and nearly shattered the younger Republic are out of the way, and the issues that



may shake it again have not yet taken hold on the minds of the multitude, the great editor is the man who can cater most successfully to the desire of the many-headed public to be startled, excited, or amused by his manner of presenting the daily happenings of a world that can always produce a fair average of notable phases of wickedness and folly.

Most of the great editors who left their mark on the last generation were able and powerful pamphleteers: in some cases very little more. There are interesting survivals of this type with us yet; but the successful editors who are the characteristic product of our time are merely capable police reporters with a larger field. This species has been evolved in harmony with the familiar law of correspondence between the hour and the man. With it has also come what is to the old stagers in the business the most peculiar of contemporary newspaper phenomena—the dictatorial attitude of the publication office. That the new editor could be but half a success without a resourceful publisher, needs but a little reflection to make plain. I think we stood at the dividing of the ways some thirteen years ago. About that time the New York newspaper that could boast most securely of its circulation was the one to whose contents the great art of condensation was most vigorously and intelligently applied. It was accepted as the model of a daily journal for busy men. It dictated its own terms to the advertiser, the volume of whose announcements it kept in strict subjection to the demands of its reading-space, and with whose support indeed it was one of its boasts that it could easily dispense, making a clear and sufficient profit on circulation alone. It seemed for a while that this was to become the dominating type of the successful American newspaper. But just then there came to New York a very clever man who had made up his mind to create a successful newspaper on totally different lines. The kind of matter that was daily served up under his direction was contemptuously designated in the newspaper world as “swash,” “flapdoodle,” and other things of like import, and a very brief career was prophesied for this alleged libel on metropolitan intelligence. But it shortly appeared that the thing had “come to stay.” From the very first, almost, the experiment was conducted amid what somebody called a perfect chaos of success, and on it were laid with amazing rapidity the foundations of a fortune.

When newspaper men began to ask themselves why a brilliant success should have been achieved in the teeth of all their conceptions of what a newspaper ought to be, several explanations were forthcoming. The most obvious was that we had all been overrating the intelligence

of our public,—writing over their heads, so to speak,—and that this man had merely profited by a fact known aforetime to philosophers and quack-medicine vendors, that people are mostly fools. Then there were the pictures,—very bad pictures it is true,—but still affording the kind of aid to rudimentary intelligence that suggested to Richard Henry Stoddard the idea that the new journalism should be called the illustrated-alphabet style. To convey to the infant mind the significance of the symbol called “A,” it is usual to say that “A was an Archer who shot at a frog,” and to remove all doubt about the identity of the parties to this transaction there is presented a picture of the archer and another of the frog. But New York had known sensationalism—even vapid sensationalism—in its newspapers before, and remarkable outbreaks of pictorial art had from time to time been seen on the face of the established sheets that were most scornful of the new departure. The peculiarity of this proved to be that it was no mere passing ebullition of extravagance, more or less consciously feigned to attract notice and to promote circulation. It was a deliberately chosen and consistently pursued method of making a newspaper interesting and readable, and greater even than its success with the public has been its success in compelling the imitation of those who most disliked and despised it. If the accepted explanation of this success be true, if it were merely a demonstration of the fact that the great public of the East Side had for the first time been supplied with a newspaper on a level with their intelligence, one wonders why journals in New York and elsewhere, appealing to quite a different class of readers, should be carried away by its influence. If the cynics are right in claiming that there is not a great difference between the moral and intellectual elevation of Murray Hill and that of Avenue B, the phenomenon becomes less puzzling.

It will hardly be denied that the success of the new method of newspaper-making was greatly aided by a conspicuous political blunder opportunely made by one great daily journal and an equally notable business blunder made by another. Knowing something of the personal reasons that actuated the first, I am often tempted to wonder whether the ideal type of a condensed newspaper might have survived, vigorous and alert, to dispute the suffrages of the people with the many-sheeted and diffuse media of small-beer chronicles, if a great public man had not forgotten to send a great editor a promised invitation to dinner. From the earliest emergence of the great man, the two had been mutually antipathetic, and slights and wrongs, real or fancied,



had widened the breach. But a common friend, a man of tact and resource, had succeeded in extorting from the editor a promise to go to that dinner, which, alas! owing to the unforgivable preoccupation of the great man with what he mistakenly imagined to be great affairs, was never eaten. Hence, not as a matter of logical sequence, but of mere human "cussedness," the great editor plunged his paper in the mire of a paltry and despicable "ism" when it should have been in the front of one of the great political contests of our history. The new man was there, and had his reward, though it happens that he does not think so, being impressed with the idea that he was the controlling force in the outcome of the struggle, and being correspondingly chagrined by the failure of its chief beneficiary to recognize that fact. The new man has, however, been content to take it out in nagging, chiefly in "off years," when nobody minded it. The specialty of the other being in the deadlier art of stabbing, a more serious situation was created, and newspaper condensation was allowed to become a lost art because a great editor, a ripe scholar, and a gentleman of unimpeachably fine taste thought he could combine the luxury of "getting even" with that of making a popular and profitable newspaper.

The connection of ideas is perhaps not quite obvious, so that it should be explained that it is frequently impossible for an editor to use his paper for the satisfaction of personal grudges and hold his readers at the same time. This happened to be a case in point, and the new style of newspaper got so good a start that its contemporaries fell with one accord to imitating it. From all of which it may be conjectured that the disposition to "get even" with adversaries is one of the most dangerous failings of an editor. There was a time when newspaper men in New York and Washington contributed not a little to public entertainment by the savage way in which they pitched into each other. That doughty combatant, James Watson Webb, was grand master in this kind of strife. Back in the 'thirties, the liability to be challenged tempered, but did not restrain, the virulence of newspaper abuse, and it flourished unchecked in the early days of the New York "Herald," when the entire press of the city combined to put down this daring and successful aspirant for public favor. In Hudson's "History of Journalism in the United States" may be found a collection of the choice epithets hurled at the elder Bennett in 1840 by Park Benjamin, in the "Signal"; by Judge Noah in the "Evening Star"; and by James Watson Webb in the "Courier and Enquirer." These have not been surpassed before or since. Beside them, Greeley's "little villain"

characterization of Raymond in 1853 and after, sounds tame. The last eminent professor of the cut-and-thrust method of dealing with his brethren of the press was Jennings of the "Times." He found, I think, a genuine delight in it, and one of the pastimes of the New York editors of twenty-five years ago was to goad this redoubtable swash-buckler into paragraphic fury. He gave, as a rule, as good as he got. But it may be doubted whether his animadversions on the table manners and the condition of the finger-nails of the editor of an evening contemporary had precisely the effect intended. The victim was not sensitive to that kind of criticism, and it made discriminating readers grieve. There was another editor, however, who could always be stirred up by a reference to a rejected application of his for public office, and still another who did not like repeated allusions to his weakness for borrowing and not returning the wearing-apparel and other personal effects of his friends. In justice to the assailant it must be said that he became the target of attack mainly because he had undertaken the work of reforming the city government of New York, an enterprise which did not then command the general newspaper approval which it does now. The people who were then robbing the municipal treasury had "squared" the newspapers pretty successfully. They dispensed a corruption fund of over a million dollars in payments for city and county advertising, and report had it that the city pay-rolls yielded monthly salaries for some of the managing editors and other newspaper men presumed to be worth buying. It was but natural that the "Times" editor, when he began his assault on the men who governed New York in 1870, stirred up a veritable hornets' nest.

I imagine that the brilliant success of those attacks on the Tweed Ring has had something to do with the newspaper tendency which has developed so strongly in the last twenty-five years,—that, namely, of finding something to expose. I do not know of any success quite so legitimate in this line as that of the "Times." It required more courage than most of the many newspaper efforts to lay bare corruption or redress wrong that have succeeded it. The actuating motives of that paper's crusade against the Ring rule of 1870-71, I take to have been complex. There was, I believe, for one thing, a large bill for city advertising that stood unpaid, and there was, of course, the effort to make an impression and get the paper out of the somewhat commonplace rut into which it had been allowed to settle. But the risk was tremendous. The Tweed *régime* was the result of a general consensus of opinion that it was better to put the conduct of city affairs



into the hands of a few men than to leave the responsibility for misgovernment among supervisors, aldermen, and members of the legislature. Nobody believed in the honesty of the "boss," but it was assumed by men who ought to have known better that he had already got enough, and that he might be trusted to embrace the chance to make a record for himself. In any case, the Democratic factions that had made war on him were headed by men not more reputable, and presumably more hungry. So the consolidation of power was effected,—with some audible protest it is true, but without much public dissatisfaction. The result was a despotism more nearly complete and more absolutely unscrupulous than anything known in municipal history. The "Ring" owned judges, and the prosecuting officers were its creatures. A newspaper pitting itself against such a combination risked more than the odium of failure; it put at hazard all it was worth. The timidity of capital played a great part in giving Tweed a secure hold on the city treasury. The Astor-Taylor-Roberts report on the "correctness" of Comptroller Connolly's accounts was a sample of the services which the rich men of New York rendered to the city at one of the most critical periods of its history. I do not know when the "Times" came into possession of the figures from Connolly's books copied by the retainers of ex-Sheriff O'Brien—a man who had also the grievance of an unpaid claim; but I do know that some of them at least were hawked about the newspaper offices and were rejected as familiar stuff concerning the frauds of the old Board of Supervisors. They did the business for the Ring, and made a most effective climax for the nine or ten months of incessant attack that had preceded them. But I doubt if they would have had their full effect save for the uphill fight that went before, for whose courage and persistency it has never appeared to me that the proprietors of the "Times," who took the real risk, received all the credit they deserved.

This was a signal evidence of what a newspaper, almost unaided, could accomplish in virtue of its command of publicity, and I take it that all the fine things that are said about the power of a free press resolve themselves into this simple advantage. You may placard every dead wall in New York with a startling announcement, and get less effect from it than by its publication in a widely-circulated newspaper. It may be that editors err in flattering themselves that publication in the daily journal has also a moral effect vastly superior to that of publication by placard. There is, however, such a thing as character in the influence of a newspaper, though, whether it be that there is less

character or less public belief in its existence than there used to be, it counts for surprisingly little in these days. A Chicago man once said to me, after the election of a very objectionable candidate for public office in that city in spite of the almost united opposition of the press: "You newspaper people make a great mistake in supposing that the public take you at your own valuation. I know a good deal about the way you conduct your business, and I think it is done on a pretty low level. You cannot get me or any other business man to believe in the high moral sentiments of your editorial columns while they are so foreign to the practice of your counting-room." Everybody is not so well informed, and the methods of Chicago may be exceptional; but nobody seems to take the newspapers quite so seriously as they take themselves. It was not thus in the days when Greeley made the "Tribune" a political gospel for thousands of sincere, simple-minded folk in these United States; but the many-sided and feverishly enterprising journalism of our time has this among other drawbacks,—that its honesty is often doubted, and its disinterestedness is always in question.

This is no doubt due in part to the general public knowledge of the existence of that most objectionable practice of inserting advertisements disguised as news. There are newspapers that keep a special bureau of their advertising department devoted to "write-ups," and who are not above using the club of threatened attack to compel the payment of so much per column for complimentary reading-matter. Between this depth of degradation and the ordinary practice of reputable newspapers there is, of course, a wide interval. But few of them are as strict as they once were about making a clear distinction between reading-matter and advertising, and there is a class of notices admitted by some of the richest and most powerful of them into their columns that is an outrage on public decency. This sort of thing does not cohere with the "bow-wow" style of moral suasion much affected by writers of "brevier," and some caustic wits find in the contrast one of the most comical features of daily journalism. There are public men who smart under newspaper attack, to whose outraged sense of justice the contrast between newspaper profession and newspaper practice only adds new indignation. It is hardly to be expected that any man should recognize his own likeness as depicted in the columns of an unfriendly newspaper, but some of the victims of journalistic hounding are wont to declare that no such person as they are described to be could possibly exist. There is, in truth, a certain carelessness



about the finer shades of portraiture when it is a question of holding up somebody to public reprobation. From the necessities of their position, men in newspaper offices who do the heavy business of passing judgment on the servants or masters of the people know, as a rule, very little about their individual personality. It is thus that the combination of offensive qualities which passes in a newspaper office for some public character resembles the original as much as *Quilp's* wooden figure-head resembled the gentle *Kit*. But it answers a similar purpose, though it must be said that, unlike the vindictive dwarf, the newspaper man brings very little malice to the screwing of gimlets and the sticking of forks into his effigy. It is, very largely, a perfunctory process, like turning off some suitable reflections for Thanksgiving, or lamenting the decadence of political morals in an article for Washington's Birthday. Of course, the individual whose name the effigy happens to bear does not like it, any more than he would like the playful attention of being burned in the person of a dummy; and a good deal of bad blood is thus engendered between two divisions of the body politic that ought to be better acquainted with each other.

I cannot imagine a man looking back over a lifetime spent in the work of newspaper offices with any sentiment more cheerful than that of a humorous sadness. Whatever may have been the measure of his success, he must recall the ideals with which he began his career with a sense of wonder as to whether it was really he who cherished them. Perhaps the same thing may be said of most other kinds of human careers, but I know of none in which there is so violent a contrast between the professed nobility of aim and the unblushing meanness of method. It is the fashion to call journalism a profession, but it is subject to none of the conditions which would entitle it to the name. There are no recognized rules of conduct for its members, and no tribunal to enforce them, if there were. The most despicable of men may, without challenge, call themselves "journalists," no less than the most worthy. There is no more exacting and exhausting work than that which constitutes the daily routine of a newspaper office. It grinds the youth out of a man with great rapidity, and in stealing his physical elasticity robs him also of certain finer impulses that are harder to recover. And yet it has a charm of its own to which the most wearied of its bondsmen never become quite insensible. To a young man fresh from college, possessing the knack of composition and not troubled with literary fastidiousness, it seems the ideal career. As a newspaper man he can become a personage in a wonderfully

short space of time, and can at a bound attain what seems to him the secure independence of \$25 a week. He may be making twice this amount and be known to most of the men about town before his class-mate who went into the law is earning enough to pay his board-bills, or the one who took to medicine has ceased to be a charge on his parents. But as the years roll by he begins to discern the difference between an established reputation and one that has to be made afresh every day. Work, untiring and ceaseless, is the badge of all professions, but the work of the newspaper man at forty-five is not necessarily better paid work than that of the same man at twenty-five. Twenty years of what is called successful devotion to his calling has probably brought him a sense of security in his ability to earn his living, and a consequent indifference to the incessant changes of the little world which bounds his sphere of activity, but beyond that sense of personal independence he has gained but little. Whether or no he be a writer "on space," he must turn out a certain amount of copy or its equivalent for at least fifty weeks in the year, and the fame of what he did last week is as dead as the fame of what he did ten years ago. For failing mental vigor there is no place in a newspaper office; for long service no retiring pension. The man who cannot keep step with the procession is thrust aside or walked over. The law of the survival of the fittest reigns here in all its brutal vigor; but what may be the enduring type of work or worker, to which all the stress and struggle of the men who make the daily press are converging, is beyond the reach of my conjecture.



# The Forum

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## SOME ASPECTS OF CIVILIZATION IN AMERICA.

No one of the tales in which the Greeks were fond of conveying the lessons of experience in an imaginative form is more poetically and truthfully conceived than the story of Cræsus, including the narrative of Solon's interview with him and their discourse together. "The king," says Herodotus, "dismissed him with coldness, thinking it the height of folly that a man should make no account of present good, but bid men wait to see the end. After Solon had gone away, a great judgment from God fell upon Cræsus,—it is likely for deeming himself the happiest of men."

Not even the wealth of Cræsus was more extraordinary and unexampled, or more conducive to self-delusion, than our national prosperity has been during the century which is just coming to its close. History affords no other such splendid spectacle of material growth and well-being. Beginning the century as a small, weak people, we end it one of the greatest and most powerful nations that the earth has known. We began it on one side of a continent, poor and compelled to frugality; we end it, masters of the continent from ocean to ocean, rich and prodigal. Never before have such vast numbers of men enjoyed such wide-spread peace, comfort, and freedom from fear. The mass of men which from the beginning of human life have been depressed and suffering have here risen swiftly, and without disturbance, into equality of opportunity, freedom from arbitrary restraint, consciousness of individual rights and with power to maintain them. And this is the meaning of modern democracy, of which America has

set the first example,—the rapid rise to comfort and to power of masses of men. This is what makes America, in spite of the loss of many of the most precious legacies of the past; in spite of the lack of the beauty, the grace, and of that appeal to the poetic imagination which inhere in some portions of the traditional life of the Old World; in spite of the many evils which accompany the new conditions of society,—this equality of opportunity for all men is what makes America dear to her children. It is the land where the sensitive conscience of the man fortunate in his circumstances may be most at ease in his enjoyment, and where the principle of the brotherhood of man is most widely acknowledged as the rule of social order, though for the most part, as yet, only in its crudest forms, and often, indeed, in mistaken and perverted application to the relations of man with man.

But such political, economical, and social conditions as exist here are especially favorable to the growth of popular delusions in respect to their real significance, while to the nourishing of these delusions both nature and science have alike contributed. The advantage of geographical position, and the stimulus to effort afforded by the open continent with its immeasurable natural resources; the rapid progress of discovery and invention, giving to man immensely increased control of the forces of nature; the opportunity afforded by the novel conditions of life for the instant and general application of the new knowledge to the promotion of his material well-being,—have all coincided to quicken his intelligence and his energy; but they have also tended to exaggerate his sense of mastery over the world and fate. The American has become apt to ascribe to his own capacity and to his institutions blessings which are in large measure the free gift of nature or the consequences of the increase of knowledge. He has become, not merely an optimist, but to a great degree a fatalist.

While this tendency to exaggerated self-confidence has its source partially in the general addition to the resources and powers of man through the increase of knowledge, it may seem like a paradox to say that its force has been confirmed by the increasing proportions of popular ignorance. But the ignorant lack the sense of measure and proportion, and are prone to unwarranted self-satisfaction. The enormous growth in our population having been largely due to the immigration of the lower and most ignorant people of the Old World, the century closes not only with a numerically greater, but also a proportionately larger part of our community in a state of ignorance than that with which it began. The necessity of popular education for the



maintenance of free institutions has been, indeed, a fundamental doctrine with us, and an article of the popular creed. But, as is so often the case, the existence of the theoretic article of faith affords no evidence of its effectiveness as a rule of life. And in spite of constant and serious effort to promote popular education, it is a simple delusion that the system of free schools established throughout the United States, and in which confidence is reposed as the main bulwark of the Republic, is sufficient to stem the flood of ignorance, or to secure such education of the people as shall make them capable of intelligent self-government. The theory is, that every child in America should have such schooling as will make him capable of using the opportunities for well-being which life affords, and of performing the duties of a citizen. The fact is that large numbers of children grow up with little or no schooling, and that even where the schools are most efficient and the attendance upon them most general, they are ineffectual instruments for providing the required education. It is a fallacy to suppose that any schools, however good they may be, can educate. Their work is to give instruction, and, as Bishop Butler said long ago in a memorable phrase, "Instruction is the least part of education." The education which shapes a child for his duties as a man and a citizen is mainly that which he gains from the influences of his home and of the community to which he belongs. If these be good, the instruction which the school may give may confirm them and add to them; but if they are bad, the school can do little to counteract them. The school may enforce some mental discipline, may cultivate some intellectual tastes, may instruct in the means for obtaining a livelihood. But in the great majority of the free schools in the United States little is done to train the judgment, to quicken the imagination, to refine and elevate the moral intelligence of the pupils. The work of the school has no direct tendency to prepare the child to become a good and intelligent citizen. In spite of our free-school system, ignorance has increased and is increasing among us.

This truth is in part obscured by the fact that the liberal opportunities and the political and social institutions of the country have an immense and rapid effect in raising the ignorant, whether of foreign or native birth, in the scale of material civilization. But the character ingrained by a long inheritance of ignorance and semi-barbarism is seldom to be essentially modified in the course of a single generation. The foreign boss of Tammany Hall, who rules the city of New York, who has assumed the garb of civilization and sits at rich men's feasts,

is still a semi-barbarian. The free school has not educated him, nor the hordes of his tribal followers. Yet while he and his fellows sell justice, commit daily barratry, practise blackmail, and make a scoff and byword of law, the self-complacent American looks on and says, with an optimism which he flatters himself is the spirit of genuine patriotism: "Oh, it will all come out right. Free education is the safeguard of the Republic."

It is not only the ignorance of the foreign immigrant which is a danger to the commonwealth, but that also of the native-born who are on the outskirts or outside the pale of civilization. The settling of the vast new territory of the United States during the past century has reduced a large section of the most vigorous part of the people to the condition of pioneers and adventurers, who have shared in small measure the advantages of civilization and hardly felt its restraints. Such virtues as their condition may develop are not the civic virtues. Of mere necessity they become ignorant, rude, careless of social obligations, lawless in disposition, and of dull moral sense. They react upon the civilization which advances upon the border line, and imprint upon it something of their own characteristics. Its standards are lowered.

And thus we are brought face to face with the grave problem which the next century is to solve,—whether our civilization can maintain itself, and make advance, against the pressure of ignorant and barbaric multitudes; whether the civilized part of the community is eventually to master the barbaric, or whether it is to be overcome in the struggle. The question is not whether the mere material advantages of civilization are to be lost,—for they attract the barbarian, and it may be assumed that their attractions are sufficient to secure their permanence,—but whether its moral and intellectual attainments, its refinements, its elevations of character, its best results in life and in expression,—whether these are safe.

The signs are dubious. No sure inferences can be drawn from the evidence of material prosperity, for, though this may afford assurance of industry, energy, and a certain (not the highest) grade of intelligence, it gives little in respect to the superior elements of civilization. A better ground for inference is to be found in the evidence afforded by the expression of national character in the manners of the people,—evidence the clearer and stronger for its being the direct, yet in large measure the unconscious, revelation of the moral disposition. The average American is unquestionably good natured; the easy conditions of life tend to promote his good humor and self-satisfaction; he is gener-



ally kind-hearted, and not indisposed to render service to others when it can be done without much personal trouble. A child, a woman, a helpless person, if making an immediate appeal for aid, or requiring protection or special care, is usually treated with consideration and kindness. But such manners as have their root in genuine unselfishness; in principles of conduct strong enough to control temper and to resist the wear and tear of familiar fretting circumstance; in the desire to be pleasant,—such manners as are considerate of minor needs, and give sweetness, elegance, and grace to life, can hardly be said to be characteristic of the American people. Genuine courtesy and refinement are rare in almost all parts of the world: they are certainly rare in America. The deficiency does not exist in the lower classes alone. It is conspicuous among those favored by fortune. Where in any other of what are called the great centres of civilization could one see a grosser exhibition of boorishness than was recently displayed by the well-to-do crowds at the Horse Show in New York, in their behavior toward the young Duke and Duchess of Marlborough?—women and men crowding and hustling to get a place from which to stare at the newly-married pair, vying with each other in the shameless manifestation of the want of self-respect, as well as of decent regard not merely to conventional but to actual propriety.

But a more serious, because a more widespread and permanent exhibition of the lack of due regard for manners, is the neglect—common to all classes of society—of the proper domestic training of children. The frequent and notorious self-sufficiency and impertinence of the American child betray the indifference of parents to the essential and most commonplace considerations of domestic discipline and parental responsibility. The spirit of unchecked independence and of selfish wilfulness permitted in childhood develops into youthful lawlessness and resistance to restraint. The hoodlum of the street corner and the rough loafer of the village find their mates among the students of our colleges. The difference between them is only one of circumstance and of degree. The manners and morals displayed in intercollegiate contests in athletic sports in all parts of the country fall little short of a national disgrace, for they result not only from the character of the contestants, but from that of the community at large from which they are drawn, and which encourages the barbaric instincts of youth by its indifference to fair play, and by the excess of its hysteric applause of victory won by any means, fair or foul. The intercollegiate game has become an evil not only in college life, but in the life of the nation

itself; for there is nothing of higher import in that life than the cherishing of the sense of honor and of the sanctity of honesty in all competitions. The wholesome and honorable practice of athletic sports is one of the most important elements in the education of youth. The practice of them, not for the sake of their true ends, the development of manly and vigorous health, but for the sake of unhealthy excitement, and of getting the advantage of opponents by concealment, fraud, or violence if it cannot be won by legitimate means, is simply a source of moral corruption. Few men of this country have paid more attention to this matter than Mr. Caspar W. Whitney, or have a better acquaintance with sport as practised in England as well as in America. His testimony runs no risk of being called in question as that of an inexperienced or unsympathetic witness, and this is what he says in "Harper's Weekly" for November 23, 1895, after giving an account of the conditions which at present prevail in our chief sport:—

"When I consider the condition of affairs this moment over the whole country, in football alone, I am compelled to acknowledge that it is a criticism of the severest kind on the morality of the young men of America; and when the readers of this department see these paragraphs and realize how inadequately such a wretched state of affairs can be treated in a single page of the "Weekly," that this is but a drop in the hogshead of what is going on, they will be not only astounded but shocked to think that their own countrymen have so little sense of honor and justice and commonplace every-day integrity that they cannot even play their games without cheating in secret or with brazen-faced openness. It is a calamity, and the practice is so widespread that it seems almost incurable."

These evils in the field of sport are all the more dangerous because of the profit which the newspaper press finds in fostering the unhealthy popular excitement concerning these public games. The excessive space devoted to highly colored and extravagant reports of them, totally out of proportion to their real importance, is one of the marked indications of the prevalence of conditions unfavorable to civilization; but it is by no means the only one afforded by the character of the common American newspapers. As a mirror of the community which they address, the image which they afford of it is not pleasing, nor fitted to encourage confidence in its disposition. But the newspaper is not a mere mirror; it does much—nothing does more—to shape the image which it reflects; and the enormous power that it exercises in this respect invests its editors with a responsibility which they may refuse to acknowledge, but which they cannot evade. Notable examples of the recognition of editorial responsibility, and of well-directed



effort to make the newspaper an agency for the promotion of civilization, are afforded by the conduct of a few journals in different parts of the country,—such, for instance, as the New York “Evening Post” and the Springfield “Republican”; but, of the great multitude of the papers in the United States, how many are so conducted as to exert an influence for good? If the majority of them do little harm because of the intellectual feebleness of their editors, there are some among the so-called leading newspapers of which the influence is wholly pernicious because of the perverted intellectual ability with which they are conducted. There has been, for example, no lack of a kind of talent in the conduct of a notorious journal in the city of New York, which has sought and won a discreditable success by pandering to the baser tastes and dispositions of the community. The corrupting influence of its cynical indifference to public morality, to the obligations of truth, and the restraints of honor, has not been confined to its own readers. Its example has been followed throughout the country by many an editor seeking for notoriety and profit along similar shameless paths.

The number of local journals in all parts of the land is often cited as evidence of the wide diffusion of education and intelligence among our people. But the character of the mass of them is not such as to justify this inference. They doubtless indicate a higher level of material comfort than that enjoyed by any equal body of people elsewhere, but, broadly regarded, they afford an image of a people with few mental interests, of uncultivated tastes, of shallow disposition, of dull lives, and devoid of intellectual or moral education of a high order. They exhibit a people with a strong sense of personal interests, and not deficient in energy and enterprise in the conduct of personal affairs, but largely destitute of the sense of public duty, and of the responsibilities attaching to citizenship in a self-governing commonwealth; a people not likely to be shocked by coarse means adopted to promote personal or party success, and preferring to commit public interests to the charge of men of their own stamp rather than to such as, by superior character, intelligence, and education, are more competent to deal with them.

There is nothing surprising in this; but the results of such conditions are not matters of exultation, nor encouraging of confidence in the victory of civilization. The open and abundant bribery of voters in New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island is matched by the “floaters” and “blocks of five” in the West, by the corruption and intimidation of voters and the false returns of the polls in the South. The spectacle of the control of public affairs in New York passing

from the hands of a man like Governor Hill to another like Platt, and of Pennsylvania stowed in the pocket of a man like Quay,—all three of them men of a low order of ability and without a single trait that would justify popular regard; not statesmen or orators, not educated men or gentlemen: this spectacle is but the most conspicuous among a thousand of similar order in other States and upon a more limited stage.

Nor is it surprising that, as the proportion of intelligent and educated voters has decreased in comparison with their whole number, a general deterioration has taken place in the character of their chosen Representatives. The members of Congress—alike in the Senate and in the House—very fairly represent the body of their constituents. It is not so much a lack of native talent and individual capacity which is observable in Congress to-day, as it is a lack of the trained intelligence requisite for dealing with complex public interests, and still more of the moral character which is superior to motives of mean personal ambition and partisan advantage. A Senate in which a large proportion of the members owe their places to wealth used directly or indirectly to obtain them, without exposing themselves to general reprobation or the scorn of their fellows, is not likely to be the seat of much upright or enlightened legislation. The delegations in the House of Representatives from New England and New York—that is, from the part of the country supposed to be most civilized—do not raise high expectations concerning those from States which possess fewer advantages of culture and fewer traditions of statesmanship.

Such exhibitions as we have lately had—as we are now having—of public men of note making deliberate appeal to the most brutal instincts of the populace by advocacy of a policy of national aggression and of war, afford the plainest evidence of the low estimate which these spurious patriots set upon the public intelligence and morality. It needs, however, but little training of the ear to detect the false tone of selfish ambition in their blatant declamations; and the American people would have to be nearer than it is to deserving the contempt in which they hold it before it could be deluded by their demagogic arts. But these political swaggerers, who seek to breed suspicion and ill will between friendly nations, to cultivate the spirit of animosity, and to stimulate evil passions, who disparage the virtue of peace and good will among men, are among the worst of criminals, for they aim their blows at civilization itself.

At the present moment the risk is perhaps small of the adoption of



this infamous policy by either of the great national parties, though we must expect to hear its advocates more loud than ever in the session of Congress which has just opened ; but the fact is not to be overlooked that the promulgation of such doctrine by men in high public station has not merely an effect in debauching the sentiment of the more ignorant and reckless part of the community, but that it also tends and is in part expressly designed to confirm certain evil conditions in our national life which threaten the permanence of peaceful foreign relations. It encourages that spirit of hostility to England which to their shame prevails in a large contingent of both foreign and native voters, and which is far more threatening to the welfare of the United States than it is to that of Great Britain. The idea of war between the two countries is one that no rational man should hold as within the range of possibilities. It would be a national crime for which there could be no excuse. Whatever question may arise between the two nations can never be one for which war can be the right solution. But the discourse of politicians seeking personal or party advantage by jingoism is all the more to be condemned because it fosters that barbaric lust of conquest and dominion which the progress of civilization has done as yet little to extirpate from the hearts of the uninstructed masses of mankind, and which is dangerously promoted by some of the very felicities of our fortune. The rapid and prosperous growth of our great Western States—cut off as they are by mere position from the restraints imposed by neighborhood to other powers ; cut off also from the influences of old tradition and inherited culture—has encouraged among their people a spirit of self-confidence which may easily degenerate into one of arrogance and self-assertion. Materialized in their temper ; with few ideals of an ennobling sort ; little instructed in the lessons of history ; safe from exposure to the direct calamities and physical horrors of war ; with undeveloped imaginations and imperfect sympathies,—they form a community unfortunate and dangerous from the possession of power without a due sense of its corresponding responsibilities ; a community in which the passion for war may easily be excited as the fancied means by which its greatness may be convincingly exhibited, its patriotism displayed, and its ambitions gratified. This is no unreal peril. Some chance spark may fire the prairie. It is a peril indefinitely enhanced by the optimistic indifference of the people at large, and their childish conceptions concerning the greatness and power of the United States as compared with other nations.

This dangerous temper is confirmed by one of the normal results

of such conditions as have prevailed in the greater part of our territory during the past century,—the steady growth of disrespect for rightful authority, whether that of law, of learning, or of experience: nay, even of wisdom herself. The spirit of individual independence is the spirit to which the progress of civilization is mainly due; but, if not controlled by reason, it becomes the parent of anarchy, destructive of free institutions and of social order. In Europe its excess is checked in part by her great armies and navies, in which the principles of discipline, subordination, and obedience are maintained, and also by the existence of a large class of men sufficiently instructed to set a true value upon the principle of authority, rightly understood, as the balance-wheel by which individual independence is regulated. In America we have been living under conditions which have admitted of no check upon this spirit of independence; and the result is seen in every class, in the enfeebled sense of the virtue of obedience and the necessity of discipline, in the unrestraint of expression, and in the readiness to question and to resist the exercise of authority. Even in the most civilized parts of the country the sentiment of the independence of the individual is often misdirected and depraved, while in the vast half-civilized and half-settled regions it becomes the very manifestation of barbarism and of a relapse toward savagery. Mr. Owen Wister, in one of those stories of the rude West, in which, with rare felicity, he depicts conditions of border life which he has observed with penetrating intelligence and sympathetic perception, speaks incidentally of the common antipathy in the West toward the soldiers of the United States. He says:

“The unthinking sons of the sage-brush [in Arizona], ill tolerate a thing which stands for discipline, good order, and obedience; and the man who lets another command him they despise. I can think of no threat of more evil for our democracy, for it is a fine thing diseased and perverted,—namely, independence gone drunk.”

The threat, under another aspect, exists no less in New England than in Arizona.

Now these and other similar conditions hostile to civilization in the United States are not to be puffed out of existence by windy declamation, or by rhetorical assertions of the popular intelligence and virtue. Nor are they to be met in the spirit of irrational confidence in the excellence of our political institutions and in the saving grace of democracy. They are no figments of a desponding pessimism, but they are real dangers undermining the character and threatening the



vitality of our Republic. "The true temper in politics," it has been well said, "is one of confidence and hope"; not of blind confidence, but of confidence based on intelligent resolution, unremitting effort, unwearied patience; not of vague hope, but of hope based on definite purpose and on a reasonable belief in the capacity for improvement among men. The first need is that we clear our minds from illusion, in order that the peril may be distinctly recognized and fairly estimated. To deny or to undervalue the forces ranged against civilization is to increase their power. An intelligent understanding of them is required to direct the effort to subdue them. The appeal to every reflecting and worthy citizen of the United States to do his part in the work of securing the safety and progress of the Republic is direct, is urgent. It is on the minority of the people and on the individual effort of each member of it that the issue depends. What we want is not exceptional service or exceptional ability, but plain virtues and common uprightness. To raise the level of his own intelligence, to keep his moral sense clear and unperverted, to use his influence in maintaining the simple ideals of private and public virtue, is within the power of every right-minded man; and thus only, by the slow processes of self-improvement gradually embodied in public opinion, is the secular fight, on the issue of which the happiness of mankind depends, to be carried on. In the heat of the contest there is no question as to victory. He who "sees life steadily and sees it whole" is neither elated nor depressed. We must fight, each with his best strength. The fight will not be ended with our lives, but all good men are enlisted for the war.

CHARLES ELIOT NORTON.

NOTE:—The foregoing article was written before the issue of President Cleveland's astounding message respecting the Venezuelan boundary dispute. To the forecast in my paper of danger to the Nation from existing conditions of public intelligence and morality, this message, and the popular reception of it, have given lamentable and most unexpected confirmation. The harm done by the defection of the President and of the Secretary of State from the path of good sense and national dignity is irreparable, even though (and this is still uncertain) the worst consequences which might naturally result from it be escaped.

C. E. N.

## OUR MONETARY PROGRAMME.

IN 1862, when we resorted to paper issues, we showed a lamentable confusion between the functions of currency on the one hand, and the means of obtaining revenue on the other ; the standard for prices and the medium of exchange were deranged in the forlorn hope of getting a loan without interest by issuing irredeemable paper. To-day another—although slightly different—confusion of thought exists. In regard to money functions alone we seem to be unable to distinguish between (1) the function of money as a common denominator of values, to which all goods are referred, and in which prices are expressed ; and (2) the function of money as a medium of exchange, the means by which, after goods have been expressed in terms of the common denominator, they are exchanged against each other. Certainly we must carefully note these distinctions in preparing monetary reforms. Before we can correctly indicate remedies for our ailing currency system we must obtain a true diagnosis of the disease.

In 1893 our monetary disturbances centred about the discontinuance of silver coinage and the repeal of the Sherman Act ; to-day our difficulties seem to be connected with the retirement of the greenbacks and the paucity of the gold reserve. Nominally these appear to be different problems ; in reality they are but different external manifestations of the same internal disorder. What this common cause of different troubles is, is, in my judgment, not far to seek. To every candid mind familiar with trade and exchange of goods it must, when once pointed out, seem axiomatic. Certainly every business man must regard as axiomatic the proposition that the essential of all business prosperity is freedom from artificial disturbances of the standard, or common denominator, in which contracts are made and in which all current prices of goods are expressed. It is a fundamental both of monetary principle and of practical experience. The protection of the monetary standard from dishonest or secret manipulation is the commonest homily of history. On the crime, for instance, of debasing the coinage, and thereby altering all contracts, the historians have wasted abundant ink. In short, an alteration of the standard will inevitably



work injury to industrial prosperity ; and, if it be undertaken in ignorance, the authors of it would show themselves unfit for office ; if done designedly, they would prove themselves knaves.

Since recent events—to my mind at least—indicate a failure to distinguish between these two different functions of money, it will be advisable to make perfectly clear the basis for such a distinction. The two things to be kept distinct are : (1) the undisturbed maintenance of the standard, or common denominator, for prices and contracts ; and (2) the means by which goods are exchanged. The stability of the standard is a matter quite distinct from the determination as to how much of this or that kind of money is needed as a medium of exchange. The standard in which prices are expressed should not be confounded with the machinery by which goods (whose relative values are already expressed in the standard money) are exchanged.<sup>1</sup>

A perfect standard of value, as every economist knows, is unattainable. Neither gold nor silver are perfect standards, because price is a relation ; and this relation may be altered either by causes affecting the money side, or by causes affecting the goods side of the comparison. Gold and silver have in fact been used as standards in default of better ones ; silver having been mainly so regarded up to 1850, and gold having been largely so employed since 1850. Prices, with which every man of affairs has to deal, are affected by all the various influences touching not only the goods side, but the money side, of the ratio. Prices, consequently, are modified (1) by an increase or diminution in the supply of money, (2) by an increase or diminution in the demand for the money-material, or (3) by an increase or diminution in the cost of producing the goods exchanged against money. It is evident, then, that there are many natural and unavoidable causes at work on either gold or silver to modify their relation to goods, and thus to affect prices. Changes in prices are sure to arise from the numer-

<sup>1</sup> General Francis A. Walker says money performs the function of a measure of value "in respect to a vast bulk of commodities where it is not called on to become a medium of exchange. . . . It requires the actual use of money, for a longer or shorter space of time, to effect those double exchanges which we call buying and selling ; but the prices resulting from such exchanges may be applied to far greater bodies of wealth without the use of money. For example, a farmer sells a cow to be sent to the city for beef. It is only in the actual sale that money is used ; but he takes the price—the money-value—thus determined, as the means of estimating the value of his herd ; and so does the government in taxing him. . . . The farmer compares his cow with the one he has just sold for money, and, knowing it to be as good a cow, or better, or poorer, fixes her price, in denominations of money, for the purposes of the contemplated exchange."—"Money," p. 64.

ous causes thus set forth, over which legislation can have no control. The business community has enough to do to watch for and guard against changes arising from natural causes affecting the demand and supply of money and the vicissitudes of cost of production. It has not only a right to be saved from legislative artificial changes in the standard; but it will be incensed beyond endurance if such legislation is the result of political intrigue and campaign bargains. It is ready to demand in a very ugly humor that it shall no longer be worried by unnatural legislative changes in the common denominator itself.

But, more than this, gold is not the same kind of article as silver for monetary purposes, and the forces affecting the value of gold apply in a different way to gold from those which apply to silver. Gold is heavier than silver: gold is thirty times as valuable as silver, weight for weight: gold is needed for large denominations of coin; silver for small denominations. Therefore, for monetary uses, gold and silver are not homogeneous; a demand for money in general cannot be satisfied indifferently by either gold or silver, since monetary needs differ among different people. Gold and silver cannot be interchangeable as money, any more than corn and wheat are interchangeable as food: both corn and wheat may serve as food, but corn-meal and flour will never be the same, will never equally please all palates, and will never be in demand interchangeably the one for the other. The difference between gold and silver is still more pronounced. From the simple fact that gold is a metal different from silver, the conditions affecting the demand and supply of gold are different from those affecting the demand and supply of silver. The main supplies of gold come from regions other than those which furnish silver: the largest deposits of gold have been found in California, Australia, South Africa, and parts of the Rocky Mountains; while the largest finds of silver have been in Mexico, South America, and Nevada. From this brief summary of facts it must be evident why a standard of silver must inevitably be wholly different from one of gold. From the point of view of the function of money as a standard, every one must admit that the two are not homogeneous. This can be admitted without entering into the "silver question" here.

The logical consequences of these facts are momentous to our present discussion. If, in this country, gold should happen to have long been the common denominator with which all goods had been habitually compared; and if as a consequence prices and contracts had during this long period been expressed in gold (for this has been true of



gold legally and in fact since 1834, except in the paper period of 1862–1879),—then it follows that any attempt to change from an existing gold standard to one of depreciated paper, or to one of silver, having its own peculiar conditions of value, would have the destructive effect of a monetary earthquake. It would cause an upheaval of all prices and contracts not specifically expressed in gold. After having adapted itself to one metal, the business public must go through the trying process of learning how to adapt itself to a new metallic denominator. Here is the destructive influence of a change. And, as nature abhors a vacuum, the world of trade abhors change. The business community demands conditions in which it can clearly see a short distance ahead. Whatever be the length of time involved in a productive process,—such as between buying the wool and marketing the finished woollen goods, or between buying iron and completing the house or bridge,—men of affairs must be protected against unnecessary changes in the common denominator in which their sales and orders are expressed.

All this exposition seems so very elementary that I shall probably be taken to task for it; but the astounding fact remains that our Solons have for seventeen years (or since 1878) been straining the very timbers of the ship of state in a frantic—and, from a business point of view, an insane—attempt to tamper with the standard. A concerted and continuous effort to render the country uncertain as to the permanence of its standard, actually kept up for seventeen years, and embodied in national legislation, seems like a piece of folly too gross to be true in a modern civilized state; but that is the exact truth of the United States. Since 1878 we have not intermitted the policy, forced on us by selfish private interests, to keep steadily before us the possibility of a change from the gold to the silver standard. Since 1878 it must be recorded that there has never been a period of absolute certainty; there has never been a period when a producer could feel so entirely sure of the standard of payments that he could, without fear or hesitation, make his estimates a few years ahead.

A correct analysis of the situation, therefore, in my judgment, discloses the fact that the cause of all our monetary disturbances is not one connected with a medium of exchange, but one concerning the maintenance of a definite measure, or common denominator, in which prices and contracts are expressed. It is not now a question as to *how much*, but *what kind* of money we shall have. It was the doubt as to what kind of money, or what standard, we were to have, which brought us the panic of 1893. Politicians, manœuvring for party

advantage, have been playing the game of tampering-with-the-standard at Washington, while the crippled industries of the land were burying their dead. How long will the plain people stand patiently by, and pay out of their pockets hundreds of millions of dollars, for the fun of watching a debauch of violated monetary principles?

The story of our standard since the Civil War is one of the most humiliating chapters of our monetary history; and that is saying a great deal. It was on December 31, 1861, that specie payments were suspended, after a long experience on a gold basis,—since about 1834. In 1862 the government made the error, before alluded to, of trying to get a loan without interest by issuing irredeemable paper. The inability to understand that the interest on \$450,000,000 was a small matter compared with the confusion produced in prices and credit by changing the standard from gold to a paper of dubious value (behind which there was not a dollar of reserve) was severely punished by disaster. The greenbacks then issued depreciated even 65 per cent. Without going into the subsequent history of this depreciated standard, it is sufficient to recall that, in 1875, the Resumption Act was passed, under the provisions of which a sufficient gold reserve was collected, and specie payments were resumed January 1, 1879. After a seventeen years' wandering in the wilderness of uncertainty, we returned to the same gold standard which had existed previous to the war. This return was accomplished only after painful sacrifices which convulsed the country; but the result has proved equal to the cost. This resumption was the crown and glory of President Hayes's administration; the Republican party became the upholders of business stability and "sound money"; it was in connection with the resumption measure that President Garfield won his reputation; and in the business community the restoration of the gold standard has been regarded as the very charter of prosperity at home and of credit abroad.

But prosperity and credit have been chilled by every slightest suggestion of doubt as to the maintenance of this standard. Strange to say, with fatuous lack of judgment, the fixity of the standard had not been actually established before operations were started to undermine it. After resumption was attained, its guardians seemed to forget to care for it; and from 1878 to the present day the country has suffered under constant and repeated attempts to change the standard. Knowing the necessity of fixity in the standard for business prosperity, why have we allowed it to be constantly threatened? The first serious



threat to the standard began with the Bland-Allison Act, in February, 1878. It will be remembered that the Bland Bill, as it passed the House, was a free-coinage measure. It is true that the fangs of the bill were drawn by Mr. Allison in the Senate; otherwise, if passed, the standard would have been changed from gold to silver in the twinkling of an eye. But although we were saved by the Senate, the uncertainty produced by the agitation remained. The ill results have been far greater than is generally supposed. If a free-silver measure—meaning a complete transition to the silver standard—could pass one House, why may it not pass both Houses in the future? The Senate to-day would not save us from free silver, our whole reliance being on the lower House and on the Executive. This uneasiness once aroused, although partially allayed for short periods, has been ever present. It leaves the business system in a highly nervous condition, as after a bad attack of monetary *grippe*; and ordinary emergencies are magnified by the unhealthy conditions.

Under the operations of the Bland-Allison Act, the country received serious shocks to its confidence in the fixity of the standard, and especially in 1884-86. This arose from doubts as to the condition of the gold reserves in the Treasury. The government can maintain gold payments only if it has gold with which to pay. And it can obtain gold either through its revenue, or by selling bonds for gold: there are no other ways. But in the years 1884-86, so great was the distrust in the ability of the Treasury to breast the stream of silver coinage, that the usual supplies of gold ceased to flow in through payments of revenue: gold was held back, and other kinds of money were sent in instead. The flood of silver choked the inlets to the Treasury; and a panic was narrowly averted. Finally, by making a vacuum for the silver money in the general circulation, the stream of silver was prevented from overflowing the Treasury, and confidence was again temporarily established. By October, 1886, gold was once more freely paid into the Treasury for public dues. (See Chart I for the result since 1886.)

During this period of disturbance the net gold in the Treasury fell to within about \$15,000,000 of the reserve of \$100,000,000 then regarded as the danger line. It is of present interest, however, to note that this reduction of gold had no connection with deficits between national income and expenditure; for the surplus in each year was as follows: in 1884, \$57,603,396; in 1885, \$17,859,735; in 1886, \$93,956,583. No device for increasing the revenue would at that time

have been considered for a moment as helping to restore the confidence in the standard. There was no question of a lack of revenue in other kinds of money than gold; there was money in abundance in the Treasury, but not money of the right kind. The difficulties of the time arose solely from a fear that the standard might be changed from gold to silver; and this fear was distinctly reflected in the nature of the payments by the public into the Treasury. Gold was withheld, and other forms of money sent in for dues.

When it had been once shown, by the administration of the Bland-Allison Act, that the annual coinage of silver could be kept from choking up the Treasury, a period of four years of monetary quiet ensued, except in so far as ineffective silver agitation during these years may have disturbed the situation. The uncertainty as to the standard was again temporarily removed; but vigilance was still necessary. The net gold reserves in the Treasury were fully adequate, remaining during this period at from \$150,000,000 to \$200,000,000. Large reserves like this, so long as they existed, removed all anxiety. It was not essential to the situation in 1887-1890 that the revenues supplied a surplus; for a surplus, as was shown, had existed when the troubles of 1884-86 were upon us. In short, the surplus theory gives us no explanation of the history in those years; the source of evil was elsewhere.

The success in warding off the inherent dangers to the standard arising from the Bland-Allison Act seemed to encourage the belief that the country could take more and greater risks with impunity. In 1890 Congress redoubled its sinister attempts to pry up the foundations of our monetary system. Congress passed, and President Harrison actually signed, July 14, 1890, the so-called Sherman Act, which more than doubled our purchases of silver, and thereby doubled the difficulties of maintaining our existing standard, which in 1884-86 had almost succumbed to the operations of the Bland-Allison Act. We might have carried the burdens of the latter by vigilance and skill, but the additional weight of the Act of 1890 brought us humiliation and enormous losses. The question of the standard was opened all anew: from the very passage of the Act dates the steady decline in the percentage of gold paid into the Treasury for public dues (see Chart I) from which we have never since recovered; from it dates the steady decline in the amount of the Treasury balances, and the swift collapse of the net gold reserve (see Chart II); and from that time began the heaping up of the explosives which burst out in the fearful monetary upheaval of 1893.



# PERCENTAGE OF KINDS OF MONEY RECEIVED BY UNITED STATES TREASURER AT NEW YORK

A = Gold Coin and Gold Certificates.  
B = U. S. Notes.  
C = Silver Coin and Silver Certificates.

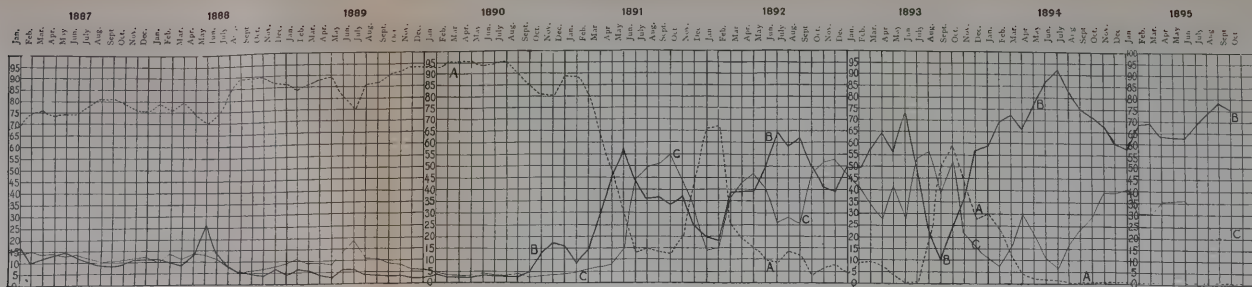
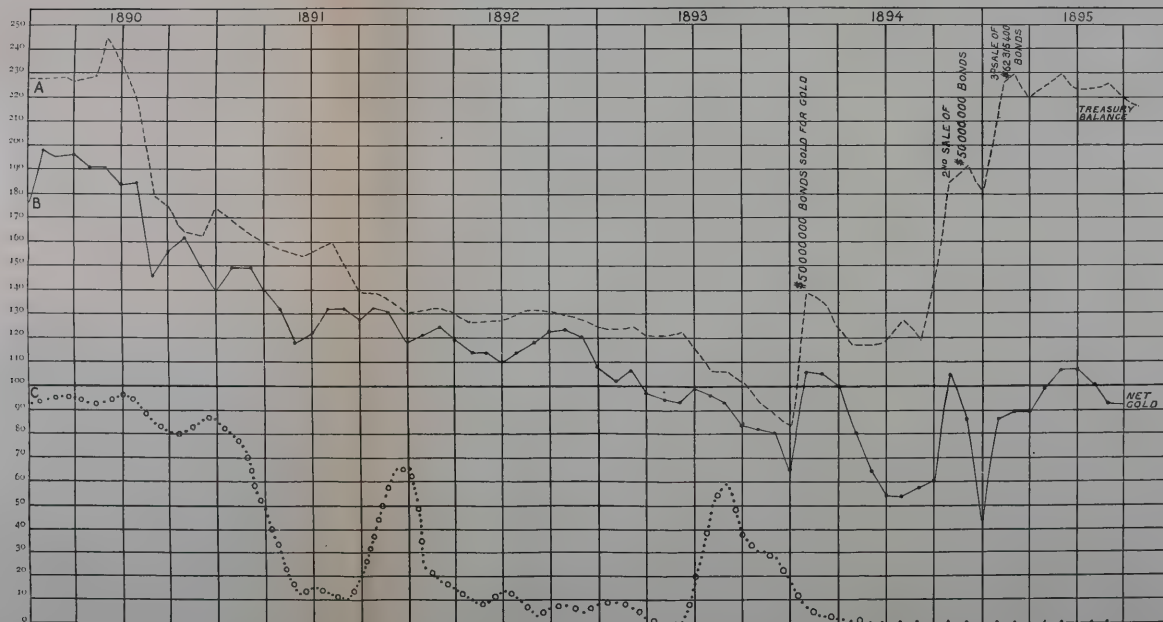


CHART II.  
NET GOLD RESERVE AND TREASURY BALANCES.

A. - - - Balance in excess of Certificates and Treasury Notes in the Treasury.  
B. ——— Net Gold in the Treasury.  
C. o-o-o-o Percentage of Gold received by Treasurer at New York

[The figures in the scale indicate millions of dollars for lines A and B, and percentages for line C.]







It was not a question of sufficient revenue ; for we had no deficits to the end of the fiscal year of 1893, which included the outbreak of the panic. The cause of disaster was solely the unspeakable blindness to the folly of tampering with the standard.

The panic of 1893 did not break out until—for the first time since the resumption of specie payments in 1879—the net gold reserve fell below \$100,000,000. That amount, it was supposed, would be always sacredly maintained as a protection to the \$346,000,000 of greenbacks for which it had been pledged. But in April, 1893, this traditional amount of reserve was broken into ; and then the unrestrained fear as to the standard of payments developed into fright and panic. Safety disappeared, and chaos reigned. Our punishment had come in bitter losses of hundreds of millions of dollars, and in the succeeding depression of industry. It is not now my purpose to explain or to recite in full the causes and progress of the panic of 1893 ; but, suffice it to say, it was a standard-panic. It was not caused by any scarcity of money : so far as that factor entered, it was an apparent consequence, not a cause, of the panic. The dominating cause was the final culmination of the long-felt uncertainty as to the fixity of the gold standard, which had been operating since 1878 and has been intensified since 1890. It was the perfectly natural fear—natural after what had happened in our legislation—that, before securities could be sold and realized upon, silver would take the place of gold as the standard of payments. This was the reason of the frightful rapidity with which the gold reserve fell during the latter part of 1893 (see Chart II). The decline of the Treasury balance was the inevitable falling off of revenue due to the panic. The gold reserve was not low because the balance was low. That is a complete inversion of cause and effect. The true sequence was as follows : The distrust of the standard, caused by insane legislation, diminished gold payments into the Treasury ; that lowered the gold reserve ; this produced a reflex influence on public confidence ; the diminishing ability of the Treasury to maintain gold payments brought on the panic ; the panic caused the falling off in the revenues and in the Treasury balance. For to July 1, 1893, there was no deficit. To suppose that more revenue would have saved the gold reserve at the end of 1893 is sophistical, in my judgment. The true cause was the tampering with the standard.

The free-coinage agitation, directed openly against the standard on which we have done business since 1834 (excepting the paper period, 1862-1879), unsettled confidence at home and abroad in the stability of

our monetary policy. No one could know that contracts entered into when a dollar stood for 100 cents in gold might not be paid off in silver which stood for 50 cents on a dollar. That was the predicament in which every investor found himself who had an obligation payable only in "coin" and not in gold.

That is the reason, too, why government bonds would be more desirable to investors if made specifically payable in gold. Objectors may say that it destroys credit in our bonds to introduce this clause, because it raises the question which ought to be taken for granted,—that the "coin" bonds are to be paid in the best money. But this answer is conclusively falsified by the very facts of past and present distrust as to the future of our monetary policy, and by the utter impossibility of predicating that coming Congresses and their constituents will be any more sane than they have been in the past. How does any one know that the Treasury will always pay gold, when a majority of the present Senate would destroy the gold standard in a moment, if it could.

A further insight into the causes of the prevailing disturbances may be obtained by a study of Chart I. From 1886 to July, 1890, from 70 to 95 per cent of all payments to the Treasurer at New York were in gold, while since July, 1894, no gold has been paid in, and the payments made have been only in greenbacks or in forms of silver money. The contrast is ominous and unmistakable. The fall and disappearance of the gold line, A, and the rise of the greenback line, B, are the marked phenomena of the period after July, 1890. All the doubt and confusion, moreover, dates from July, 1890. In short, the pressure of greenbacks and silver upon the Treasury, and the cutting off of the usual supplies of gold, are directly traceable to the Sherman Act. It might be said, however, that in that case the repeal of the Sherman Act in November, 1893, ought to have restored the old situation as it existed before 1890. From that date, possibly, silver money has not been so largely sent in to the Treasury; but greenbacks have come in, instead of gold. The line B assumes the place which A had before 1890. The indisputable inference from these facts and from those of Chart II is that, since the repeal of the Sherman Act, no adequate gold reserve has been maintained to quiet the apprehensions as to the fixity of the standard aroused by recent events. To push the reserve slightly above \$100,000,000 by a small issue of bonds, inevitably followed by its disappearance below the line, impresses no one very forcibly. Each time the gold reserve goes below the line, all the old doubts are again raised, and no one can have any certainty for the future. A really serious at-



tempt to replenish the reserve once for all to the amount of \$150,000,000 or \$200,000,000 might have produced some confidence in the future.

Moreover, although repealed, the Sherman Act is still with us in the form of \$150,818,582 (Nov. 1, 1893) of Treasury notes issued under its provisions, which required that the "Secretary of the Treasury shall, under such regulations as he may prescribe, redeem such notes in gold or silver coin, at his discretion, it being the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals at a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio," etc. Hence the Secretary must always be ready to redeem these notes in gold; for a discrimination against them would create two standards of money,—one redeemable in gold, another in silver. Consequently these notes are an additional demand on a gold reserve already too small even for the greenbacks. Under such circumstances the doubts as to the fixity of the standard must still remain. The reserve could not possibly serve for a sudden emergency, such as a threat of war against Great Britain. To mean anything, redemption must redeem on any and all occasions. Anything short of this is a sham.

It has been urged in some quarters that the dwindling gold reserve is due to the deficits of our budgets; that, if the revenue were increased sufficiently, the gold reserve could be maintained intact. There are only two ways by which the Treasury can obtain gold: (1) through the payment of revenue; or (2), just as blankets or shoes can be got, by purchase—through the offer of bonds or their equivalent. It has been shown that the first and normal source of supply has been entirely cut off; and hence the reserve can be replenished in only one other way, so long as the existing distrust continues,—and that is by the sale of bonds. No matter how much more revenue be raised, no matter how much larger the mere surplus of income over expenditure may be, the gold reserve cannot be maintained if that greater revenue and that larger surplus consist of greenbacks or silver money,—the very objects to be redeemed. To increase taxes, to swell out the surplus, will not avert our monetary danger unless thereby a change is made in the kind of money paid into the Treasury. It seems like a joke to say that increasing taxes will increase confidence in the standard, when no gold can come in from an increased revenue, as things now stand.

The examination of Chart II ought to make this absolutely clear. From 1890 to the end of 1893 the steady fall of the net gold reserve was accompanied by a fall of the Treasury balance; but, be the balance large or small, it was during this time largely made up of gold.

But from the end of 1893 a very different condition of things appears. The balances were increased by the sale of bonds for gold; and yet gold continued to escape. The wide discrepancy between the Treasury balances and the net gold shows that the resources of the government were ample, but that these resources were not made up of the right kind of money. Two years of experience has proved that increasing government balances do not ensure a stable gold reserve, even though the increased balances were caused by the direct purchase of gold by the sale of bonds. Now, on the other hand, if the increased balances had been produced by a mere increase of revenue, when the revenue was sure not to be paid in gold, how much less ground is there for supposing that the gold reserve could have been maintained? If it were wrong to have used, even indirectly, for the general demands on the Treasury, the proceeds of the sale of bonds intended only to supply the gold reserve, it must be now apparent that the deficits, whatever they were and are, have been already met by the new funds covered in to the Treasury. If the deficits have been paid by the proceeds of the bonds, and yet the gold reserve is still threatened, it is nonsense to propose to increase the revenue to pay off deficits already met, in order to protect a gold reserve already shown to be uninfluenced by increased Treasury balances.

The Treasury has money, but not the proper kind of money. The situation resembles that of a body of troops suddenly surrounded by the enemy: their supply of ammunition is running low, when they are startled by the announcement that the wagons contain only a few boxes of cartridges that fit their rifles, but that there is an abundance of cartridges of a different size. Just as the proper cartridges give out, the enemy presses in on them; but they can make no resistance—with useless ammunition. So it is with the Treasury: when its stock of gold runs low, it cannot defend itself with silver or paper; for that would be a confession of bankruptcy, and a public notice that an end of solvency had been reached.

It may be true that the notes once redeemed by the gold obtained by bond sales have been paid out again, and paid out to meet general demands on the Treasury. This is why it has been charged that the Secretary has taken funds intended for the gold reserve and applied them to meet the deficits. But how else could the Secretary have acted in view of the law of May 31, 1878, which requires him to reissue redeemed notes? How else can he reissue them except in payment of general demands? If not only the gold itself obtained by



bond sales, but also the notes presented in exchange for gold, should be kept inviolate, then the fault is in the law requiring the reissue of the notes, not in the Secretary's policy. If the Opposition wish to "corner" the Administration, and to prevent it from using the redeemed notes in paying off deficits (an indirect result of the bond sales),—thereby making tariff legislation for increased revenue a necessity,—the only way it can be done is by forbidding the issue of notes once redeemed and by providing for their cancellation. If this had been done, the proceeds from the sale of bonds for gold could not have been indirectly used in wiping out the deficits. This measure would have entirely separated the tariff question from the money question.

The effect of allowing the reissue of notes once redeemed is the same as largely increasing the volume of currency secured by the gold reserve; the consequence is that any given reserve is smaller in proportion to the demands upon it than it would otherwise be. If we wish the happiness of proving ourselves superior to all experience by reissuing redeemed notes, and do it all over again, we must simply provide a larger gold reserve than would be otherwise necessary. If we wish to maintain the gold standard, no other kind of money than gold will serve the purpose as a reserve. It makes no difference how high in the bucket stands the level of the water which is kept for thirsty men, if the bucket is largely filled with sand; so a large Treasury balance does not mean a large gold reserve. Or if there be a hole in the bucket by which only the water, and not the sand, goes out, filling up the bucket with water only temporarily raises its level; so the constant re-presentation of notes once redeemed acts like a hole in the Treasury to draw off the gold and leave the other kinds of money within. At present, redemption is skilfully arranged so as not to redeem; and it presents another of the many curious absurdities of our monetary history.

After the preceding exposition it is not difficult to indicate the necessary remedial measures which the public have a right to expect from Congress at the present session. There stands out, as of first and paramount importance, the necessity of preserving, without possibility of future disturbances, the existing standard of prices and contracts. All tampering with the standard should be as much dreaded as Asiatic cholera. It is high time we quarantined ourselves against this form of monetary disease.

The problem reduces itself simply to one of redemption. The task

of maintaining the parity of our various kinds of money—greenbacks, silver coin, silver certificates, Treasury notes of 1890—is not impossible, if we wish to undertake it. The trouble is that the silver group in the Senate and House do not really wish parity maintained. They may hope to accomplish all the results of a free-coinage measure and bring us to a silver standard, without further legislation, by preventing the replenishment of the gold reserve in emergencies like the present. But the Secretary is still provided with the powers of the original Resumption Act of 1875, and can sell bonds for gold. If Congress, by new legislation, will not give more salable bonds, then the old methods will still remain. A bold and aggressive policy, however, is needed to restore our shattered confidence in the fixity of the standard. A few millions more or less of gold will not suffice: a reserve large enough to drive doubt out of the most sceptical mind should be procured, and that without delay. If I might be permitted to indicate the necessary monetary measures, they would be the following:—

1. Provision for full and sufficient gold reserve of at least \$200,000,000, by sale of bonds.

2. Notice of the redemption on demand, in gold, of any and all kinds of government paper and silver money at numerous cities in different parts of the United States.

3. The cancellation of all notes redeemed. The repeal of the Act of May 31, 1878, forbidding the retirement of United States notes.

4. If notes are called for, the issue of new notes only on deposit of gold, dollar for dollar, in the Treasury.

Under such a system, whenever the currency is redundant, it will automatically contract itself. If there is any possible doubt of redemption, and of the value of the currency in circulation, continuous and prompt redemption will remove it. Then, according to a familiar principle of human nature, when every one can get gold, no one will call for it. And such a scheme would, so long as redemption was unquestioned, ensure the fixity of our standard.

It should be noticed also that the depression of trade incident to the panic of 1893, and a part of the consequences of our insane silver agitation, has made opportunities of investment less favorable in the United States and lowered the rate of interest. Consequently, floating capital will not remain in New York when it can be more profitably employed (risk being considered) elsewhere. So the movement of capital away from our country, and the consequent diminution of means to hire labor, shows itself behind the tendency of gold to leave



us; for such capital must go in the form of gold. Could we have certainty as to our standard, and growing prosperity for industry, the rate of interest would rise, and there would be less pressure to send capital out of the country. Then it would be easier to maintain intact our gold reserves.

Of secondary importance to the fixity of the standard, but of large practical interest to the country, are some needed measures respecting the medium of exchange; and under the medium of exchange is to be included not merely metallic money, or paper money, or bank notes, but also that vast system of credit-deposits, vaguely apprehended by the public under the name of "credit," and which is bound up with the banking institutions of a country. By far the larger part of the exchanges of goods are performed by the use of checks, drafts, bills of exchange, through these credit-deposits in banks, in connection with the clearing-houses. The understanding of this I shall take for granted. Briefly expressed, it is a means of exchanging goods, whose values have been already expressed in terms of the standard money, by offsetting the goods against each other, with the use of but an infinitesimally small amount of money in paying balances. It is a tremendous fact in our means of exchange which must be reckoned with. With the stronger belief in the fixity of the standard, this means of exchange will increase.

Normally these "forms of credit," which are in truth but simple titles to property expressed in terms of money (arising out of actual transactions), are not usually or necessarily liquidated in legal money. Such liquidation is demanded only in abnormal times of distrust and panic, when each person who has to meet maturing obligations feels constrained to turn his property and securities into tangible forms of money. Of course the normal amount of money is always much less than the total value of a country's property. And when all property is offered for money, money seems scarce; when in reality the real trouble is a deluge of property thrown on the market in fright. When there is no fright, there is money enough. The wealth of a country put into its machinery of exchange returns no profit, and should be as small as necessary in ordinary times, yet capable of necessary expansion, even at additional cost, in times of need. It would not be economical to carry in normal times the amount of means of exchange needed in abnormal times, any more than railways should always have on hand cars sufficient to carry all the passengers in the country at one and the same time. But the need of some provision for abnormal times has

been properly expressed in the general demand for an "elastic currency."

In a period of monetary stringency the central point is the fear that borrowers, even with good collateral, cannot obtain loans. If legal bank reserves are low, a new loan by a bank means primarily a credit-deposit to the borrower, and an increase of the proportion of demand liabilities to reserves. And yet it is exactly at such times that borrowers should be able to get loans; not to loan is to precipitate failures and spread the panic. Hence the importance of some means by which the stock of legal money in the reserves may be temporarily increased sufficiently to meet any reasonable needs of borrowers. In Great Britain no such provision exists; but precedents have made possible the violation of the law (Act of 1844) by "suspending the Bank Act" so far as to allow the Banking Department to carry securities to the Issue Department and to obtain Bank of England notes; and whenever that has been done the panic has been allayed without any great sum of new notes being used. In Germany provision has been made for just such contingencies: an emergency circulation has been allowed, but in such a way as to make it unprofitable to keep it out except in times of great need. On notes issued beyond the prescribed limit of uncovered issues (385,000,000 marks), a tax of 5 per cent is levied. In the United States no similar provision exists by law; but an equivalent to the English "suspension of the Bank Act" has appeared in times of stress in the form of clearing-house certificates. They are really a coinage of property to the amount of 75 per cent of its ascertained value into a form in which maturing obligations can be paid by those who owe the banks; and a charge of 6 per cent and a commission causes their early withdrawal when the emergency is past.

Such examples of common practice, with the principle underlying each case, serve to show us what banking legislation is seriously demanded in the interests of the general business community needing loans in emergencies. A measure similar to that of Germany, permitting the issue of notes on the security of approved assets, would be sensible and helpful. The general scheme of the "Baltimore Plan" is sound; but the emergency issue should be more elastic and less hemmed in than in that plan. And most careful measures should be introduced providing for the redemption of bank notes at a great number of centres throughout the land. We do not need to go back to the Suffolk Bank system for lessons on this point.

J. LAURENCE LAUGHLIN.



## VICTORIA, QUEEN AND EMPRESS.

I HAVE been requested to contribute to THE FORUM a study upon the Queen of England, designed as the first of a series of similar Royal sketches. Honored by such an invitation, I did not ask myself if I possessed the requisite leisure, because no leisure could possibly be adequate, without unlimited space, to a perfect performance of the task. Nor did I examine my conscience upon the point of that calm impartiality apparently demanded (and no doubt highly desirable for a true historic spirit); because it is certain that any Englishman who, like myself, has lived his English life under the glorious reign of Victoria, sharing all its blessings and securities, and who could yet sit down to write about his sovereign and her times as he would of Queen Nitocris or the Babylonian Constitution, must become by that very fact utterly incompetent, untrustworthy, and uninformative. The personal element is a natural part of contemporary criticism and record. Posterity alone can afford to be impersonal and dispassionate, and I must, at the outset, frankly confess myself unable to look back along the days of Her Majesty's rule—which are those that make and bound my own memory—without a loyalty much too ardent for impartiality, and a gratitude far too strong for repression; without feelings of native pride, of natural admiration, of high thankfulness, and of firm hopefulness, with an avowal of which I had better begin, since they are quite certain speedily to make themselves apparent.

One of my earliest and most distinct boyish recollections is of the proclamation of Her Gracious Majesty as "Queen Victoria." I was a child about four or five years old, and was being led by my nurse through the streets of a provincial town where we lived, when suddenly a troop of yeomanry cavalry, in what seemed to my young eyes most gorgeous and dazzling military array, came loudly and grandly riding along the causeway. At the corner of the road they halted; the trumpeters blew a martial fanfare; the officers drew their swords, which shone gallant and bright in the sun of that glad day of June; and next, some imposing personage in the cavalcade—an elderly officer—recited from a paper certain sonorous words, of which I then under-

stood but few, although I know now that what the silver-headed colonel said was approximately this :—

“Whereas it has pleased Almighty God to call to his mercy our late Sovereign Lord, King William the Fourth, of blessed and glorious memory, by whose decease the imperial crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland is solely and rightfully come to the high and mighty Princess Alexandrina Victoria, it is therefore here published and proclaimed that the high and mighty Princess Alexandrina Victoria is now, by the death of the late Sovereign of happy memory, become our only lawful and rightful liege Lady, Victoria, by the Grace of God, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Defender of the Faith. To whom let all therefore acknowledge faith and constant obedience, with all hearty and humble affection ; beseeching God, by Whom Kings and Queens do reign, to bless the Royal Princess Victoria with long and happy years to reign over us. God save the Queen !”

Such were the historical sentences only a portion of which found their way to my childish mind that June morning in the year 1837, mightily emphasized to the small boy's wandering thoughts by the echo of big guns fired from the ships and forts on the river. Of the famous doings in London on that great occasion little or no echo reached our quiet town at the time. I did not know—and probably could not have understood—how the young Queen came out into the balcony from the window of the Presence Chamber at St. James's Palace, between Lords Melbourne and Lansdowne, and was hailed with thunderous cheers by vast crowds of her people ; and how she was observed to shed tender and wistful tears at the moment of that great spectacle. When she retired to her mother's apartment, being proclaimed Sovereign, she held that conversation and made that request of which the world afterward heard with so much sympathy.

“I can scarcely believe, mamma, that I am really Queen of England. Can it indeed be so ?”

“You are really Queen, my child,” replied the Duchess of Kent ; “listen how your subjects still cheer your name in the streets and cry to God to bless you.”

“In time,” said Her Majesty, “I shall perhaps become accustomed to this too great and splendid state. But, since I am Sovereign, let me, as your Queen, have to-day my first wish—let me be quite alone, dear mother, for a long time.” And that day Victoria passed the first hours of her reign on her knees, praying to Heaven for herself and her people, with supplications innocent and noble, which have surely been heard.

It was not wonderful indeed that a reign so commenced has been



followed by happy and famous years. But I must leave to Court chroniclers, and to the gold and brocade of professional history, all the details of that time of proclamation and coronation, to mention one other small fact of the hour which somehow became mingled in my mind with the ceremony, and which to-day curiously recurs to serve me as a commonplace but striking measure of the prodigious progress achieved during the Victorian era. As I returned home, asking a hundred questions from my nurse about kings and queens and the new reign, a man in the street was selling lucifer matches—evidently as a singular novelty—at a halfpenny apiece. He held up the little sticks one at a time, and then, drawing them through a folded piece of sandpaper, produced an instantaneous flame,—to the amazement of the passers-by, and doubtless to his own profit. On that morning, as on all before it, I had probably, on awakening from sleep, witnessed my nurse kindling the fire, or lighting the dressing-candles, with an old-fashioned flint and steel, laboriously striking the wayward sparks into the smutty tinder, and then applying to the travelling fringe of fire the point of a splinter of wood dipped into brimstone, bundles of which used to be sold by beggars in the highways. So did we procure the sacred element when this reign began, little if at all advanced beyond the fire-stick of the savage. Since then what a cheap and universal possession has that precious element of fire become, which, according to the Greek myth, Prometheus stole from the gods at the cost of such terrible penalties! Among the countless vast advances made by civilization generally, and by England in particular, during the Victorian era, how rarely does anybody think of the enormous service rendered everywhere by the simple innovation of the phosphorus match, which I thus saw sold for a halfpenny a sample on the Queen's coronation day. *Ex luce lucellum!* There is profitable reflection to be got out of that early match. The principle of it was, of course, the same as that of the branch which chafes itself into conflagration in the dry forest, or the fire-stick of the aboriginal,—a production of flame by friction; that is to say, with the mere substitution of phosphorus or chlorates for carbon. But what a difference to mankind! We were far from many vast additions to common life in those first days of this great reign, and among the smaller boons we were far from the amazing luxury of an age which can buy a box of wax vestas for a penny.

That little match makes one think of other large contrasts. For example, the total revenue of Great Britain and Ireland in 1837 was

£47,240,000; last year it stood at over £100,000,000. The punishment of the pillory was still sometimes enforced, and the criminal law was cruel and sweeping. There was no railway open between Liverpool and Birmingham until some weeks after the youthful Queen's accession. Later still was tried that first experiment with the electric telegraph between Euston Square and Camden Town, there being present at the momentous inauguration Wheatstone and Cook, Fox and Robert Stephenson, pioneers of the electric, telegraphic, and telephonic age. The Earl of Beaconsfield, as Mr. Disraeli, had yet to make that famous failure of his maiden speech (it happened on December 7, 1837) when he, who lived to be Prime Minister and to arrange the affairs of a continent, exclaimed: "I have begun many things without success, and have afterwards succeeded: you will not listen now, but the time will come when you shall hear me!" The reign was not a year old when the "Sirius" steamer, earliest of her class, left Cork harbor for New York, followed by the "Great Western." Duels were still of no uncommon occurrence. Grace Darling had yet to add her sweet name to the record of British womanhood by rescuing the crew of the Indiaman "Forfarshire," and initiating with her heroism the system of our coast lifeboats. India was reached only by the long Cape route, and not until October 12, 1838, did that memorable meeting assemble at the Jerusalem Coffee House which first considered the possibility of steam communication with the East by way of the Mediterranean and the Arab Sea, cherishing moreover the then wild dream of arriving at Bombay in forty-two days, and at Calcutta in forty-three days. And not before November of the same year had the City Council of London voted its freedom in a gold box to Thomas Clarkson as token of his triumph in the struggle for the deliverance of enslaved Africans, "thereby"—so its memorable inscription ran—"obtaining for his country the high distinction of separating her commercial greatness from principles incompatible with the exercise of the Religion of Mercy, and achieving a moral victory whose trophies shall endure while Justice, Freedom, the Clemency of Power, and the peaceful glories of civilization shall have any place in the admiration of mankind." We had practically no use as yet of railroads, telegraph wires, and of steam navigation, and were only beginning to get the new machine of our popular representative institutions into order at the time when the coronation trumpets sounded, and when I saw, as a kind of scientific miracle, my first lucifer match.

Without too closely pursuing the comparison—intensely attractive



though it might become—between Then and Now, it is worth while to dwell a little longer upon those wonderful advances characterizing the period to which the name of the Victorian era will always hereafter be given. For the Queen has borne an immense personal part in moulding her age, and the age has reflected back upon her name and her greatness a lustre beyond the glory of all other reigns, re-establishing the ancient ideal of monarchy, and, in an epoch of wild change and much political commotion at home and abroad, displaying to the world this ancient throne of England securely planted amid falling dynasties and failing republics, like a vast rock in the stormy sea. The population has increased from 25,600,000 in 1837 to about 40,000,000. The aggregate property of the people, calculated by Sir R. Giffen on the basis of the income-tax figures, has been augmented from about £4,000,000,000 to more than £10,000,000,000. Of swelling revenues I have already spoken. Pig-iron, a great test of industrial activity—produced in 1837 to the extent of 1,250,000 tons—was in 1884 made to the extent of more than 7,000,000 tons; of cotton we consumed then 406,000,000 pounds, and now consume over 1,500,000,000 pounds. In foreign trade our advance is more than 450 per cent; the output of coal is twenty-five times greater; the import of tea is 420 per cent, and of tobacco 150 per cent, more than in 1837; while our shipping has risen by 700 per cent, and to-day, by an immense proportion, dominates all the waters of commerce. In 1837 our colonial population was under 4,000,000, but it now stands over 18,000,000, of course excluding India,—which country, under the "*pax Britannica*," has well-nigh doubled its native census. The total area of the British Empire, previously colossal, has grown to 10,000,000 square miles; and the subjects of Her Majesty, all directly looking to her as their sovereign, and ruled by her benignant hand, may be estimated *en bloc* to-day at more than 320,000,000 of human beings.

In locomotion, transport, and intercourse Queen Victoria has seen and presided over a most marvellous progress. Her age has been the age of Steam, as the next will probably be that of Electricity. Not until 1836, as I have remarked, did the railway period really commence, and now more than £1,000,000,000 have been invested in iron lines, making a network over the realm, worked with more than 20,000 locomotives, which earn over £80,000,000 a year and employ nearly 400,000 people. A glance has been given to the prodigious increase of British shipping, and in this iron has supplanted timber for construction, as steam has almost too thoroughly supplanted can-

vas for those who, like the present writer, love the poetry and passion of the ocean.

To mention the post-office is to speak of an absolute social revolution, for in 1837 only 80,000,000 letters were carried during the year, while now 2,000,000,000 pass almost without a single miscarriage. The electric telegraph and those submarine wires which abolish time and distance, swifter than Ariel engirdling the world, are wholly Victorian; and Victorian also are those numberless mail steamers by which we easily pass to all ports and parts of the habitable globe, most of them under the flag of England. Albeit in 1850, the thirteenth year of the reign, out of 132,800 tons of British shipping, 120,000 tons were built of wood, by 1883 we were launching more than 1,000,000 tons in the year, and had used 4,000,000 tons of iron and steel for building in the seven years preceding 1884. If one would know what value may be added to iron by human manipulation, it is enough to cogitate the single fact that a ton of Bessemer steel costing £60 makes up into 40,000,000 springs worth £400,000, or three times the value of the same quantity of gold!

These crude and almost brutal facts—each one, however, containing a universe of significant development and of human advance within it—are adduced only to remind the readers of *THE FORUM* of what an age of expansion in England Her Majesty's person has been the centre, the symbol, and, in a very clear and certain sense, one of the actual causes. Of course a similar progress was showing itself in other countries, notably in the United States. The Spaniards have a very true proverb, "*Cuando Dios amanece, por todos amanece*,"—and the light of the Victorian Renaissance was largely participated in by civilization generally. Somewhat peculiar to England, however, was the immense development of popular education. Who can overestimate the effect of Forster's Act, which in fifteen years raised the number of pupils in day-schools from 1,152,389 to 3,371,325? By the same date the public grants for schooling, which had been barely £200,000 in 1837, were enlarged to more than £4,000,000. To break away a little from these grand but fatiguing figures, reflect a moment upon the superb march of science during this unparalleled reign. Huxley, a calm observer, looking back from the heights of his later years, called the Victorian period "a revolution of modern minds." Out of the love of knowledge pursued with single hearts before the reign, or at its commencement, by Herschel and Laplace, Young, Fresnel, Cavendish, Lamarek, Davy, Jussieu, Cuvier, Decandolle,



Faraday, Tyndall, Darwin, and their like, there sprang under Victoria—as ever springs—the unsought fruit of rich practical applications. The illustrious authority already cited enumerates, as three physical discoveries sufficient to immortalize the reign, the scientific doctrines, first, of the molecular constitution of matter; secondly, of the conservation of energy; thirdly, of evolution as divined by Darwin. That last illustrious name shines of itself like a lonely star of glory sufficient to make splendid the Victorian constellation of talent.

Remember, too, how the benign arts of medicine and remedial surgery extended their borders. From the sanguinary fields of the Crimean war arose, like an angel of compassion and redemption, Florence Nightingale, with all that train of skilled and gentle nurses, afterward following her example, who have altered the history of the sick-room and regenerated our hospitals. Lister's antiseptic treatment of wounds, founded on the wonderful information obtained by the microscope, and such experiments as Pasteur's about infinitesimal life, stripped operations of their previous deadly peril by reason of septic organisms, while—as if science would bestow a fitting boon on the youthful Queen—Simpson in Edinburgh, simultaneously with Wells and Morton in the United States, early in the Victorian Age performed those merciful experiments with chloroform which terminated the epoch of unavoidable anguish for sick and wounded patients, robbed even war of its worst features, and commenced the present blessed era of anesthetics. Read what a renowned surgeon, Dr. Brudenell Carter, writes about that happy discovery:—

“The use of anesthetics has changed the whole aspect of surgery. Prior to 1847, operations were few in number, and were almost limited to the amputation of limbs, the removal of cancerous and other tumors, the resection of a few of the larger joints, cutting for stone, and the ligature of main arteries for aneurism. The pain suffered by the patients was so horrible as to tax severely the endurance of the bravest and strongest, and to depress seriously, and often beyond recall, the powers of life. Death from shock was by no means uncommon, the patient sinking in a few hours from the effects of the suffering which he had undergone. The writer well remembers, as a medical student, turning sick and faint at the agonies which he was called upon to witness; and it was a point of honor with operators in those days to abbreviate such agonies as much as possible, and to cultivate speed in operating as the highest and the most valuable form of dexterity. Nothing was attempted which could not be done quickly, and an amputation in the hands of a practised surgeon had almost the appearance of a feat of legerdemain. For the separation of the lower limb above the knee, of course not including dressing, twenty seconds has been known to suffice; and forty seconds was regarded as a period of time which no one was justified in exceeding. When anesthetics were employed, it came to surgeons as a kind of revelation that they

need no longer be in haste ; and they have utilized this knowledge in making a leisurely examination of the parts about which they were employed."

It is Queen Victoria, however, whom we are studying, and not any history of her glorious reign ; yet such a brief and almost breathless survey of its course as I have dared to proffer is by no means irrelevant even to the strictly personal view. It suffices to recall to the well-informed mind, which will more or less successfully fill up the outlines of these mere allusions, in what a busy and increasing hive of imperial life Her Majesty was the Queen Bee. And if there were space to indicate, in addition, the glories of the Literature of the reign ; the achievements of its Art ; the large steps taken in the promotion of the love and study of Music ; the gradual elevation and recent social recognition of the Drama ; the animated pursuit of Philosophy ; the sustained cultivation of Learning ; and the opening up of unknown Geography, greatly, as of old, by British enterprise,—the conviction would be yet more deeply stamped upon the intelligent mind that such a period in our history needed and had received a providential head. Africa has yielded up almost all her immemorial secrets to Victorian explorers. The vast island of Australia—only a little unveiled by Van Diemen and Cook—kept its treasures of gold and of natural marvels for this favored time. The arrow-headed slabs and cylinders of Assyria, and the larger part of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, with their precious indications, were deciphered for the same fortunate generations. They witnessed also, as has been remarked, that sudden transformation of the navies of the world from its old material of timber to the new armor-clad pattern and fabric which—thanks to the iron and coal hidden away by nature in the English soil, to the skill and ingenuity of her children, and to the accumulated wealth drawn from that commerce which the Queen's flag protects—has given to Great Britain a real and visible sovereignty of the seas. We are as yet, apparently, far from the Millennium, and our period has unhappily been checkered by many wars, in most or all of which, however, that flag has been upheld, upon many a sanguinary field, by the soldiers of Her Majesty, with a faithful valor recognized and admired by all the world ; so that neither the vast armed multitudes of Russia, nor the sepoy in rebellion, nor any enemy in any conflict, has seriously broken the haughty tradition of British Victory, embodied and sustained in the Queen's dear name.

The august and illustrious figure which has been the centre, the



token, and the imperial presiding genius of all this progress and prosperity can never be detached in history from the magnificent records of her time. The story of her life and the story of her people's life have flowed onward together, inextricably blended, indissolubly connected. At the bottom of the might and energy and enterprise illustrated by all majestic chapters in the chronicles of England have ever been from the first the deep religious instincts and the strong family affections of the people, both of which the Queen's royal nature was created to embody, reflect, and exemplify. Her household, from its days of bride-joy and domestic sunshine to its days of widowhood and lonely duties, has been like that chief and special golden queen-cell in the hive, round which all the others cluster, and by the welfare of which they measure and regulate their own. Among the wives of England this sceptred wife; among the mothers of the land this crowned mother; among the widows of her people this throned Lady Victoria, whose sorrow seemed the sorest, as her burden was the greatest,—has been always one of the women of the realm, representing them all, leading them all, understood by them all. The English have homely and domestic ways of manifesting national feelings: for example, they love their navy and take enormous pride in it, in consequence of which strangers in our confines are amused to notice how very many boy-children are dressed by their fond mothers in the garb of a British blue-jacket. The least reflective visitor can perceive that here, at least, is a people which will grudge no public money to sustain the navy. So it would be curious and significant to know how many girl-children in the realm bear for good fortune and for loyalty the names of their Royal Highnesses the Princesses of the Blood, a goodly number of whom have grown up round the knees of the Queen. At the root of her greatness has surely been her gentleness. The half-forgotten Court gossip of the past is full of little tales of the tenderness which underlies the well-known force and firmness of Her Majesty. When, on the death of King William the Fourth, Queen Adelaide wrote to the young Victoria announcing the event, the acceded Princess replied by a gentle and respectful letter which she addressed to "The Queen of England"; and when a lady of the Court humbly remonstrated, saying, "Your Majesty, you only are Queen of England," the pretty reply was given: "Yes, but Aunt Adelaide must not be reminded of that by me." And when, at taking the oath of allegiance, the two Royal Dukes bowed low before her to touch her hand with their lips, she kissed them gravely, raising them from the ground, saying to the

Duke of Sussex, "Do not kneel, dear uncle; if I am Queen, I am also your niece!"

The royal marriage and the happy married years ensuing, for a while made the heavy circlet of empire lighter on that most gracious and noble brow. The Princess Royal was born (since, in her own exalted turn, an Empress and a widow), and a year later the birth of our Prince of Wales rejoiced the whole country. The Queen then, as always, possessed two Empires, that of Great Britain and of her own household, and a month after the coming of the Heir Apparent she wrote to King Leopold of Belgium:—

"I wonder very much who my little boy will be like. You will understand how fervent are my prayers—and I am sure everybody's must be—to see him resemble his father in every respect, both in body and mind. . . . We must all have trials and vexations; but if one's home is happy, then the rest is comparatively nothing. My happiness at home and the love of my husband, his kindness, his advice, his support, his company, make up for all."

See how the Queen loved and loves that thoroughly English word "home,"—the secret of the story of nation and sovereign alike! Its utmost meaning is not felt or known by those who translate it into "*chez lui*" or "*chez moi*," and it tends to evaporate in regions where life is carried on in flats and hotels. Climate and the English instinct for isolation have had something to do with the intensity of sentiment which has come to cluster round the word; but that word is the most truly English and the most significant of all in our dictionary, so that Shakespeare could find no better one for Heaven when he wrote:—

"Thou thy worldly task hast done,  
Home art gone, and ta'en thy wages."

It is round the royal home that the progress and accumulation of power, wealth, and intellect of which I have spoken steadfastly grew throughout all these great and fortunate years. Home love and home joys—nay, indeed—home sorrows also—have fed the Queen's heart with the forces and the faith necessary to enable her to bear her majestic load of care and toil for England. In all her words and deeds and thoughts the sacredness of these sentiments and of simple human love shines within the precincts of her sovereignty like a golden lamp in a palace of marble.

I am so privileged as to possess from the gracious hands of the Queen herself, and enriched with her own beautiful handwriting, the two well-known volumes from her pen entitled "*Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*," and "*More Leaves from the Journal*



of a Life in the Highlands." It is almost impossible to open these books anywhere without finding playful but solid manifestations of those two feelings forever governing Her Majesty's great and generous heart,—the love of home, and the love of her people. There befalls no disaster to the mining or industrial classes; no dreadful wrecks at sea; no sad railway accident on land; no striking sorrow; no sudden public loss,—but the motherly love of the Queen is promptly shown in tender and graceful words of pity and sympathy which she knows so well how to employ; and many a sorrowful soul has been thus comforted. For her army and her navy, whenever and wherever they serve herself and the country, her solicitude is, and has ever been, intense and vigilant. A thousand instances might be adduced of this, which needs indeed no other proof than the ardent loyalty of those who—from the barrack to the field-marshal's tent, from the fore-castle to the admiral's cabin—wear "the Widow's uniform." Is it thought that such an influence must be sentimental only? In truth it is a force, and has been a force, like that of a great military leader's personal presence. When, in 1853, Her Majesty's heart was weighed down with anxiety for her soldiers in the Crimea, who were severely suffering, it was her own hand which wrote again and again to headquarters directing or suggesting ameliorations. And when Lord Raglan was leaving Windsor to return to his command in the Crimean camp, it is reported that one of the little Princesses said to him: "You must hurry back to Sebastopol, please, Lord Raglan, and take it, or mamma will die of her anxiety." Not merely in name has our Sovereign Lady been Commander-in-Chief of the naval and military forces of the realm. I have watched with amusement and admiration before now, at a levee in the Palace, some general officer of proud renown and superb warlike achievements crumpling up his white gloves into a ball, and nervously fidgetting from head to foot, with a tremor never felt in the presence of Death or of the enemy, as his turn came to pass the barrier and be announced by the Lord Chamberlain to his military superior, Her Majesty the Queen.

I doubt if a better proof could be furnished of this wide and comprehensive royal interest in all her subjects than the fact—slight but significant—that the Queen should have set herself to learn Hindostani, the language of her Indian people, and should have so mastered it as to be able to read and write, as well as to converse in, this *lingua franca* of the Oriental Peninsula. I subjoin a passage in Her Majesty's own writing, which lately appeared in one of our magazines; and those who

know the character will smile respectfully to see how she gets over a verbal difficulty in such a word as "Persia":—

Wander (attle 1889 <sup>۱۸۸۹</sup> ۳، شوالی

ایک کلون بھت ایما راہ شاہ پر شاہ ہا ری  
ملاقات لوہم چین و امیزون کی جو کی ای ٹی اور  
کھانا بھی جبر اہ کھا یا روڑ متوا شین کی لسن  
و ایسی گئی۔

To-day was very fine. The Shah of Persia came to see me today with some of his Ministers at two o'clock and took luncheon with me, and returned to London at a quarter past three.—

There would be risk of being suspected of exaggeration if I attempted to say—as I might speak from my own knowledge—how widely this mark of sincere sympathy and concern has affected the Princes and the peoples of India. The Mohammedans especially, of whom the Queen rules more than sixty millions, and to whom Hundo-



stani as a tongue particularly belongs, have heard with delight and pride of the Diary which Her Majesty keeps in Urdu, and at this day the *Maharani*, the *Kaiser-i-Hind*, the *Adhirajni*,—"Victoria the Empress,"—is for the mass of her subjects in India a power, an influence, absolutely immeasurable for the service of peace and obedience, almost touching, among the reverential and susceptible Hindoos, the region of the gods.

If these appear to any republican or democratic critic to be appreciations which go beyond fair limits into regions of flattery, I would tell him that both he and I should equally fail in estimating the national and historical values of such a life and such a personality as Queen Victoria's. He may object on principle to the immense and probably the enduring revindication which the reign has given to the monarchical principle. He may feel it almost fatal to his collectivism and to those doctrines of equality which Nature so universally repudiates, to see illustrated by this unparalleled reign how national and international history may be modified and controlled by the love, the purity, the dutifulness, and the piety of one woman's heart and soul, because a diadem sate upon her brow, and because her shining, sweet, and august example was set like a city upon a hill. But, in proportion as he is intelligent and reasonable, he must accept facts: and if he knows something of the science of dynamics in the physical world, he will be the readier to confess the prodigious social, moral, and political results which cannot but flow from the concentration, upon one object so near the ideal as this one has grown to appear, of the love, loyalty, and gratitude of the whole Anglo-Saxon race. There are accomplished mathematicians who can compute so nicely the celestial and cosmic forces which, on this side and that, hold planets in their place, that new worlds have been discovered, not by searching the sky, but by manipulating the calculations. But who shall give us the calculus by which God's blessing to England through this good Queen can be worked out in all its human ramifications and far social effects? In abdicationing actual power—because in our crowned republic the sovereign rules but does not govern—Victoria found and annexed a whole new Empire for the occupants of the English throne, that of Influence. "Let me make the songs of a people," said a shrewd statesman, "and anybody who will may make the laws." So might a monarch say: "Let me reign in the hearts of a people, and anybody may be Ministers of the Government!" Looking back along the vista of these past six decades, and noting what convulsions, what bloodshed,

what loss of life and growth and national resources have befallen from pushing too far the theories of democracy, it does not seem so much a thought of courtiership as of common gratitude toward Heaven to recall that solemn passage from the Persian of Sadi, "When the Lord of the World is pleased with the hearts of a people, He gives them a Sovereign wise and just."

I should deem it disrespectful to offer too particular an analysis of the character, too close a picture of the person, of this beloved Mistress, whose Imperial individuality is besides so well known from her life, her acts, her books, and the "fierce light which beats upon a throne." The heart of gold, the will of iron, the royal temper of steel, the pride, the patriotism, and the deep piety of Victoria have been enshrined in a small but vigorous frame, the *mignonne* aspect of which especially strikes those who behold her for the first time in these her "chair-days." It was reported how, when Prince Albert was dying, he roused himself from a period of wandering to turn with ineffable love to his spouse and Sovereign, saying to her with a kiss, "Good little wife!" And when the Prince Consort was actually passing away, after those twenty-one years of wedded happiness, it was told how the Queen bent over him and whispered, "It is your *little* wife," at which last words the Angel of Death stayed his hand while once again the dear eyes opened and the dying lips smiled. But though this be so, no one who has been honored by near approach to Her Majesty, or has ever tarried in her presence, will fail to testify to the extreme majesty of her bearing, mingled always with the most perfect grace and gentleness. Her voice has, moreover, always been pleasant and musical to hear, and is so now. The hand which holds the sceptre of the seas is the softest that can be touched; the eyes which have grown dim with labors of state for England, and with too frequent tears, are the kindest that can be seen. Not for a day nor for an hour did the Queen ever suspend the performance of her royal and imperial duties during the many sorrows which have fallen upon her, nor in the comparative seclusion which she has sometimes kept. The Duke of Argyll truly wrote once:—

"It ought to be known to all the people of this country that during all the years of the Queen's affliction, and those when she has lived necessarily in much retirement, she has omitted no part or portion of that public duty which constantly concerns her as sovereign of this country; that on no occasion during her grief has she discontinued work in those royal labors which belong to her exalted position."



How great and experienced a statesman she shows herself, every competent British Minister has testified. She is, in fact, the highest living authority upon the practical politics of Europe, and knows and understands constitutional problems with an intellectual grasp which has never been relaxed. It is from a radical and republican source that the subjoined tribute has been culled :—

“Broadly speaking, it may be fairly said by all her Ministers, Liberal and Conservative, that she has more knowledge of the business of governing nations than any of her Prime Ministers ; more experience of the mysteries and intricacies of foreign affairs than any of her Foreign Secretaries ; as loyal and willing a subservience to the declared will of the nation as any democrat in Parliament ; and as keen and passionate an Imperial patriotism as ever beat in any human breast.”

Such, and so great, so useful, so benign, so faithful,—sketched in these most imperfect outlines,—has been and is the Sovereign Lady upon whom nearly sixty years ago the vast burden of the British Empire was laid, and to whom, amid trials and losses as great as could be borne, Sorrow and Death and Destiny have constantly cried :—

“Break not, O woman’s heart ! but still endure ;  
Break not, for thou art Royal, but endure !”

The noble heart has not broken, because the Faith which made Victoria begin this reign upon her knees has sustained the Queen ; because the fervent love of the people, given in exchange for her love, has brought her daily strength ; and because a mighty and majestic charge, not yet completed,—an Imperial charge involving for her nation immense blessings, and entailing for herself eternal rewards,—was committed by the Almighty God to her chosen and most competent hands, for divine purposes, and with destined ends.

EDWIN ARNOLD.

## THE FRENCH ACADEMY.

IN the estimation of many the *Académie Française* constitutes a literary body much less numerous and a little more celebrated than the *Société des Gens de Lettres*. For others it is a *salon* of men of the world, wherein, peradventure, a few writers may be found. It is a Madame Tussaud's museum of French celebrities; a cabinet of mummies; the antechamber of Père Lachaise; the Pantheon of the living. Besides this it is a very aged lady with a wooden head, who once a week, in a chilly place, receives forty invalids and valetudinarians possessing the wits of four. It is, as said Voltaire, "the conservatory of taste." Later, Alphonse Daudet called it "a hollow idol; nothing; the under side of nothing." According to Lacordaire it is "the senate of French intelligence," and Guy de Maupassant described it as "the play of death and of forty old men." It may thus be easily observed that in France the most diverse opinions are held concerning this institution; and as I do not know the estimation in which it is held in the United States, I will endeavor to tell what the Academy is in reality.

It is very generally known that Cardinal Richelieu was the founder of the French Academy, and the foundation occurred in this manner. Toward the year 1633 certain writers, such as Godeau, Chapelain, and Conrart; and several learned gentlemen, like Habert, commissary of artillery, Claude de Malleville, Jacques de Serizay,—met once a week, sometimes at one house, sometimes at another, with the common purpose of discussing literature and mutually imparting their written work. These reunions became known to Cardinal Richelieu, then Prime Minister, and occupied in the pursuit of a double purpose,—the unity of France and an absolute monarchy. He conceived the idea of making this little literary society serve his own great ends. On the one hand it should regulate the French language by expunging cant expressions, local speech, and provincialisms, and thus concur in the establishment of French unity; while on the other hand the more important writers would be enrolled in an official body over whom the throne, while affording protection, should also dominate. Richelieu wished to disci-



pline and enslave literature to the monarchical power. Finally the Cardinal, who was himself a writer, saw a means of satisfying his vanity in creating himself the protector of a literary body. From the outset the members of the society—tranquil and modest men—looked with displeasure on the overtures of the Cardinal, and endeavored, but unsuccessfully, to evade them.

New members became associated with the society (for it was only in the fourth year after the founding of the Academy that the membership was increased to forty), and it became necessary to give a name to the association. Struck by the name "Academy," the question arose,—Academy of what? Some wished it to be "*l'Académie des Beaux-Esprits*"; others, again, desired the name "*Académie de l'Eloquence*." "*Académie Eminente*" was also proposed. Finally the choice fell upon the name which should have been originally selected,—"*Académie Française*,"—at once the grandest and the simplest. Statutes were drawn up which, throughout two and a half centuries, have suffered scarcely any change. Three officers were elected: a Perpetual Secretary, charged with the preparation of the work of the association and the recording of its resolutions; a Director, to preside at the meetings and to conduct the discussions; and a Chancellor, who was to have the custody of the archives and the seal. As the name indicates, the Perpetual Secretary was appointed for life. The other officers were nominated for the term of a year, though they are now appointed for a trimester.

The early part of January, 1635, saw the Academy formally established by letters patent given by Louis XIII and enrolled by Parliament. Richelieu's intention was to build a palace for the reunions of the Academy on a projected place which should be known as the "Place Ducale." In the meanwhile the sessions of the Academicians were held in the home of the Perpetual Secretary, Conrart. On the death of Richelieu, Séguier, Chancellor of France, who was already a member of the Academy, was elected Protector, thus replacing the Cardinal. Séguier placed his magnificent mansion at the disposition of the Academy, in which an enormous chamber was devoted to the meetings. In turn Séguier died in 1672. The Academy now had the most serious difficulty in procuring a new Protector. It was observed by d'Alembert that "the title was too grand for any one but the sovereign." It thus befell that Louis XIV was chosen to the office, while M. de Harlay, Archbishop of Paris, and a member of the Academy, became the deputy of the king, who acceded to the proposition.

The Academy went in a body to thank the king, who caused each member to be presented by M. de Harlay, and finally closed the audience by observing to Colbert, who was also a member: "You will inform me of everything which it may be necessary for me to do for these gentlemen."

A few days later it became known that the king had placed at the disposal of the Academy in perpetuity a magnificent room in the Palace of the Louvre, in which to hold its sessions, with an ample provision of lights, heating, clerks, copyists, and servants. He also made a gift of the 660 valuable volumes which he had gathered as the nucleus of his library; and provision was made that each member should receive, at every session which he attended, a piece of money worth six livres, —a sum equivalent to twenty-one francs of our present money. Louis XIV further decreed that the French Academy should be admitted to the honor of addressing him on occasions of solemnity, similarly with the Parliament and the great bodies of state; and that the Academicians were to be received at court on occasions of festivals or spectacular displays,—privileges which until this time had been accorded only to the nobility and other great personages.

Richelieu, when creating the Academy, thought to enslave the body of authors to the royal authority; but in fact he effected quite the contrary. He had emancipated them and raised them to be a power in the state. The Academy being composed of men of letters and nobles, among whom equality reigned and in which each one called the other by the simple title, "Monsieur," its members, being equal as Academicians, very speedily arrived at a feeling of equality as individuals.<sup>1</sup>

The new honors and privileges which Louis XIV conceded to the Academicians only augmented the estimation in which men of letters had come to consider themselves. The curiosity of Queen Christina of Sweden to be present at a meeting of the Academy gave rise to the question whether the members should remain standing while she was present. The decision was, however, in the negative, and directly the Queen was placed the members took their seats. Very soon they even resisted the wishes of Louis XIV. The king having formally manifested a wish that Beaulieu should be elected, they proceeded to elect

<sup>1</sup> This spirit of equality was manifested in the following incident: In 1713, the aged and infirm Cardinal d'Estries, becoming fatigued from sitting for two consecutive hours in a common chair, asked to be provided with an arm-chair. The Academy, desiring neither to disoblige the Cardinal nor to accord him a special privilege, determined to ask for forty arm-chairs for their hall of session, a request to which the king immediately acceded.



La Fontaine. Under the Regency the Academy decreed the exclusion of the Abbé Saint-Pierre, the friend and *protégé* of the Regent, without disquietude as to the displeasing effect on their all-powerful protector. Under Louis XV another *protégé* of the court having presented himself for membership, and having told Duclos, then Perpetual Secretary, that in view of his great age and his infirmities he would not long encumber the Academy, Duclos replied, "Eh! Monsieur! the Academy is not an extreme unction." And this opinion of Duclos was indorsed in the election of Buffon. The successive elections of philosophers and encyclopædists were so distasteful to the court that, shortly after the accession of Louis XVI, it was noised abroad that the Prince, dissatisfied with the dominant tone of the Academy, intended to suppress it.

It was decreed, however, that the Revolution should suppress the French Academy in common with others: namely, the Academy of Inscriptions, founded in 1663; the Academy of Science, founded in 1666; and the Academy of Fine Arts, founded in 1671. The services which the Academicians had rendered to letters, to science, and to art; their introduction into the old society of the first ideas of equality,—were all in vain: the Academy was none the less an institution of royalty, a privileged body,—and the Revolution would have no more privileged bodies. On the 8th of August, 1793, the Convention passed a decree to suppress the former academies. Less than eighteen months later this same Convention in a manner re-established them under the name of the National Institute, forming three sections: the first comprising the sciences of physics and mathematics; the second, the moral and political sciences; the third, literature and the fine arts. From this period dates the uniform which is still worn by the members at public ceremonies, and in which they appear at the solemn functions of the Institute. It consists of a long coat, of which the skirt and collar are embroidered in green; a cocked hat trimmed with black feathers and decorated with the national cockade; and a dress sword with a hilt of mother-of-pearl and gold.

This uniform, which has given to the Academicians the nickname of "Parrots," was worn on several occasions by Napoleon Bonaparte, who became a member of the Department of Science (Section of Mechanics) after his first campaign in Italy. On his return from Egypt, when contemplating the *coup-d'état* which should result in bringing him into power, he refrained from making an appearance at public ceremonies in military garb, lest he should give umbrage to the civil power. Neither did he wish to wear the plain frock coat common to

the citizen, and which appeared to him to lack distinction. During the months of September and October, 1799, he therefore repeatedly wore the famous parrot-dress and the pacific sword of his fellow members of the Institute. Upon his election as First Consul, Bonaparte gave a new organization to the Institute, which henceforth was to be composed of four distinct sections: the first being that of Sciences, corresponding to the former Academy of Science; the second, that of French Language and Literature, corresponding to the former French Academy; the third, that of History and Ancient Literature, corresponding to the Academy of Inscriptions; and the fourth, that of Fine Arts, corresponding to the former Academy of Fine Arts. The plan of reorganization, elaborated by Chaptal, had but these four sections, although constituting the entire Institute under the name of Academy, which was now assumed as before. Napoleon did not desire this, however, considering that it savored too much of the *ancien régime*; but, notwithstanding that the name of Academy was not officially restored, it sufficed that it was employed by the Institute. Toutanes, then Grand Master of the University, wrote to the Perpetual Secretary of the French Academy: "I may tell you, confidentially, that the four sections can reassume the name of Academy without causing general displeasure." Also, on March 5, 1803, Lacroix observed in the speech which he made at his reception: "All honor to the reorganization of the Academies. The French Academy is constructed afresh." And a year later another Academician, François de Neufchâteau, also said at a public session: "The French Academy lives. The period of good taste has come again." All the former members still living re-entered the society by right and without vote, with the exception of two who were abroad under the ban of the emigrant law.

In 1806 the Institute received a grant of the former College of the Four Nations, in which to hold its sessions and locate its offices and library. The vast buildings situated on the quay facing the Louvre received the name of Palace of the Institute. The enlarged chapel, crowned by the famous cupola, was arranged for the public sessions; and henceforth the Academicians were at home,—a matter of far greater value than to be the guest of the king. Louis XVIII officially re-established the name of "Academy," and gave to the society the rank of pre-eminence held by it during a hundred and fifty years. Louis Philippe added a fifth section to the Institute, under the name of the "Academy of Moral and Political Sciences." Since then not a single modification has been effected in the organization of the Institute or of



the French Academy. To the honors and prerogatives received from the old monarchy the French Academy has added others, which have come to it from the hands of the Republic and from the First Empire, in much that constitutes the rank of the Institute, such as the donning of the uniform, the attendance of a detachment of troops of the line at its public ceremonies, and a determined grade of precedence on great occasions of ceremony and in official processions. It may be of interest to know that the Academicians follow after the Council of State, the Court of the Exchequer, and the Supreme Court, but go before the Court of Session, the high government officials, the Prefects, the General and Municipal Councils, the Faculties, the Corps of Instructors, and the Tribunals.

I have shown the position of the Academy in French society during two hundred and fifty years, and the advantages it has brought to the profession of letters. But I have not spoken of its occupation, its mission, or its practical utility. An institution concerned only with mere matters of luxury could possess no rational excuse for either its existence or its continuance. The principal occupation of the Academy, pursued without cessation, and having in its completion but a perpetual recommencement, has been the Dictionary. I already hear the exclamation: "The Dictionary! But that is surely a joke! The Academy will never finish it. After two hundred and fifty years it has not yet completed the letter A!" I will therefore endeavor to dispel the confusion existing in many minds. The Academy has two Dictionaries. One of these, which was begun in 1778, is the "Historical Dictionary," whose plan was suggested by Voltaire. It is a compilation of etymology and history, and of the variations in the significance of words set forth in numerous examples as attested by every French writer inclusively since the fifteenth century. Although this Dictionary has in fact only reached the letter A, it has been published in an enormous quarto volume. It will never be completed. The Academy decided, some twelve years ago, to abandon the work.

There is, however, beside the Historical Dictionary, a "Dictionary of Usage," wherein are given only the words with their different acceptations and short and decisive examples of ordinary use. From 1694 to 1878 seven editions of this work have been published, each radically differing from the others. Indeed a language is constantly subjected to modification. The sense of one word is altered; another word is no longer employed; still another is created to meet a new

requirement,—as “telegram” or “bicyclet”; or a modern thought must find expression,—as “decentralization” or “pessimism.” It is the same with orthography, in which the constant tendency is toward simplification. In the seventeenth century one wrote, “*il devoit*”; in the eighteenth century, “*il devoit*”; to-day we write, “*il devait*.”

The Dictionary is framed as a standard, and hence, like a veritable labor of Penelope, must be begun again as soon as it is finished. In the matter of orthography the Dictionary of the Academy is an authority in all institutions of learning, and it would be almost an impossibility for a printing-office to diverge therefrom in spelling.

The office of the Academy is not to create, but to register words of pure language and such as are usually employed; and while it acknowledges the privilege of all to create new words, it retains the right to exclude neologisms from the Dictionary wherever it may judge them to be barbarian or of very restricted usage. The work of this department is carried on by six members, named for life, who, assisted by the Perpetual Secretary, prepare the work. Each word is next submitted by the chairman to the approval of the assembled Academy. The discussions are occasionally exceedingly protracted. Particular words occupy an entire session. The Duc d'Aumale, an immensely clever historian, and one of the most learned men I have ever known, takes an active part in these discussions, his opinion being very generally accepted more on account of its intrinsic merit than because of his rank. Two years ago the Academy proposed an orthographic reform on phonetic principles (a style of writing, let me say parenthetically, pertaining to cooks). The discussion was very lively, but the Duc d'Aumale's exclamation, “You will never induce me to write ‘*philosophie*’—‘*filosofie*,’” buried the proposed reform.

Besides the Dictionary the Academy has another great work: namely, the awards. Previous to 1780 there were only two prizes for annual distribution. But since that period various legacies and donations have provided an annual sum of 200,000 francs for awards,—the *prix de vertu* and the literary prizes. The prizes for literature are awarded in special competitions for prose and poetry, and also for works of literature, history, and criticism which are of recent date. Each year sees not less than five hundred manuscripts in verse or prose and some three hundred printed works presented before the French Academy. These works are distributed among committees composed of four Academicians, who submit them to a personal examination at home, followed by a discussion in committee. Decisions are adopted or rejected by the full Academy.



A similar procedure takes place for the *prix de vertu* on reports which flow in from every part of France. These *prix de vertu*, of which the first was established in 1784 by M. de Montyon, have quadrupled since that epoch. They are awarded to poor persons who have accomplished some act of charity, devotion, or courage. The annual discourse, pronounced in public by an Academician, demonstrates by the most touching examples what a treasury of charity lies within the human breast. The *prix de vertu* are decreed to the humble, to the poor; to those who have nothing, and who, possessing nothing, yet give all, since they give themselves.

From July to December a weekly session is held on Thursday; but from January to June,—the period during which the bestowal of the prizes must be considered,—bi-weekly meetings are held on Tuesday and Thursday. To these two sessions add the committee meetings, and the time spent at home in perusing the works presented in competition, and it may readily be seen that the position of an Academician is not precisely a sinecure. Certainly the 1,500 francs annually allowed as compensation are honestly earned by the members of the Academy. In 1865 Napoleon III considered the expediency of increasing the remuneration to 6,000 francs. Some of the more eminent among the members were consulted, but they, wishing the title of “Academician” to remain purely honorary, refused to consider the question.

In connection with the insignificant salary paid by the Academy, I recall a neat saying of Eugène Labiche. The day subsequent to his election he received an invitation to dine with a great lady, who, although she had long known him, had never before invited him to her table, having been quite satisfied to ask him to her receptions. In the midst of the dinner his hostess inquired, “How much is one paid at the Institute?” “Madame,” replied Labiche, “we receive only 1,500 francs—but we are fed!”

The labors laid upon the Academy (I do not mention dining-out, which is also a labor) can only be augmented, as with each year new endowments for awards cause a proportional increase in the works presented to the committees. Some day (a day which all must hope will be far distant) the fortune of the Academy—and, as a natural sequence, its burden—will be very considerably augmented. This will be when, by the demise of the Duc d’Aumale, his property of Chantilly will have become vested in the Institute of France. In 1885 the Duc d’Aumale made a gift to the Institute of this vast estate, with its forest of 50,000 acres, while retaining the usufruct. Included in the gift are

the *château*—as large as that of Versailles—and the marvellous collections of art that are contained in it. The value of all this is estimated at from 50,000,000 to 60,000,000 francs. The Institute must then be occupied with the administration of the estate and the enlargement of the present collections, while the surplus revenues will be employed to establish awards bearing the name of “Prizes of the Duc d’Aumale.”

Such an increase of fortune constitutes both a burden and a danger for the Institute. Who shall say whether some day a revolutionary government may not suppress the Institute in order to obtain its possessions, as in 1794, when the wealthy suffered on the guillotine because condemnation to death entailed a confiscation of property. In any case, this spoliation—possible even if not probable—can be neither an advantage to literature and the sciences, nor a help to the poor. The French Academy has, as a labor, the Dictionary, and as a mission the distribution of prizes for literature and virtue. There appertains to it also a purely moral side which I have often heard defined as follows by Ernest Renan:—

“The government of intellectual matters in France results in a sort of equilibrium between three powers: the government, the Academies, and the public. These three powers are not always in accord, and their very disagreement is a guarantee for authors, scholars, and artists. Irresponsible senates, the Academies show themselves at times narrow and prejudiced; but the government which bestows the honors, the employment, and the pensions, and the public who give the celebrity, correct the unjust exclusions of the Institute. On the other hand, were the government the only master of genius, the natural inclination would be to recompense only the men belonging to its own faction; while, were the public the sole arbitrators, certain writers, inaccessible to the masses by the very nature of their work, would see themselves disdained. The Academies are here to indemnify the independent intelligence against the malevolence of government, and such as are passed over by the public by reason of talents it cannot appreciate. The Academicians are also here to shut their doors against fortune-winning charlatans, and to make them expiate in this manner an unmerited success and a usurped reputation.”

If a good many people have something to say against the French Academy, no one at least can contest the merit that it is in the fashion. Certainly there are no fewer men of excellence in the other Academies than in this one, nor have they rendered less service to science or the fine arts than have these men to letters. But they are much less discussed, and in consequence they are infinitely less in the fashion. To give one example among many, let us see the difference between an election at the French Academy and at one of the others.

A member of the Academy of Science dies. Three or four candi-



dates present themselves for the vacancy. Scarcely a newspaper notices the fact. The election takes place two or three months later, and eight days afterward the newly elected member takes his seat with no formalities whatever. The newspapers announce the election in three lines among the news items for the day, and that is all.

Very different is the case when one dies an "Immortal,"—that is to say, a member of the French Academy. From the day following the demise the papers announce the names of the probable candidates. From time to time during several months (for at the French Academy a period varying from eight to ten or even twelve months is permitted to elapse between a vacancy and an election) the papers discuss these new candidates. They then announce the fact that the Academy has declared the succession to be open; that Mr. X has sent in his letter of candidacy; that Mr. Y has begun to make his round of visits; that Mr. Z has not yet determined the point, but that no doubt he will present himself at the last moment. Beside this information, exhaustive articles are printed concerning the rights of the candidates to the position, and the chances of their ultimate success. The manner in which the votes will be cast receives thorough discussion, and the exact figures of the various ballots and the probability of "dark horses" and "outsiders" are thoroughly canvassed in *salons* and clubs as well as in the newspapers, while bets are made as at the races. This lively discussion often renders people celebrated solely on account of their numerous and always unfortunate candidacies, and this system of self-advertisement is frequently employed with no hope whatever of final success, a sufficiency of satisfaction being found in merely assuming the position of candidates!

The day of election arrives. Next day the result is published in the newspapers, with an accompaniment of criticism, biographies, and interviews, and full-face and profile photographs of the new member. Nor is this all. A formal reception generally takes place about a year after the election. During the interval the newspapers make frequent mention of the "new Academician," announcing such items as—who will entertain him; who will be his sponsors; at what date the reception will occur; that he is preparing his speech; that he has finished it; that it has been put into the hands of the Academician whose duty it will be to reply; that the two speeches have been read to the commission. Then comes the reception, and the following day the newspapers reproduce the speeches with criticism or praise, while the reporters discuss the audience at length. In fact these receptions are

most elegant, and are greatly frequented. Even society women take great pains to obtain a place. The Academicians and their friends, and particularly the Perpetual Secretary, are assailed with petitions. The reception has all the charm of a great "first representation," though even more alluring, since admittance cannot be obtained through payment of money. It is at the same time a contest of eloquence and a concourse of beauty and fashionable dress.

To what must the vogue enjoyed by the French Academy over the other Academies be attributed? To the brilliancy of its receptions? No,—since these are a result rather than a cause. To its pre-eminence over the other sections of the Institute,—a pre-eminence due to the sovereignty of age and the privilege of presenting new members to the Chief of the State? By no means,—the public does not trouble itself with these details. Is it, then, because great scientists like the late M. Pasteur, famous mathematicians like M. Bertrand, or erudite scholars like M. Littré, have presented themselves before the French Academy,—although already members of the Institute,—in recognition, as it were, of a certain superiority, a choice within a choice, somewhat as if it were the typical Senate of the Institute? This may in a manner be the case. But in my opinion another cause, of far greater influence, orders the prestige of the French Academy. The plain fact is that the Academy, being open to all, excites, by this very condition, a greater envy and ambition than the other Academies, with the natural result of producing the greatest amount of general interest. The explanation is easy. I once read in a "Civic Catechism" (such is the name given it!) in use in the primary schools the question, "Can any French citizen become President of the Republic?" Answer: "Yes, any French citizen may become President of the Republic." The rule which governs the Presidency of the Republic controls also a seat in the French Academy. Any French citizen may become an Academician. To enter the Academy of Sciences it is necessary to be a scientist; to enter the Academy of Inscriptions it is necessary to be a scholar; to enter the French Academy it is in no wise essential to be an author. It is sufficient to occupy a high place in political life, to be well born, or to possess talent of some sort. A minister; a lawyer; a deputy; a bishop; an engineer; a general; an explorer; a diplomat; a chemist,—may be elected to the French Academy without so much as ever having written more than the mere letter to propose his candidacy. It may readily be understood what ambitions are awakened by the position since all may aspire to it. And the sensation caused by the occur-



rence of a vacancy is the natural consequence of a widespread interest. If, therefore, the French Academy would preserve, with its place in literature, a similar popularity in French society, care must be taken to guard against becoming an exclusively literary association.

Its choice must continue to fall not alone upon professional writers, but among the celebrated of other occupations. It must remain the high assemblage of all the illustrious of France. It must tend toward creating, as it has done in the past, an equality from above; that is to say, to cause a plain man of letters elected to the French Academy to be held in equal consideration with a minister of state, a *grand seigneur* (if one still exists), or a famous general; and for the very reason that a prime minister, a *grand seigneur*, or a famous general presents his candidacy and climbs five flights of stairs to pay the simple man of letters the obligatory visit, the fact is demonstrated that he is proud to become the *confrère* of such a man of letters.

In conclusion I may mention (in the order of their priority) thirty-four actual members of the French Academy. I say "thirty-four" since six vacancies exist by reason of death. The following is a list:—

Ernest Legouvé, who has experienced a veritable theatrical success, and who at 89 years of age still continues to write the most charming reminiscences of youth.

Le Duc de Broglie, formerly prime minister, and ambassador at London, and a talented historian.

Émile Ollivier, an orator without a rival, whose name belongs to history.

Le Duc d'Aumale, the conqueror of Abd-el-Kader, and the historian of the Princes of Condé.

Alfred Mézières, professor at the Sorbonne, deputy, President of the Military Commission, and a keen critic of English, German, and Italian literature.

Jules Simon, who has been everything,—professor, journalist, deputy, prime minister, and senator,—and who above everything else has written with the utmost talent.

Gaston Boissier, the great Latinist, the learned historian of Cicero, the most amiable and erudite guide to a journey through ancient Rome.

Victorien Sardou, whose work, with the exception of "La Haine," which is his *chef-d'œuvre*, has met with immense success.

Edmond Rousse, formerly president of the bench, with a witty word and a clever pen.

René Sully-Prudhomme, the profound and exquisite poet.

Victor Cherbuliez, the delightful novelist and writer.

Adolphe Perraud, the Bishop of Autun.

Édouard Pailleron, author of "Le Monde où l'on s'ennuie."

François Coppée, author of "Passant" and "Pour la Couronne,"—the poet at once familiar and heroic.

Joseph Bertrand, the celebrated mathematician, Perpetual Secretary of the Academy of Science.

Ludovic Halévy, who has written twenty pieces of the greatest spirituality, and a little book, a masterpiece of reflection,—“ M. and Madame Cardinet.”

Léon Say, the great economist, formerly director of the “ Journal des Débats,” Prefect of the Seine, ambassador, minister, and President of the Senate.

Édouard Hervé, one of the foremost journalists of the time.

Vallery Gréard, Vice-Grand-Master of the University.

Le Comte d'Haussonville, whose name permits him to do nothing, and who has written two hundred articles for the “ Revue des Deux Mondes,” and has published ten volumes.

Jules Claretie, director of the Comédie Française, who has given to history the attraction of romance, to romance the seriousness of history, and to journalism the attraction of romance and the earnestness of history, with the art of a writer.

Henri Meilhac, a son of Reynard Meilhac, whose dramatic works have made the fortunes of twenty theatres.

Le Vicomte Melchior de Vogüé, a broad-minded essayist, of whom it has been said that he writes like Châteaubriand.

Charles De Freycinet, formerly Minister of War.

Pierre Loti, the novelist, or, to speak more truly, the painter, or, even better, the adorable poet of “ Rarahu ” and of “ Pêcheurs d'Islande.”

Ernest Lavisse, the finest German historian in France—or in Germany.

Le Vicomte Henri de Bornier, author of “ La Fille de Roland.”

Paul Thureau-Dangin, who wrote the “ Histoire de la Monarchie de Juillet.”

Paul Challemeil-Lacour, late President of the Senate.

Ferdinand Brunetière, the incontestable master of contemporaneous criticism.

J. M. de Hérédia, the Benvenuto Cellini of sonnets.

Albert Sorel, whose book, “ L'Europe et la Révolution Française,” has renewed the history of diplomacy.

Paul Bourget, now become as celebrated in America as in France.

And finally the writer of this article,—

HENRY HOUSSAYE.



## THE STAGE FROM A CLERGYMAN'S STANDPOINT.

FORTY years ago the pulpit very strongly condemned the stage. In the year 1856 I find a public speaker concluding his address to a vast audience of five thousand young men, with these earnest words:—

“Young men, if you once gain a fondness for the playhouse, temptation meets you on the threshold, accosts you in the lobby, attracts you on the stage. Friends, brothers, hear the voice of the Wise Man, and apply this exhortation to the theatre, ‘Enter not into the path of the wicked, go not into the way of evil men, avoid it, pass not by it, turn from it, and pass away.’”

Even Dr. Johnson felt that it was inconsistent with true piety to frequent the theatre. And in later days, if Canon Melville, Dr. Cumming, Hugh Stowell, or Morley Punshon, on the other side of the Atlantic; or Henry Anthon, Stephen Tyng, Bishop McIlvaine, or any other popular preacher, in this country,—had been seen within the walls of a theatre, their ministerial popularity would have been extinguished. The whole trend of the pulpit was against the stage, and it is only by very slow although very perceptible changes that the theatre has gradually been tolerated by religious teachers. Now, clergymen are frequently seen in New York theatres, and no apology for their presence is demanded. The gifted rector of St. Bartholomew's Church, New York, in a volume of sermons entitled “From Things to God,” says:—

“Ought Christian people to go to the theatre? That they do go—many of them—I am well aware. And yet there is a feeling upon their part—more or less active and strong—that there is something in the going that is just a little inconsistent with the Christian character.”

But a remarkable change has taken place in the attitude of Christian preachers toward the stage. Very much of this change of feeling, I think, must be attributed to the action taken by the late Bishop Fraser, of Manchester, England, who, twenty-five years ago, attempted to reform the stage. I had the privilege of hearing Bishop Fraser defend his position in a remarkable speech at the Sheffield Church Congress. He maintained that if religious people would only attend the theatre, the managers would very soon reform the stage in order to

meet the demands of their supporters. But I have had the privilege of reading a confidential letter addressed by this good bishop, not long before his death, to a clergyman of the American Church, in which he confesses that he had been sadly disappointed in his efforts. He found that neither the managers of theatres nor the actors themselves desired any great reform in the direction of morality, while the public seemed to care very little about the subject.

The theatre is an enormous influence. The clergy in their churches preach once or twice a week. The theatre is an influence and an instruction, either for good or evil, every day of the week. To do away with the theatre is an impossibility. To relegate it, as the evangelical preachers would have done, to the slums of vulgarity and vice, is also impossible. It is therefore very clearly the duty of the preacher to have some very definite views on so popular an amusement. It is no use generalizing on the subject; there must be definite teaching.

The standard which the Christian minister must lay down for his guidance in this matter must be that formulated by the apostle:—

“Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things.”

This would seem to be the “standpoint” from which a clergyman must view the theatre.

People frequent theatres for three special reasons,—amusement, entertainment, and instruction. I place amusement first; for, whatever may have been the history of the stage in the past (and we know it was designed for instruction rather than for amusement), no one can doubt that in the present day people frequent theatres very largely for amusement and nothing more,—simply for a three-hours laugh.

“Laughter,” says Mr. Addison, “while it lasts, slackens and unbraces the mind.” And this is what men and women seem most to need in “the weary working world” of New York city. But it is surprising to any thoughtful mind how crowds of educated people can be collected to witness the silliest trash that can possibly be presented to the public,—plays that are very badly conceived in the plot, and very poorly expressed in the acting: and yet they “draw.” I have found an instance of this in a play performed at the Madison Square Theatre, entitled “The Gay Parisians.” There is nothing objectionable in the play as plays go. But it seems strange that any sensible man could offer such a play to a first-class audience, and that a first-class audience



in a first-class theatre could crowd together to witness such a jumble,—a jumble, also, that was silly in the extreme. Of course we laughed. Laughter is contagious, and the laugh did us good ; for it has been said that, morally considered, laughter is next to the Ten Commandments.

Some of these “funny” plays are not only poor in their conception, but immoral in their expression. A remarkable instance of this is a play entitled “Too Much Johnson.” Its plot is absolutely improbable, its chief incident being that of a New York banker or merchant deceiving a pure and virtuous wife by persistent lying. The curtain falls upon the hero amid shouts of laughter and applause, crowds of men and women having, during their three hours of amusement, imbibed the idea that stupendous lying, even in the most sacred relations of life, is not only smart but funny. This play had a long run, and I am not aware that one single minister of Christ raised a word against it, either with his pen or from the pulpit.

There are some comic plays which not only make one laugh, but are admirable in their conception. Among them I am disposed to class “Charley’s Aunt.” But the expressions of profanity which are put into the mouths of the college graduates seem entirely unnecessary, and make it difficult for a clergyman to sit through the performance. I would here remark that I have observed that the sense of propriety in an average audience at our theatres seems to be of a higher standard than that of the play-writer and manager. On one occasion I attended a very popular theatrical entertainment accompanied by a stenographer, and we made careful notes of the way in which jokes were received. We found that a really good innocent joke “brought down” the house, while expressions of vulgarity were very often allowed to pass in silence. In some cases they were hissed. I cannot understand why reputable managers do not give this subject more careful consideration. They would probably do so if the teaching of the pulpit were persistently aimed against them. For if the pulpit has not lost its power with regard to municipal reform and the Sunday saloon, it certainly can wield its influence against a low standard of morality in the theatre. The well-known comedian, Mr. De Wolf Hopper, seems to draw the line between that which is amusing and that which is vulgar. The acting in his plays is always strong, vigorous, and full of healthy fun which keeps an audience in roars of laughter, and, so far as I have been able to observe, the laws of decency are not violated. An ability to bring this about is a rare gift, and one which seems to be possessed by few stage managers of the present day.

Among the provisions which the modern playhouse makes for the entertainment of the public as well as for its amusement is the comic opera, the spectacular play, and dramatic representations of real life. It is somewhat difficult to understand why certain very beautiful comic operas have failed to "draw" for any length of time. Take "Utopia," for example. No clergyman could object to sitting through such a performance with its pleasing musical strains by Sir Arthur Sullivan, its attractive scenery, and its real fun as enjoyable as innocent. Many such operas have been produced on the New York stage, but I am told by experienced managers that it is impossible to forecast the success or failure of a comic opera. Very large sums of money have been lost in this department of theatrical work. The "Robber of the Rhine" was singularly well staged, and was an admirable production in every respect. It was selected by Mr. Miner as one of the opening plays of his new Fifth Avenue Theatre. But it was a financial failure, being too good and too refined for the ordinary playgoer. The two most successful comic operas have been "Robin Hood" and "Rob Roy." In "Rob Roy" the old Scotch airs were attractive; the costumes of the women were modest; the acting was exceedingly good. But this is seldom the case.

In very many comic operas the costumes of the women are excessively immodest. An instance of the kind is found in "The Wizard of the Nile," at the Casino Theatre, in which Mr. Frank Daniels takes the leading part. In the first act the costumes of the chorus girls seem to have been specially designed to appeal to the sensuous feelings of the audience,—such in fact as those against which the earnest criticisms of the late Bishop Fraser were directed. Mr. Daniels is a consummate actor and can keep an audience in continuous roars of laughter, and it is Mr. Daniels, and not the semi-nude chorus girls, who "draw." Why, then, should womanhood be degraded? I often wonder that the educated women of New York do not see how dishonoring to their sex the exposure of the female figure becomes. If Christian women would only view the matter from the Christian standpoint they would decline to attend a theatre where the female costumes are known to be decidedly immodest. If the comic opera is to escape the condemnation of the Church, some effort must be made by the directors to keep the costumes within the limits of propriety. Greek sculpture is all very well as a means of education in a museum,—but you do not find Greek art in the comic opera! Quite the reverse! It is simply vulgar.



For a very short time an artistic opera entitled "The Sphinx" was placed upon the stage of the Casino Theatre, with Mr. Wilson as the leading comedian. But it had a short run,—probably because it was entirely free from objectionable features. If such is the case it is an evidence of that deterioration of taste which is said to exist among the playgoers of the present day.

At Mr. Palmer's theatre I witnessed some very poor acting in an excessively vulgar comic opera of which Miss Della Fox was the prima donna. It was surprising to me that the manager did not insist upon some revision of the piece. To see Miss Fox (now certainly out of her teens) clad in a short baby frock was indecent, pitiable, and revolting. Criticism by the pulpit upon the lines set forth in the words, "Whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are of good report," would make it impossible for those who profess to be "Christian women" to sit through immodest plays. It is because the pulpit has no definite teaching on the subject that such stage productions are found to be popular, even among modest-minded people.

Another phase of theatrical representation designed for our entertainment is the realistic drama, such as "Beau Brummell," "The Prisoner of Zenda," and "The Senator." Mr. Mansfield, Mr. Sothern, and Mr. Crane seem to succeed admirably in producing that which is healthy and good, and yet I believe these gentlemen assert that they are not appreciated by a New York audience to an extent to which they certainly have a claim. Mr. Mansfield will often perform his best pieces before a thin house, while crowds of well-dressed ladies and gentlemen may be seen laughing over the poor wit and questionable morality of "Too Much Johnson." If I were asked to select what I considered an ideal play, it would be "The Senator" as produced by Mr. Crane. It combines the threefold purpose of the stage,—amusement, entertainment, and teaching.

Some of the so-called realistic plays are singularly untrue,—for example, one which I recently witnessed, entitled "David Garrick." In this play Mr. Garrick is represented as the very model of honor in the affairs of women, a condition as untrue to the history of the hero as anything could possibly be; and even Mr. Nat Goodwin's realistic personation of a tipsy Garrick did not rescue the play from the oblivion which it so well deserved.

The Lyceum Theatre is one of the few places in the city of New York where one is certain to find a play which will not in any way

antagonize one's sense of propriety. I am told that the manager carefully examines every piece which is placed upon the stage, and expunges improprieties. In several instances the plays produced at the Lyceum have undergone considerable pruning under the skilful management of Mr. Daniel Frohman. A lady who has a large family of sons and daughters recently said to me: "I always feel that I can take my family to the Lyceum Theatre without any fear of being disgusted." "The Prisoner of Zenda," as performed by Mr. Sothern, was a typical play among those selected for this theatre. "The Home Secretary" is an English play representing social life in London. Many of the references to political and parliamentary life in England are such as an American audience must of necessity fail to appreciate. Consequently a play which has been received amidst roars of applause in London is but tamely received in the city of New York. Besides this, the movement of the piece is slow even to tediousness, and the actors can scarcely be said to be "first rate." It is, however, one of the few modern plays in which we find some really thoughtful utterances of expression of opinion and sentiment, such as characterized the old plays. I am told by a gentleman that there is a wide field in literature almost untouched in the writing of plays which shall hold up to ridicule the foibles as well as the vices of modern times. To the question, "How is it that we do not find in the modern play a half a dozen consecutive sentences which will find a place in English literature?" my friend replied, "Simply because we have not the men to write them." I should add that this gentleman has been a stage critic for more than a quarter of a century, and was at one time proprietor of a New York theatre.

The play which seems to be needed is one in which there shall be real literary power, with a good sprinkling of ready wit, and with rapid and vigorous movement in its acting. Such plays would become an instructive power; but they should be masterpieces, and the public is simply waiting for some gifted author to write them.

The teaching power of the drama is, of course, its most ancient use. The stage had its origin in religious plays. One of the few good things recorded of Bonner, Bishop of London, is that in the reign of Henry VIII he forbade his clergy "to have plays, games, or interludes, played, set forth, or declared within their churches or chapels." In the face of this fact we will not say that the world has not grown better. Whatever may be said of the stage now, it is not so bad as it was three or four centuries ago, when the character of Beelzebub was



introduced upon the stage with a merry group of imps to excite the laughter of the audience. The "Miracle" or "Mystery" plays, and the "Moralties" which were substituted for the "Mysteries," were the foundation of the modern comedy. They undoubtedly inspired the genius of William Shakespeare, and did much to form the character of his comedies and tragedies. In an old book I find an account of the representation of "The Queen of Sheba," which was performed in the presence of Queen Elizabeth, in which *Hope*, *Faith*, and *Charity* appeared in rich dresses. But the chronicler tells us that "*Hope* tried to speak, but wine so enfeebled her endeavors that she withdrew." Both *Faith* and *Charity* retired from the stage in the same enfeebled condition!

It was, however, the intention of the stage for centuries that it should take its place as a public teacher, and the advocates of the theatre a quarter of a century ago pleaded for it in this relation. The clergy were told that the stage was as powerful an engine in the destruction of vice as the pulpit. To this the clergy replied that the young of the day would not learn honesty from "Jack Sheppard," nor purity from "La Traviata." Rousseau, in defending the stage, abandons the idea of its ethical teaching. He says, in his "System of Education": "You have nothing to do with morality here; this is not the place in which to learn it; the stage was not erected for the propagation of truth, but to flatter and amuse." Comparatively few people go to the theatre to be taught. It was, however, the opinion of the late Mr. De Mille that there is still room for the drama as a means of instruction. How well he aimed at this must have been evident to those who witnessed his "Men and Women." In this remarkable play, not only does the picture of the "Man of Nazareth" appear upon the wall of the counting-house, but the embezzler recites the *De profundis* upon his knees. It is the nearest approach to the religious drama of anything I have witnessed, except perhaps the "Muharram" or Persian miracle play, performed in all parts of Islam.

But the stage is fast losing its teaching power. Very few of the modern plays have any reflective or serious thought upon any great moral question. Even when there is an intention to encourage morality and condemn vice, vice is usually presented in so attractive a form that it fails to convey any sense of condemnation, even when the villain of the play is shot. One of the most unwholesome productions of the kind is a play called "Aristocracy." I will not pollute the columns of this magazine by a description of this drama, which was presented in

Palmer's Theatre before crowded audiences of the New York "aristocracy." From a clergyman's standpoint the whole performance was pitiable and contemptible. And yet it "drew." Communicants of our churches were among the audience. Christian women were there. And yet the pulpit was silent. Not long ago the clergy were invited by the manager of the Standard Theatre to witness a play entitled "The Capitol." It was an admirable production, well set on the stage, well acted. It exposed the rascality of political life in Washington. It presented the highest type of priestly life in a clergyman of the Roman Catholic Church. It commended everything that was honest and of good report. But it failed. A licentious production, such as "Aristocracy," could draw thousands, while a reputable play like "The Capitol" was performed before empty benches. Surely the pulpit should have something to say to this. The rector of St. Bartholomew's Church, whom I have before quoted, says:—

"As a nation gets older, as it becomes more highly developed, as the people grow in moral and intellectual stature, their popular amusements will correspondingly grow and become of a better character."

At present there does not seem to be any sign of this. A careful study of the New York stage, from personal observation, proves the very contrary. The tragedies of the leading theatres in the Bowery, in which every villain is shot or hanged, is infinitely higher in its moral teaching than the lascivious productions of many of the up-town theatres.

When carefully and critically considered, it must be admitted that the demands of the public, so far as the stage is concerned, are for something light, trivial, and amusing rather than for that which is weighty and instructive. And it will be seen from an article which appeared in *THE FORUM* for October, 1895, written by a well-known actor, that there is a marked deterioration in the New York stage. The stage has lost, or is fast losing, its teaching power. There was a time when people went to the theatre to obtain some knowledge of good English, but with a few exceptions the spoken English of the stage is as faulty as the written English of the press. Only a few years ago the playgoer loved to witness his favorite actor in his presentation of the different phases of human life. But now such consummate actors as Mr. Mansfield and Mr. Crane often fail to draw crowded houses. The only thing which really does draw is something "funny." It has been said that, next to virtue, the fun in this world is what we can least spare. And if the public will only take its teaching of virtue



from the pulpit there can be no objection to its taking its fun from the stage. All that can be demanded is that it shall be pure, innocent, and good fun.

Last year the editor of a well-known magazine witnessed the performance of a play entitled "The Foundling," and he says:—

"A broader performance I never before witnessed. It was absolutely immoral. No man could take a decent woman to see it, and the evening I saw it many couples left the theatre."

And yet this horrid play is again before the public, and without one word of protest from either the press or the pulpit. Even the most reputable evening paper in New York city, said to be conducted "by gentlemen for gentlemen," dismisses it in the following lenient manner:—

"That popular and preposterous piece of nonsense, 'The Foundling,' may be seen this week at the Garrick Theatre, where it has replaced 'The Witch.' A wider contrast than exists between the two pieces could not easily be imagined. Miss Cissy Fitzgerald has lost none of her spirits or her agility, and her performance was received with many demonstrations of approval."

There is really no censorship of the stage. The press is indifferent to the immoral conditions of the theatre. The pulpit is silent. The people love to have it so.

But the pulpit has a right to demand that, if it tolerates the theatre as a field for light-hearted amusement, the stage shall not present vice as attractive, and virtue as something to be laughed at. It was the boast of Fontenelle that he had lived one hundred years, and died with the consolation of never having thrown the slightest ridicule upon the smallest virtue. Theatrical managers should emulate Fontenelle, and they must remember that the pulpit has not yet lost its power. In New York at least there has been evidence to the contrary. But of late years that power has not been directed against the stage, for there has been a general impression that the stage is improving. It is not to be supposed that the teaching of the clergy will completely reform the drama or the stage, but it can do much toward this end. The late Earl of Lytton has said:—

"The social civilization of a people is always and infallibly indicated by the intellectual character of its popular amusements; and of such amusements the stage is by far the most important."

Let any individual go the round of the New York theatres, and critically examine the productions of the stage, and he will certainly come

to the conclusion that they do not indicate a high standard of intellect. Amusement—and amusement only—seems to be in demand. Both actors and managers of theatres are perplexed at the situation. It is found difficult to gauge the taste of the public. But surely the pulpit can do something by sternly condemning that which is immoral and vicious and commending that which is noble and pure. If this were done more thoroughly than it is, it is probable that a very mighty reformation would be effected in the character of the stage.

But I would not imply that, even “from a clergyman’s standpoint,” there is not a vast repertoire of admirable plays against which no objection can be made. The most critical mind could not possibly find fault with “Christopher Jr.” as performed by Mr. John Drew; or with “Nancy and Co.,” in which Miss Ada Rehan took the leading part; or that exceedingly amusing piece, “Jane.” The very fact that such popular pieces can be produced, and are sufficiently attractive to draw large houses, is of itself a very potent reason why the clergy should, in the consideration of theatre-going, draw a very distinct line between that which is decent or indecent, moral or immoral.

Even as I write, a play is being acted in one of the leading theatres of New York which has brought upon it the censure of even the secular press. And I believe that if the clergy will give this question of playgoing not only a serious but a practical consideration, great good may be effected. I have been told that if any leading preacher of New York city were to denounce any particular play it would be the means of making such a play exceedingly popular. I do not think so. I believe that if a pastor of a fashionable church were to denounce any particular play as positively immoral, it would very soon disappear from the stage. A very large percentage of the ordinary playgoers are communicants of the churches, and a well-considered condemnation of a play would certainly injure its popularity. “Christian people” would not think it “respectable” to sit through a play which had been condemned by their spiritual pastors. All that is needed is a little more ministerial courage with regard to the stage, and it will very soon be seen that the pulpit really possesses more power in this direction than it ever had in the history of the modern drama. One thing is certain. If the stage is left to its own devices it will become a fruitful source of injury to the moral well-being of the nation.

THOMAS P. HUGHES.



## THE PRESIDENT'S MONROE DOCTRINE.

AMONG the fundamental rights of every state is that of Independence. Now, independence means the right to be let alone. In the exercise of its independence each state deals with every other as it sees fit: it fosters trade or restricts it; it quarrels or it makes friends. This is the rule; interference in the affairs of another state is the exception and needs to be justified. The necessity of self-defence is the most common excuse for such interference. The balance-of-power principle was based upon this, with the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire and the Triple Alliance as its latest manifestations. Intervention to preserve the peace of Europe—such as that which carved a neutral Belgium out of the kingdom of the Netherlands—was based upon this. And it was this which called the Monroe Doctrine into being. Let us fix firmly in our minds at the outset, then, the undoubted fact that the declaration of President Monroe was an interference in the affairs of other states, to be justified only by the necessity of self-defence.

A new instance of interference in the affairs of other states has occurred. President Cleveland, in his Message to Congress of December 17, 1895, declares that he conceives it to be his duty to ascertain and lay down a boundary line between British Guiana and Venezuela, using every means in his power to enforce it. This, of course, is a threat of war. For this interference the President states that the Monroe Doctrine is his warrant. He believes that doctrine applicable to the case in question, and a failure to enforce it dangerous to the safety of the United States.

Before taking up this question of applicability, however, there are several statements in the Message which invite comment and criticism, bearing strongly, as they do, upon the President's general position and argument. He says:—

“It may not be amiss to suggest that the doctrine upon which we stand is strong and sound, because its enforcement is important to our peace and safety as a nation, and is essential to the integrity of our free institutions and the tranquil maintenance of our distinctive form of government.”

Here he clearly puts the question of enforcing the Monroe Doctrine in the Venezuelan boundary dispute upon the proper ground,—the self-interest of the United States. We are to enforce it—supposing it to be applicable—because it is to our advantage to do so; because to neglect it would endanger our peace and safety, our free institutions and form of government. He bases his fresh use of the old doctrine on the original ground, that of self-defence. That this danger, which justifies our interference, really exists, I find it very hard to believe. It may well be asked whether our peace is most threatened by an unsettled boundary in South America, or by the Message itself. This question of our self-interest will be referred to later. What I wish to emphasize here is that the President admits that his action is based upon utility, not upon duty. And yet this warrant alone does not seem to satisfy him. He wants legal justification. Accordingly he argues that, though not perhaps “admitted in so many words to the code of international law,” the doctrine is yet a part of it,—

—“since in international councils every nation is entitled to rights belonging to it; and when the United States is a suitor before the high tribunal that administers international law, the question to determine is whether or not we present claims which the justice of that code of law can find to be right and valid.”

This is principally rhetoric. There is of course no “high tribunal,” no “code of international law,” except in a metaphorical sense. If the passage means anything—which is uncertain—it means that the Monroe Doctrine is a part of the body of international law because it is in harmony with its ideas of justice. This is an error. The rules of international law are founded upon the principles of natural justice, but everything consonant with its ideas of justice is not a rule of international law. The punishment of the slave-trade as piracy—a just rule and one laid down in many treaties—is a case in point. It is not a rule of international law, because it has never been made such by the common consent or agreement of nations. Even were the premise sound, the conclusion would therefore be false. In this contention the President has been led away by Lord Salisbury, and tries (and fails) to prove what is not necessary to his position,—that the Monroe Doctrine is a part of the body of that law which governs the relations of states. It is a *policy*, not a *law*, either national or international, and its application to each specific case—granting that action is justifiable at all—must be argued on grounds of policy alone.

“The Monroe Doctrine finds its recognition in the principles of international



law, which are based upon the theory that every nation shall have its rights protected and its just claims enforced."

Is it necessary to remark that there is no such theory? Every state has the right of self-defence. That is the first law of nations. But to say that every state has a right to be protected and to have its just claims enforced by some other state is simply ridiculous. No, it is more, it is monstrous. It is a plea for universal tranquillity at the expense of universal interference and disturbance. It is a plea in behalf of the *status quo* of the world, while inconsistently it threatens to disturb that status by enforcing the just claims of some states against others. The justice of the claim, it is natural to infer, will be decided by an *ex parte* Commission.

There are other statements which are equally faulty,—as where it is said that the Doctrine was intended to apply to every stage of our national life, which is something that neither the President nor we can know: but I pass to the final sentence.

While deprecating the idea of war—a war which no one dreamed of until the Message threatened it—the President exclaims:—

"There is no calamity which a great nation can invite which equals that which follows a supine submission to wrong and injustice and the consequent loss of national self-respect and honor, beneath which are shielded and defended a people's safety and greatness."

Here is a complete mixing up of two persons: the one submitting to injustice,—namely Venezuela; and the one losing its self-respect,—that is, ourselves. Or does the President mean that we have a divine mission to follow Great Britain or any other state around and check its aggressions? Does he mean that we are knights errant, in search of wrongs to right, of injustice to repel, under penalty of losing our safety and greatness? Whichever version we adopt,—whether we merge our individuality in that of Venezuela, or tilt at windmills like Don Quixote,—it may be questioned if our safety and greatness are thus best preserved.

This is more than mere dialectics. The President has threatened Great Britain with war in a certain contingency; he has thrown business already into great confusion, and jeopardized the nation's finances, on the ground that our Monroe Doctrine is a binding law, is necessary to the safety of our institutions and form of government, and is applicable to the Venezuelan boundary dispute. If these contentions cannot be maintained, his action must be condemned as an offence to a friendly power, and a very serious blunder.

His argument for the applicability of the Monroe Doctrine is entitled to fair consideration and is a principal point at issue. It is as follows :—

Speaking of the Allied Powers, Austria, Prussia, Russia, and France (England having withdrawn), President Monroe said that—

—“we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. . . . We could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them [that is, the South American republics whose independence we had recognized] or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.”

The President, with these words in mind, says :—

“ If a European power, by an extension of its boundaries, takes possession of the territory of one of our neighboring republics, against its will and in derogation of its rights, it is difficult to see why to that extent such European power does not thereby attempt to extend its system of government to that portion of this continent which is thus taken. This is the precise action which President Monroe declared to be ‘ dangerous to our peace and safety,’ and it can make no difference whether the European system is extended by an advance of frontier or otherwise.”

The argument is perfectly clear and needs no elaboration. An unsettled boundary dispute between a British colony and Venezuela, a disposition to “ edge up ” on the latter in the matter of territory, is an attempt to extend the European system to a sister republic and to control its destiny. On the face of it this is a possible inference, but only by emphasizing the letter—not the spirit and real intent—of Monroe’s Message, and by almost a perversion of words. Apply the same language to our Maine boundary. The valley of the St. John was disputed ground. By the Ashburton compromise it was divided between the disputants. Is it a proper use of language to say that the success of Great Britain in acquiring the country north of the St. John River to the St. Lawrence watershed, which we had justly claimed, “ extends a European system to the United States or controls its destiny ”? Venezuela’s is a perfectly parallel case. Were she to lose the whole region in dispute by arbitration or by aggression, in neither case would a new system be extended over her, or her destiny be controlled.

But let us look at the real spirit and intent of the Monroe Doctrine. One hesitates to repeat its origin, so often has it been related. The



Allied Powers had twice tried their hand at intervention,—in Spain and in Naples. This intervention was in favor of absolutism, not of established government; for in Naples a liberal movement was put down, in Spain a royalist insurrection was helped up. Emboldened by success they then proposed to apply their new principles to this continent, and to restore to Spain those colonies of hers which were trying to gain or had gained their independence. Then Monroe declared that such intervention would be regarded by the United States as dangerous to itself. He announced a policy. That policy forbade the substitution of monarchical for republican forms of government on this continent by European force. It did not forbid the existence of monarchies here, as Dom Pedro could testify. It did not forbid any step which the republics themselves chose to take, but simply what was forced upon them. It was the policy which fitted the hour and the occasion. It was opportunism. This is shown by the sequel. When Clay, in January, 1824, proposed, in moderate language, a legislative resolution embodying the President's doctrine, no action was taken upon it. As the latest authority, Professor Snow,<sup>1</sup> well says:—

“The attempt to give a permanent character to the Monroe Doctrine failed. It would appear that Congress, considering the danger past, did not approve of adopting a general policy of this kind in the absence of specific cause.”

In 1826 came the Panama Congress. A league of states was proposed, which, among other things, was—

—“to take into consideration the means of making effectual the declaration of the President of the United States respecting any ulterior design of a foreign power to colonize any portion of this continent, and also the means of resisting all interference from abroad with the domestic concerns of the American governments.”

After much debate and delay, delegates were appointed from the United States. They never left this country, and the Congress amounted to nothing. Mr. Dana, in his edition of Wheaton's “Elements of International Law,” comments upon it as follows:—

“It seemed to aim at introducing, in behalf of republicanism, the same principle of interference which had been attempted abroad in behalf of despotism.”

In 1848, Yucatan, in the throes of internal conflict, offered its dominion to the United States, to Spain, and to Great Britain. President Polk urged Congress to prevent its transfer to any European

<sup>1</sup> “American Diplomacy,” p. 294.

power as a colony, and to re-affirm the Monroe Doctrine. Calhoun was a member of Monroe's Cabinet in 1823. He was in a position to know what the Monroe declarations meant and to what they were applicable. Speaking in opposition to Polk's suggestion, he said:—

“They were but declarations—nothing more; . . . we are not to have quoted on us, on every occasion, general declarations to which any and every meaning may be attached.”

And again he argued that the Doctrine must be limited by the conditions under which it was spoken, else—

—“it would have involved the absurdity of asserting that the attempt of any European state to extend its system of government to this continent, the smallest as well as the greatest, would endanger the peace and safety of our country.”

The declaration, then, according to Calhoun, was a policy only, to be followed or not, as interest dictated, and was based upon the right of self-defence and nothing else.

We approach now the Mexican adventure of Maximilian. By the power of French bayonets Napoleon III overturned the republic, and had that Austrian prince chosen emperor by a travesty of an election: in short, he committed exactly those aggressions from which the Monroe Doctrine warned foreigners away. It was a genuine case of self-defence on the part of the United States, for the French action was really taken to check the growth of our commerce and influence in that quarter. A demonstration of force was proper, since the offensive act had been already consummated. The hands of our government having been tied during the civil war, after the close of that struggle a force was moved to the Mexican border. The French support was withdrawn, and Maximilian fell. Thus was the Monroe Doctrine re-applied on its original lines. This episode proves two things: first, that the principles announced by President Monroe were not obsolete in 1867, and are presumably still our guidance; second, that the Doctrine, forty years after its birth, had met with no enlargement.

Mr. Seward, in a despatch to Mr. Kilpatrick in 1866, gives his idea of the Monroe Doctrine thus. I quote from the United States “Digest of International Law,” by Wharton,—the official collection of the Government:—

“The Government of the United States will maintain and insist, with all the decision and energy which are compatible with an existing neutrality, that the republican system which is accepted by any one of those [South American] states shall not be wantonly assailed, and that it shall not be subverted as an end of a lawful war by European powers: but beyond this position it will not go, nor will



it consider itself bound to take part in wars in which a South American republic may enter with a European sovereign, when the object of the latter is not the establishment, in place of a subverted republic, of a monarchy under a European prince."

This history and these comments sufficiently show that it was the substitution of a monarchical for a republican form of government, by European forces, at which the Monroe Doctrine was aimed. President Woolsey<sup>1</sup> concludes his treatment of the subject with this most applicable sentence:—

"To lay down the principle that the acquisition of territory on this continent by any European power cannot be allowed by the United States would go far beyond any measures dictated by the system of the balance of power; for the rule of self-preservation is not applicable in our case: we fear no neighbors. . . . But to resist attempts of European powers to alter the constitutions of states on this side of the water is a wise and just opposition to interference. Anything beyond this justifies the system which absolute governments have initiated for the suppression of revolutions by main force."

Such *was* the Monroe Doctrine. Anything other than this is the doctrine of somebody else.

There is another striking difference between the old version and the new. President Monroe's Message nowhere threatens force. This fact has been often commented upon. His strongest expression is that we should look upon certain actions as evidence of an unfriendly disposition. But President Cleveland is not so tame. After suggesting a Commission to report upon the Venezuelan boundary, he says:—

"When such report is made and accepted, it will, in my opinion, be the duty of the United States to resist by every means in its power, as a wilful aggression upon its rights and interests, the appropriation by Great Britain of any lands or the exercise of governmental jurisdiction over any territory which, after investigation, we have determined of right belong to Venezuela."

But for this threat the Message would have been regarded as a political manifesto: with this threat it is a menace to the peace of two great states.

There is one more consideration,—one already suggested,—the vital point of the whole matter. We may grant, though contrary to fact, that the Monroe Doctrine is applicable to the Venezuelan boundary dispute. Proof must still be furnished that a failure to enforce it would endanger our peace and safety. If they are not so endangered, we have no ground for interference. The Monroe Doctrine declares

<sup>1</sup> "Introduction to the Study of International Law," 6th ed., p. 56.

this. President Cleveland implies it. The commentators who have been quoted say it. Does British control over the wild frontier region in dispute between Venezuela and Guiana really threaten the safety of the United States? If so, why and how? We are entitled to specifications. For, unless the danger can be shown, an interference is unwarranted. Does Canada put our institutions in jeopardy? Does British Columbia imperil our form of government? If not, why does this danger lurk in distant Guiana? England has as constitutional a form of government as our own. She is a good colonizer. She carries order, justice, capital into the wilds with her. Are such developments inimical to our safety? Is there anything which can truly imperil our institutions? Is there anything on earth which we should truly fear, except the consequences of our own ignorance, our own dishonesty, our own conceit?

At the risk of tediousness, may I gather again the threads of my discourse? The Monroe Doctrine is not a law; it binds us to no action; it was a policy devised to meet a particular case. That case was the forcible substitution of monarchical for republican forms of government in American states by European action. It was an act of self-defence, on no other ground justifiable. It was not backed by threats of force.

Mr. Cleveland's doctrine is an entirely distinct one. Under threats, it attempts to settle for them the disputed boundary line of two friendly states. It virtually asserts the right to pass judgment upon any controversy over territory which an American state may have with a European one, and to enforce the decision. It is interference in the affairs of another state which the necessity of self-defence does not justify. It is a long and dangerous step toward that assumption of the headship of this continent which Mr. Olney so tersely describes when he says that the United States is "practically sovereign" throughout America, and that "its fiat is law." A glorious and happy future this, where the responsibilities are ours, the profit another's; where dreams of empire under the guise of a protectorate replace peaceful development; where our own will is our only law!

THEODORE S. WOOLSEY.



## LORD SALISBURY AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

THE Declaration of Independence, Washington's Farewell Address, and the Message of President Monroe containing the Doctrine called after his name, were three instruments in the history of these United States, neither of them charters, nor constitutions, nor even laws, yet they have had a controlling influence upon the policy and destiny of the nation far beyond all public acts combined, with the single exception of the Federal Constitution. The patriotism and statesmanship of the fathers of the Republic formulated these several documents for the safety and preservation of our institutions for all time to come.

Two cardinal principles have always governed the relations of the United States with the governments of the world,—the neutrality policy laid down by Washington, and the Monroe Doctrine to guard the welfare and integrity of institutions on this continent. When President Monroe submitted the papers which called forth the Message to the author of the Declaration of Independence for his advice, Jefferson answered :—

“ The question presented by the letters you have sent me is the most momentous which has ever been offered to my contemplation since that of Independence. That made us a nation ; this sets our compass and points the course which we are to steer through the ocean of time opening on us.”

The question so momentous, which Jefferson referred to, and which was also submitted by Monroe for the opinion of Madison, briefly summarized, grew out of the following circumstances :

In 1815 a treaty was entered into between the Emperors of Russia and of Austria and the King of Prussia, not through the intermediation of ministers, but by themselves acting as absolute sovereigns. The objects of the league thus formed—called the “ Holy Alliance,” bearing such a benevolent and sacred aspect—were primarily to rehabilitate autocracy with *jure divino*, and secondarily to overthrow free government and dominate the world. Congresses were held at Aix-la-Chapelle, Troppau, and Laybach, for the purpose of concentrating and extending the powers of the allies and putting their objects

into practical operation. Liberal movements were forcibly suppressed in Piedmont and Naples in 1820, and the system of armed intervention was adopted in the affairs of other states in order to suppress free institutions and to strengthen monarchical government, without regard to the immediate interests of the states composing the Alliance. In October, 1822, the allied sovereigns assembled at Verona and formulated measures for the suppression of the revolution in Spain. In April, 1823, France undertook to apply the principles of the allies by invading Spain for the purpose of overthrowing the constitution of the Cortes and restoring absolute monarchy under Ferdinand VII. The British government protested against this interference, disclaiming for itself, and denying to other Powers, the right of requiring any change in the internal institutions of an independent state.

The allied Powers, having gone forward in their plan, purposed to transfer their intervention to our hemisphere, growing out of the relations of France and Spain and their attitude toward the South American colonies then at the approaching end of their successful struggle for independence. Mr. Canning, the British Prime Minister, in August, 1823, had a conference with our Minister, Mr. Rush, with the view of sounding our government as to what action it would take against such threatened intervention by France, laying stress on the commercial interests of Great Britain and the large portion of maritime power which his government and ours shared between them. This conference was followed by a note addressed by Canning to Rush, wherein he writes :—

“Is not the moment come when our governments might understand each other as to the Spanish-American colonies? And if we can arrive at such an understanding, would it not be expedient for ourselves, and beneficial to all the world, that the principles of it should be clearly settled and plainly avowed?”

And then he sets forth Great Britain's attitude in detail: that he regards the recovery of the colonies by Spain to be hopeless; that she does not aim at the possession of any portion herself, and could not view their transfer to any other Power with indifference. He continues:—

“If there be any European Power which cherishes other projects, which looks to a forcible enterprise for reducing the colonies to subjugation, on the behalf or in the name of Spain, or which meditates the acquisition of any part of them to itself, by cession or by conquest, such a declaration on the part of your government and ours would be at once the most effectual and the least offensive mode of our intimating our joint disapprobation of such projects. . . . Nothing could be more gratifying to me than to join with you in such a work, and I am



persuaded there has seldom, in the history of the world, occurred an opportunity where so small an effort of two friendly governments might produce so unequivocal a good and prevent such extensive calamities."

Our government, which had before this time formally acknowledged the independence of the Spanish-American states, received this overture of the British Prime Minister with all the deliberation the importance of this step demanded. President Monroe did not adopt the proposal for a joint declaration. He maintained that the public policy of the United States, which held it aloof from intervention in the affairs of European Powers, necessarily implied European non-intervention in the affairs of this hemisphere, and he embodied this principle in his Message of December 2, 1823. After stating that it was our policy not to interfere with the internal concerns of European Powers, and referring to the contemplated interference by the "Holy Alliance," he said, in language which has gone into history as the "Monroe Doctrine" of our continental policy:—

"With the movements in this hemisphere we are, of necessity, more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. . . . We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those [European] Powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. . . . With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European Power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States. . . . It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition, in any form, with indifference."

This policy, far from being arbitrary, embodies the golden rule of international relations, as it concedes to the nations of the other continents the rights we demand on the American continent. Instead of producing war, it was a harbinger of peace; it not only hastened the independence of the struggling colonies on this hemisphere, but it also relieved Europe from the terrors of absolutism of the "Holy Allies." In England the Message was hailed with joy and enthusiasm; her statesmen extolled it in unmeasured terms. Mr. Brougham referred to it as an event "than which none has ever dispersed greater joy, exultation, and gratitude over all the freedmen of Europe." Mr. Canning, in his justifiable pride for his share in the circumstances

which called forth the Message, stated: "I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old."

The Doctrine so formulated by Monroe, expounded by Adams, and counselled by Jefferson and Madison, said Secretary Frelinghuysen in his instructions to Mr. Lowell (May 8, 1882),—

—"has since remained a cardinal principle of our continental policy. . . . It is not to be anticipated that Great Britain will controvert an international doctrine which she suggested to the United States when looking to her own interests, and which, when adopted by this Republic, she highly approved."

For more than seventy years the executive branch of the government has on repeated occasions given to this Doctrine its approval and has uniformly acted upon it; our diplomacy has been guided by it, and our secretaries of state have time and again made it the subject of diplomatic representation. The details of these representations in more recent years are to be found in the instructions and communications of Secretaries Fish, Frelinghuysen, Evarts, Blaine, and Bayard, and in Mr. Olney's *résumé* of the negotiations and instructions, communicated to Lord Salisbury, attached to the President's Message. Besides being the controlling factor in the emancipation of the South American states, and in protecting them from European ambition or intervention, the Monroe Doctrine operated to prevent the establishment of a European dynasty in Mexico at the close of our civil war. It has on more than one occasion been applied to the case of Cuba, and especially by President Grant in 1870, in his Message of that year, wherein he said that existing dependencies were no longer regarded as subject to transfer by one European Power to another; and that when existing relations of colonies cease, they are to become independent Powers. It was applied to dangers threatening Yucatan, and its principles were embodied in the treaty of the United States with Great Britain respecting the settlement of affairs in Central America. Secretary Fish (in his report accompanying the President's Message) wrote:—

"The United States stand solemnly committed by repeated declarations and repeated acts to this Doctrine, and its application to the affairs of this continent. . . . It does not contemplate forcible intervention in any legitimate contest; but it protests against permitting such a contest to result in the increase of European power or influence. . . . This policy is not a policy of aggression; but it opposes the creation of European dominion on American soil, or its transfer to other European Powers, and it looks hopefully to the time when, by voluntary departure of European governments from this continent and the adjacent islands, America shall be wholly American."

We will now take up the question of the Venezuelan boundary dis-



pute between that Republic and Great Britain, the repeated tender of our good offices to Great Britain in the interest of peace and harmony, and the urgent representations of our solicitude, while distinctly withholding any expression of opinion as to the real merits of the controversy, so as not to prejudge or prejudice the rights of either party.

The dispute runs back at least to 1814, when Great Britain, by treaty with the Netherlands, acquired the provinces known as Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice. From that time to the present day the boundary between this territory—now known as British Guiana—and Venezuela has continued to be a source of contention. The limit contended for by Venezuela has consistently been the Essequibo, excepting when she offered concessions in order to arrive at an amicable settlement by treaty and arbitration. Great Britain's claim has varied considerably, growing in extent from stage to stage in the negotiations. In 1840 an English engineer, Sir Robert Schomburgk, who five years previous to this date had explored the Orinoco for the Royal Geographical Society, was commissioned by the British government to provisionally survey and delimit the boundaries of British Guiana; it being the intention of the Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston,—as appears by a letter of instructions written in 1840 by the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Viscount Leveson (afterwards Earl of Granville),—to submit the maps of the boundaries thus delimited to Venezuela and the other governments interested for their consideration and objections. The boundary thus traced and marked is known as the "Schomburgk line." Whether the maps were or were not submitted, it is quite clear that Venezuela promptly remonstrated, so that the monuments of the line set up by Schomburgk were removed by order of Lord Aberdeen.

For the next quarter of a century following 1848, Venezuela was convulsed by revolutions, so that the boundary question received little or no consideration. Since that time, as appears from the negotiations, the boundary of British Guiana has been deporting itself, as if galvanized by Horace Greeley's advice to "go West." While negotiations were pending, new appropriations were being made by Great Britain which amounted to 33,000 square miles in the years from 1885 to 1887; so that Venezuela, finding this condition unbearable, in the latter year suspended diplomatic relations, protesting "against the acts of spoliation committed to her detriment by the government of Great Britain." Diplomatic relations have not since been restored, though new negotiations begun in 1890 and in 1893 met with the same fate as

before; Great Britain refusing to negotiate or arbitrate, except as to territory west of an arbitrary line drawn by herself. In all these negotiations, as detailed with explicitness by Secretary Olney, "the United States has not been, and indeed, in view of its traditional policy, could not be, indifferent." In December, 1886, Secretary Bayard, in order to avert the impending rupture between Venezuela and Great Britain, offered to the latter, through Minister Phelps, the co-operation of our government to arbitrate the differences, and said:—

"Her Majesty's government will readily understand that this attitude of friendly neutrality . . . is entirely consistent and compatible with the sense of responsibility that rests upon the United States in relation to South American republics. The doctrines we announced two generations ago, at the instance and with the cordial support and approval of the British government, have lost none of their force or importance in the progress of time, and the governments of Great Britain and the United States are equally interested in conserving a status the wisdom of which has been demonstrated by the experience of more than half a century."

The United States, in respect to the Venezuelan boundary dispute, is not concerned whether British Guiana be larger by an area estimated at 109,000 square miles, nor whether the territorial dominions of the Republic of Venezuela be less to that extent. In the language of Monroe's Message, "with the existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power we have not interfered and shall not interfere."

It is claimed by Venezuela that Great Britain's usurpation entails most serious consequences, the "exclusive dominion over the Orinoco, the great artery on the north of the continent, the Mississippi River of South America," and that this control perpetuates measures of usurpation that will be the cause of permanent danger to the industry and commerce of Venezuela and neighboring states, which may, as to certain "American countries, render illusory their political existence as free and independent states." Even the possibility of such consequences would not justify our government in intervening for the purpose of depriving either country of a foot of territory it is by right—as distinguished from might—entitled to hold. But, under the most favorable construction that can be put upon this controversy, it is apparent that the true boundary line between Great Britain and Venezuela is involved in an uncertainty, which fact is made the more apparent by the ever widening of the British boundary during the past fifty years from the Essequibo line until it includes the mouth of the Orinoco. Aside from the real facts of the controversy Lord Salisbury's refusal to avail himself of our friendly offices, and to submit the question to impartial



arbitration, leads to the conclusion that he has not sufficient faith in the justice of his claim. This he does not assert or admit: he resorts to a line of argument which is not only undiplomatic, but untenable, and converts the controversy from one affecting the boundary of a comparatively insignificant British colony to an attack upon our Continental policy. It is this inadmissible contention on the part of the British Prime Minister, and not the President's Message, which has the dangerous tendency to change the issue from one of fact and diplomacy to one affecting the cardinal principle of our national policy for the security of our institutions and our relations to the nations on this continent. Mr. Schurz, in his admirable address before the New York Chamber of Commerce, referring to this regrettable phase of the controversy, said:—

“Now questions of fact, of law, of interest, of substantial right and justice, it may sometimes be very difficult to decide; but there are rules of evidence, rules of legal construction, and rules of equity, to help us to a solution. But a question of honor usually withdraws from all those aids, because it is a matter of sentiment.”

While the closing passages of the President's Message show some evidences of irritation because of this offensive attitude on the part of Lord Salisbury (assumed doubtless to justify his refusal to submit the boundary dispute to arbitration), the President has wisely provided for keeping the controversy within the realm of fact and evidence by suggesting the appointment of a Commission to make an inquiry to that end, to “be conducted carefully and judicially; and due weight should be given to all available evidence, records, and facts in support of the claims of both parties.”

I do not believe that the possession by Great Britain of the disputed territory has the possibility, even remotely, of any such consequences as is claimed by Venezuela, but I do believe that Lord Salisbury's refusal to arbitrate charges Great Britain with weighty responsibilities that are not measured by their effect upon her possessions on this continent. It entails upon her the responsibility for the abrogation of the humane principles of arbitration as the best and most civilized method for the settlement of international disputes, which have been so courteously and urgently pressed upon her in this matter by our government, by every Secretary of State since 1876, and by our Presidents in their messages to Congress. Reference to this request for arbitration, with a brief statement of our traditional policy, was again made by President Cleveland in his last annual Message at the opening of the present Congress. Great Britain and the United

States have been foremost among the nations of the world in advocating this method of settling international controversies, and their example has been the most encouraging and potent factor for promoting good will and "peace with honor" among the nations of the earth. During the present century about eighty international controversies have been adjusted by this method, and a large proportion of them have affected boundaries. Our country has settled more than forty of these difficulties in this wise, and of these some of the most important have been with Great Britain touching boundaries. The Monroe Doctrine has ever been a preserver of peace, and every assertion of it has had the effect of averting the calamities of war. Our Presidents from Monroe to Cleveland, in order to maintain our traditional policy, to prevent, on the part of European governments, any misconception of its meaning and application, and to avoid a condition which threatened to arouse popular excitement to a point that might drive the nation into war, have reiterated our policy in accordance not only with the right, but with the duty, devolving upon the chief Executive. Following in this regard the precedent set by Monroe,—who prefaced his enunciation of the Doctrine with the words, "We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those Powers,"—Mr. Cleveland has responded to this grave duty in order to avert a hostile collision between the two great English-speaking peoples, who should ever remain "strenuous and worthy rivals in all the arts of peace."

OSCAR S. STRAUS.



## THE DUTY OF CONGRESS.

I PREMISE my observations with the statement that I have no sympathy with what is termed "cosmopolitanism,"—my political creed being that of the patriot. In other words, I believe that the existence and honor of a nation are paramount to the private interests of its citizens, and that it is the duty of every citizen to sacrifice his fortune, and his life if necessary, in order to protect the existence and honor of his country. On the other hand, I am fully convinced that no greater wrong can be perpetrated by a nation than to engage in war for an insufficient cause, and I am further convinced that a sufficient cause can arise only when its existence is imperilled and when the honor of its flag is at stake.

Thus much being postulated, the first question that suggests itself in an analysis of the Venezuelan affair is whether our existence or our honor is concerned. Certainly neither is directly involved, as not a foot of territory belonging to the United States is in jeopardy, and none of its citizens has been injured or threatened with injury in the slightest degree. Nevertheless it is claimed that our existence—or at least our honor—is at stake in the dispute between England and Venezuela, for the reason that Venezuela is situated on the American continent. It is admitted that she is a nation as independent as our own, and treats with other nations as sovereign with sovereign, but that nevertheless her geographical situation makes us a party to her quarrels, rendering her interests our interests, and binding us to defend them at the point of the sword. In other words, the advocates of war with England claim for us a species of suzerainty over the Western hemisphere, which, although it gives us no rights whatever over the independent nations of that hemisphere, and permits those nations to bestow or barter away their rights and territory to any one without consulting us, yet burdens us with the paramount duty of protecting them against any one who may attempt to deprive them of those rights without their consent. And this species of suzerainty is claimed to be thrust upon us by what is called the Monroe Doctrine.

But the most cursory examination of President Monroe's Message

to Congress of December 2, 1823, on which this so-called doctrine is based, shows it to be directed specifically against the then existing "Holy Alliance" of Russia, Prussia, Austria, and France, it being feared that those Powers might interpose in favor of Spain to resubjugate South America, in order to extend their "political system"—the autocratic monarchy as opposed to the constitutional monarchy and the republican form of government—to that continent. It was, indeed, on the suggestion of the English government, which seriously feared for itself the extension of that system, that President Monroe undertook to announce our opposition to that interposition. That he had in mind no claim of suzerainty, or any object other than that of the defence of liberal institutions against absolutism, is evidenced by the following citation:—

"We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend *their system* to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power we have not interfered and shall not interfere . . . In the war between those new Governments and Spain we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, *and to this we have adhered and shall continue to adhere*, provided no change shall occur which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of this Government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security. . . . It is impossible that the *allied powers* should extend *their political system* to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can any one believe that our Southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold *such interposition*, in any form, with indifference. . . . *It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves*, in the hope that other powers will pursue the same course."

I have italicized those parts of the citation which show the object in view, particularly for the reason that in the common citations of the Message, made for the purpose of applying its language to the present controversy between England and Venezuela, the passages which alone apply to this controversy are always absent. And necessarily so: for, in the face of the declaration that in a dispute between a European Power and a South American republic it is the policy of the United States to "leave the parties to themselves," how could the Message be tortured into meaning that in such a dispute it would be the policy of the United States *not* to leave the parties to themselves? And how could a declaration to the effect that it is the duty of the United States, in the event of such a dispute, to preserve its neutrality,



be twisted into a claim on the part of the United States for a paramount lordship over the American continents ?

Moreover, forty years after the Message, Mr. Seward, then Secretary of State, took pains, in his instructions to Mr. Dayton, our Minister to France, to expound the attitude of the United States as to Mexico and all other states of the American continent in the following terms :—

“ The United States hold in regard to Mexico the same principles that they hold in relation to all other nations. *The United States have not a right nor a disposition to intervene by force on either side* in the lamentable war which is going on between France and Mexico. On the contrary, *they practise in regard to Mexico*, in every phase of the war, the *non-intervention* which they require all foreign Powers to observe in regard to the United States.”

And no one will deny that Mr. Seward was a statesman and a patriot, or that he had knowledge of the Monroe Doctrine.

Notwithstanding, however, that there be no basis in the Monroe Doctrine, or in the law of nations, or in any other law, for our interference in the Venezuela dispute, may there not be justification for that interference on some other ground, or may there not be some particular interest which justifies the United States in engaging in war ?

It is quite possible that, did the dispute refer to a territory contiguous to ours, interference on our part might be justified in order to avoid a future jeopardy of our existence. But the fear that the Venezuelan boundary dispute may involve such a contingency does not fall far short of the ludicrous. The ground of the fear must be this : England is known to be a grasping country, and the boundary dispute is a mere pretext by means of which she expects to acquire a large slice of Venezuelan territory. That once obtained, the pretext for another boundary dispute will easily be found, until the entire state is absorbed. This will then bring a British colony to the confines of Colombia, which state too, by successive boundary disputes, will in turn fall ; and thus, step by step, our Anglo-Saxon cousins will make themselves masters of Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, Guatemala, and Mexico ; and then finally, hemmed in by a British colony in the South and a British colony in the North, the United States will be an easy prey.

If it were worth while to answer this contention at all, it would suffice to say that, in view of the leisurely habit of boundary disputes (the one now under discussion has now lasted about sixty years), it is not becoming for a nation which respects itself to fall into hysterical

alarm over a contingency so remote that it could not draw a tear from *Clever Alice* herself.

But upon closer examination it becomes apparent that even this exaggerated *Clever Alice* doctrine is, after all, not the real cause of the proposed war; for the claim of our government is not that a British colony shall not advance its boundaries, but that it shall not advance them without the consent of the state affected, or, in default of that consent, without arbitration. As far, therefore, as President Cleveland is concerned, England might go on advancing its boundaries on the American continent till doomsday, provided only that the extension be agreed to by the parties concerned, or be allowed by tribunals in the composition of which we claim no part. Here is his own language:—

“Great Britain’s present proposition has never thus far been regarded as admissible by Venezuela, *though any adjustment of the boundary which that country may deem for her advantage, and may enter into of her own free will, cannot, of course, be objected to by the United States.*”

Thus, the “encroachment towards our territory” theory is thrown over in favor of another theory, for which, forsooth, we must go to war: namely, that all questions between foreign nations must be submitted to arbitration, under penalty of war with the United States, provided only that one of the nations interested is American. But even this principle, when subjected to analysis, is found not to furnish a pretext for our proposed war; for England is and always has been willing to arbitrate her difference with Venezuela, excepting only as regards a comparatively small territory which for years has been settled by Englishmen on the faith of the understanding of the English government that the territory involved is absolutely English. This territory, only, the English government believes it cannot without moral obloquy subject to the hazards of an arbitration which, if adverse, would turn its inhabitants adrift into the unsettled conditions that have so long prevailed, and that possibly may yet prevail, on Venezuelan territory. Out of the 52,000 square miles now in dispute, only 9,400 are comprised in this territory: an insignificant matter in South American boundary disputes, the one now existing between France and Brazil alone covering an area of more than 100,000 square miles. And surely it will not be asserted by the most extreme upholder of the theory of arbitration that all claims that may be made between nations are subject to arbitration.<sup>1</sup> If the

<sup>1</sup>Elisée Reclus in his monumental work, “The Earth and Its Inhabitants,” says (South America, Vol. II, p. 49, American edition): “In colonial times the



Dominion of Canada should claim the State of New York, or if Spain should claim Florida, no one would urge that those claims could be arbitrated. If a nation holding a foremost rank among the civilized nations of the earth solemnly assures us that she cannot, without betraying her subjects, relinquish certain territory, insignificant in extent, is it not our duty to believe her?

But the whole theory of arbitration is abandoned by the President almost in the same breath in which it is announced; for he declares that our demand for arbitration will cease if, upon the report of a Commission appointed by ourselves, at our own instance, we should come to the conclusion that the claim of England to the territory to be withheld from arbitration is well founded. So that, in its final essence, the cause of our proposed war with England is the following doctrine: In disputes between foreign nations, provided one of them be of the Western hemisphere, it becomes the duty of the United States, on its own motion, and without the request of either of the parties, to determine whether or not the dispute shall be left to arbitration; and, if the determination be in favor of arbitration, this determination must be supported by immediate war against the nation refusing to arbitrate. It is for this doctrine,—be it designated by the name of Monroe or Cleveland,—and for none other, that we are called upon to sacrifice our fortunes and our lives and endanger the existence of our nation. The very thought is appalling.

But after all, it may be said, what need is there of a doctrine except for a pretext? If the real interests of our nation are such as to imperatively demand war, what matters the immediate cause? Have not the immediate causes of some of the bloodiest wars in history been extremely slight, and but pretexts for the deeper interests lying beyond? And truly, in carefully examining our warlike speeches and editorials,

nearest Spanish stations were those on the banks of the Orinoco, beyond the frontiers proposed by Great Britain, and since then no part of the territory has ever been occupied by the Venezuelans. The negotiations that had been opened in 1894 with a view to the settlement of these frontier questions fell through because the Venezuelan government insisted on including *their groundless* claims to the northwestern district,—claims that the British government considered to be so ‘unfounded and so unfair to the colony of British Guiana as not to be proper subjects for arbitration.’—(Lord Rosebery).” To the statement (Vol. I, p. 79) that England has hitherto declined to submit the question to arbitration, the American editor adds the following note:—“And will continue to do so until Venezuela withdraws her claim to the Barima district and gives up some other wholly preposterous demands.”

we soon find that, after all, it is not so much the question of right and wrong in the Venezuelan affair which prompts them, as general antagonism to England; for all applaud the President's plan to discover whether England is right or wrong, and therefore admit by implication that England may be right in her contention. In fact, the President himself yielded to this often expressed antagonism, otherwise he would have appointed a Commission first, and threatened war only after that Commission had declared England to be wrong. The basis of those warlike speeches and editorials, and of the Message itself, can therefore be found only in the theory that our interests and those of England are generally at variance, and that war between us is necessary, no matter what may be the proximate cause.

When examined closely it is found that this variance is alleged to consist in England's aggrandizing herself unduly; that in time such aggrandizement will be at our expense; and that therefore we must now call a halt. On final analysis, however, it is difficult to find any substantial ground for this alarm, and the feeling is resolved into one of envy rather than of fear. But envy of England, or of any growing nation, comes certainly with ill grace from us, who have aggrandized ourselves so marvellously in the hundred years since we became a nation. From thirteen colonies, occupying a narrow strip of land along the coast, by a continuous series of conquests from Indian tribes and from Mexico, and by purchases from France and Spain and Russia, we have become one of the greatest and most powerful nations on the globe, without a protest on the part of England or any other European power. On the contrary, it was largely through England's assistance, through the enormous capital that she has loaned us, and through the gigantic dimensions of our commerce with her, that we have obtained the means of fructifying our vast accessions and moulding ourselves into a homogeneous nation. In return for this shall we look with envy on her own good fortune, and shall we seek to find pretexts for assaulting and dismembering her? How singular, too, that we should rejoice at the prospect of a war with a nation whose institutions are as free as our own, in the hope that she may thereby be destroyed for the aggrandizement of Russia—a nation which, however friendly her relations with us, is nevertheless founded on autocratic institutions diametrically opposed to our own. And among the mass of contradictions in which we are being involved by our war fever, not the least is that the Monroe Doctrine—that defence of free institutions against the autocratic system—should now be invoked to enable the



greatest autocracy of all to shatter free institutions by destroying England who, with us, forms the chief bulwark of those institutions.

But it may be urged that all these considerations are too late: that the President of the United States, in a Message to Congress unanimously approved by Congress, having seen fit to declare to the world that, unless England comply with our demands, war should be declared against her, has thereby committed our honor to war, and that every citizen, no matter how strong his conviction that the cause of the war be unjust, is nevertheless in duty bound to lay aside those convictions, and urge Congress to support the President, be he right or wrong. From this view I dissent entirely. I do not consider our honor involved in favor of war, but rather the reverse; and therefore, while I am uncompromisingly of the opinion that after war is upon us, no matter for what cause, it is the duty of every citizen loyally to stand by his flag and to sacrifice his fortune and his life for his country, I believe it to be now no less his duty, if he considers the proposed war unrighteous or impolitic, to raise his voice fearlessly, in order to prevent the dread consummation.

My reasons for not considering our honor involved in the controversy are based upon the following consideration: Our country is republican, not only in form, but also in principle; the nation, and not the President or Congress, is the sovereign. This sovereignty of the nation reposes on constitutional safeguards, and the paramount honor of the nation consists in guarding its own sovereignty by preventing a violation of its Constitution by its own constituted agents. All acts done by those agents outside the scope of their constitutional authority cannot involve the honor of the nation any more than the act of the humblest servant, contrary to the scope of his authority, can affect the honor of his master. Therefore the act of the President, even though approved by Congress, in so far as he threatened war,—such threat being in violation of that most important constitutional safeguard of the nation's sovereignty which entrusts the power of, and responsibility for, declaring war solely to Congress,—no more involves our honor in the dispute than if the threat had been made by the humblest citizen of the land. Otherwise the war-making power will have been devolved from a deliberative body to the Executive,—a single individual; and we shall then suffer most of the ills inherent in an autocratic government without any of its benefits. Any capricious, irascible, or theatrical President may without a moment's notice send ultimatums right and left, and keep the country

in a constant state of unrest to an extent that a Czar of Russia would not venture. Under any theory by which Congress is pledged to war by the President's act, it is the President himself who has declared it, leaving to Congress no further right than to register his decree. And under such theory we have ceased to be a republic as truly as Rome ceased to be one long before the consuls ceased formally to register the will of the Emperors. In the present contingency, as in every other, we have, as a sovereign nation, one paramount duty, from which no sophistry and no passion can relieve us; we must act righteously. As for Congress, each member, mindful of his oath to support the Constitution, must cast his vote, if for war, in full consciousness that nothing can relieve him from his own awful responsibility. It is therefore the plain duty of every member to divest himself entirely of any feeling of obligation on account of the passage of the Commission Bill. It must be borne in mind that that bill was passed without deliberation, under an apparent patriotic impulse similar to that which stampeded the French legislative body into the disastrous war against Germany. It must be remembered, too, that the Commission owes its creation to the President, who has threatened war, and that therefore its members—however eminent and however impartial—are nevertheless acting under the stress of saving from criticism him to whom they owe their official existence, and are prone to be apologetic, even if unbiased. For these reasons it will be manifestly the duty of Congress to refrain from a declaration of war on their report unless they not only be unanimous, but also that their conclusions be entirely free from doubt or qualification; for, if there be any doubt or any qualifications, our country should have the benefit thereof.

Second, in the event that the report of the Commission be unanimously and unqualifiedly opposed to the contention of Great Britain, it will not in itself justify a declaration of war; for, as we are not directly involved in the Venezuelan controversy not only the facts but also the cause must be clear beyond dispute. Inasmuch as this cause is at best indirectly derived from the so-called Monroe Doctrine, it will be the duty of Congress to define that Doctrine, and to declare in what manner it has become the law of the land, as it certainly is not a part of our Constitution, does not form a part of any of our treaties, nor has it ever been enacted by any Congress. Moreover, as, to say the least, its very meaning is the subject of serious differences of opinion, Congress, before declaring war by reason of it, must give it an authoritative interpretation, so that we may know for what we are to shed our blood;



and if this Doctrine should be ignored, and simply our present interests are held to require war, then Congress must define exactly what those interests are, and in what respect they have been injuriously affected.

Third, it is clear that if the cause of the war is the protection of our present interests, the claim that these have been interfered with can be maintained only by the claim, on our part, of a protectorate or suzerainty over both American continents,—at least as to their relations with European Powers. If this protectorate is simply a duty, without any corresponding rights, so that we are obliged to sacrifice our lives and fortunes and endanger our existence at the beck and call of any South American republic, while we have not the slightest right to interfere with any arrangements or treaties such republic may voluntarily make with foreign Powers, it is difficult to see why we should fight. It can hardly be argued that our nation shall declare itself a Knight Errant, Limited, with the duty of protecting the weak against the strong in certain latitudes and longitudes only. If the protectorate is to be substantial, it must secure for us in exchange a guaranty on the part of the protected Republics that they will not make any treaties or enter into any relations with foreign Powers—by ceding to them any territories, permitting them any influence over their commerce, or in any way affecting their policy and destiny—without our consent. And, indeed, many partisans of the war are already declaring its true object to be to check England's growing South American trade, which, they claim, unless so checked, will, in time, practically exclude our own. In fact, their avowed object in clamoring for war is to turn the tables and secure for ourselves the complete monopoly of that trade, to the exclusion of England and of all other Powers. The protectorate which they have in view is not by any means the philanthropic one which appears on the face of the President's message, but one which is to give us a very profitable return in dollars and cents.

But what evidence is there that such a protectorate would be acceptable to the South American states? Might not the claim alarm them more than any fear of aggression on the part of European Powers? The claim, moreover, is portentous in that it involves not only the destiny of the South American Powers, but it also seriously affects directly England, Holland, France, Spain, and indirectly every European nation which may have, or may desire to secure for itself, advantages in South America. Before declaring war, therefore, Congress must first assure itself that no coalition of South American as well as

of European Powers will be effected for the purpose of generally opposing our Pan-American supremacy ; so that at least we may rely on the general neutrality of the rest of the world. But even from Venezuela we must be actually assured of an unqualified alliance : this cannot be taken for granted. For at the outset of the war we could not protect her, as we have no navy at present with which to cope with that of England. She would therefore be subjected to all the calamities of war,—to blockade, bombardment, and invasion ; and the mere satisfaction that possibly we should overrun Canada would be a sorry consolation for the slaughter of her citizens and the ruin of her fortunes. Venezuela, too, may distrust us on account of our very anxiety to go to war for her benefit, and may fear that that war, in the event of victory on our part, may cost them more than the value of the disputed territory which she would gain ; while in case of defeat we may be forced to sacrifice her in order to preserve ourselves.

There is no evidence that the President has paid the slightest attention to any of these considerations, or that he has sought alliances or pledges of neutrality from the other nations of the globe, and the fact that, before advising or threatening war, this was incumbent upon him, will not justify Congress in rushing into a declaration of war without having obtained the assurances mentioned,—and in a manner that will make them absolutely reliable in any contingency.

Fourth, in the event that, before the Commission reports, the President shall have received reliable assurances from the European nations that they not only will not form any coalition against us, but will maintain the strictest neutrality ; and shall have received assurances from the South American republics that they will accept without hesitation whatever conditions of partial dependency we may be forced to make in exchange for our protection, so that the contest will be a duel between us and England,—it will nevertheless be the duty of Congress to deliberate with the utmost solemnity before declaring war. For it must be remembered that the war, even if it be righteous, would still be aggressive, and that to declare it before we are prepared would mean to imperil at the outset the very cause for which it is to be declared. The general conviction which possesses us, that eventually we must triumph, for the reason that we are invincible, is not a sufficient justification for rushing into an aggressive war. To make such a war successful, we must not defend, but attack ; and an attack which would be limited to overrunning Canada (a colony which is already semi-independent, and which many believe will some day



become a part of us peaceably) would not be adequate. We must be able to press England hard ; we must, at least, command the Caribbean Sea and capture the English possessions in South America and in the West Indies ; we must wound her, too, in Asia and Africa, and on the Mediterranean, with the final object of carrying the war into England itself. But, whether we attack or defend, we must not expect to have a mere triumphal procession ; for even those who clamor most must admit that we shall have in England a foeman worthy of our steel. By all means let us take an example from history, and not declare war with "a light heart." The consequences to us, even if assured of victory, would be so grave that we may well pause : if defeated, in the upheaval of nations which defeat may bear in its train, no one can predict what may emerge from the chaos.

Therefore, if war there must be, let it be only after so thorough a preparation that a speedy victory may at least be hoped for. Give us first a navy that can sweep the waters of the world, and an army that can cope with the armies of the world. To the objection that such a preparation will take time,—even years,—the answer is that boundary disputes also take time. Our only loss by waiting until we are prepared is that England will continue to occupy an insignificant disputed territory in the interval. On the other hand, under the best auspices, our risks in rushing into a war without preparation are too frightful to contemplate. If war there must be, therefore, let us prepare at once to convert ourselves from a nation whose ambition has hitherto been the achievements of peace, into a nation ambitious for glory, for supremacy, and conquest ; and if this change is to be made, let us at least look to the consequences.

Congress is not estopped from deliberating because it has passed a bill for the appointment of a Commission to decide a question of fact, and because the President has urged that if that question of fact be decided adversely to England, we must enforce that decision by arms. Congress can never be estopped from obeying every mandate of the Constitution, and every member must bear in mind that it is in him, and not in some irresponsible commission appointed by the Executive, that the Constitution reposes the terrible power of declaring war. No member can shirk his duty or diminish it in the slightest degree by anything said or done by any individual, no matter how high he may be placed in the councils of the nation, and no matter what position he may have taken, or announcements he may have made. To claim the contrary, in view of the frightful consequences of war, would be fatal

to our institutions. Congress must deliberate. And if it deliberates, the considerations above presented, and many others to the same end, cannot fail to be realized by every member. And if so, will the majority of our Representatives in both Houses be able to bring their consciences to vote for war? It is incredible. It seems impossible.

ISAAC L. RICE.



## "GERMAN-AMERICANS" AND THE LORD'S DAY.

MY father used to describe a person of small stature and of no large mental furnishing, but who had four initials to his name, as having "a long label for a half-ounce phial." The title of Mr. Holls's article, in *THE FORUM* for January last,—“The ‘German Vote’ and the Republican Party,”—strikes me as a small tag on the Heidelberg Tun. If Mr. Holls thinks either that the Republican party should govern New York, or that the last city election was on the Tammany side because of the loss of the German vote, and that they must keep that German vote at any cost, I do not agree with him. First, because I should be glad if party politics were kept out of municipal elections. Second, because I am informed, at least, that the stay-at-home Republicans lost the city election. And third, because there are some prices that cannot be paid for anything. But that is a matter of no special concern to me. The subjects which he discusses are matters of very deep concern, reaching far beyond party advantages or national peculiarities; and the danger of the article lies in the fact that its inner meanings and conclusions are concealed under the appearance of a far less important issue than it really raises. My respect for Mr. Holls is most warm and true. He and I are agreed on more subjects than those on which we differ; and his admirable service in the Constitutional Convention to the cause of higher education and to the protection of the suffrage made most people in this State, including myself, his admirers and his debtors. All the more, therefore, I feel bound to utter my protest against the tone and drift of his article.

The article is unfair and unjust in many ways, not the least in its confounding of names and its confusion of things which have no relation to each other. There is a difference between so-called Sabbatarianism and a desire to keep Sunday from being secularized. The people who do not want saloons open on Sunday are not all prohibitionists. And there are some people who want to keep men out of saloons, who do not want to send women to the polls. Yet Mr. Holls classifies these three together, and sweeps them all in under the head of “fanatics,” in order to protest against, not a prohibitory law, not a

law to keep people from recreation on Sunday, not a law to let women vote, but only against a change of the existing law which regulates Sunday sales. I, for one, decline any association with such company. Again, Mr. Holls speaks of the Sunday law as endeavoring to maintain Puritanical ideas; as "originating in a period of early development and perhaps of less enlightenment"; as tacitly assuming that "the state should enforce the duty of keeping holy the Sabbath day," as dealing "with the (divinely inspired) early Hebrew precepts and traditions." A pretty dangerous parenthesis, Mr. Holls! And while he credits us with sincerity, he classes us with witch-burners and slave-holders. This is a perfectly unjust and unjustifiable mingling and confusing of people and principles.

Mr. Holls also uses the words "liberal" and "liberalizing" in a most loose and dangerous way. The "rapid liberalizing of public opinion" is to do away with certain things that have "firm rooting in the past." We are to have "a liberal and enlightened construction of the words of Christ, 'The Sabbath was made for man.'" It is a pseudo-liberalizing that cuts men loose from the venerable restraints of license, and a mere contradiction of the meaning of our Lord's words to suppose that He handed over the oldest institution of the human race to be dealt with or done away with by man, if he pleases. Mr. Holls and I are in cordial accord on the woman's suffrage question. I hope, if he has seen that acme of irreverent ignorance called "The Woman's Bible," that he will notice to what length this kind of Scriptural exegesis goes.

The identification of the Sunday closing law,—in its enactment and in its enforcement, with its prostitution for purposes of blackmail,—with the spy system and the stool-pigeon, or with its exaggerated applications, is a mere travesty of argument.

The serious element in Mr. Holls's reasoning is its bold maintenance of the proposition to legislate by violating law. He writes:—

"Legal fictions, and the assumed obsolescence of penal laws originating in a period of earlier development, and perhaps of less enlightenment, are as well recognized a method of legal progress as legislation. If by reason of the continued predominance of earlier and stricter views in a politically determining portion of the State, a repeal of such laws is impracticable, this expedient may properly and honestly be adopted by conscientious officials, in order to avoid greater injustice by apparent petty righteousness. This is particularly true in communities where the main object of the law is accomplished, even under a policy of toleration; where, moreover, a literal compliance with the statute would engender the fundamentally dangerous and evil passions of class hatred, malice, backbiting, and wide-spread hostility toward all law; and where public



service on the part of any official lacking the requisite wisdom and steadiness, or having conscientious scruples against legal fictions and obsolescent statutes, is not compulsory. If answer is made that this theory, logically carried out, would result in haphazard nullification of law by different officials, and finally in anarchy, the reply seems conclusive that as a matter of fact the progress of English law *has been along just these lines*, involving in many instances a disregard of existing provisions which is absolutely unjustifiable in abstract theory."

I confess that to a mind which is not legal, which is used to interpret laws by their language, their objects, and their intention, this is a most dangerous bit of special pleading. It certainly is not "calling a spade a spade," to advise law-breaking as a method for the "gradual modification [of the Sunday law] by the advance of public opinion"; or to describe "the impartial toleration of open saloons and beer-gardens" as the exercise of "the element of discretion" in the enforcement of law. And while I know perfectly well that many people are in favor of the modification of the excise law,—not for the sake of the beer, which they do not care to drink, at any rate, in saloons,—it is impossible to evade the fact that, as between good government and the return to Tammany rule, the people whom Mr. Holls calls German-Americans did, *in effect*, put "the enjoyment of their Sunday beer above their regard for law and order and for decency in local government."

Mr. Holls's statement that England, which is distinguished for keeping the Lord's Day holy, "permits the open sale of stimulants during certain hours on Sunday," needs correction. First, in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, Sunday closing is established, and the sale of liquor shows a decrease of 161,573 gallons per year, while the average number of criminal cases for drunkenness were fewer by one-half after the Sunday closing than they were before, notwithstanding an increase of a million and a half in the population. It may be added that the advocates of Sunday closing in England are greatly in hopes of securing the passage of a law in that interest. The Duke of Westminster, presiding over a committee of the House of Lords, said, not long ago:—

"Public opinion is ripe upon this question, and the immense majority of English people are so strongly in favor of Sunday closing that one cannot but hope and believe that the day is not far distant when we shall see it prevail throughout the country."

And Lord Salisbury said in the House of Lords: "Undoubtedly public opinion is so powerful on this question that there is not sufficient force in either House to resist it very long."

The obnoxious epithets applied by Mr. Holls to the policy of the

supporters of the existing Sunday law, are of precisely the same sort of argument which Mr. Holls justly condemns: namely, the "sneer at beery and ignorant foreigners," and the like.

The denationalizing of naturalized Americans back into the nationalities which they have left is an evil element in our country; to talk of German-Americans, Irish-Americans, and every other sort of foreign Americans, is wrong and bad. But when not only the old national name is used, but the old national nature is appealed to; and the claim is made, for even a large and reputable part of our citizenship, that it may import its foreign ways and notions into our American life, and either demand immunity from our law or compel us to conform our law to its customs,—it becomes really intolerable. This dangerous and destructive theory has taken possession of some of our Western cities, and wiped out the traditional ideas of our own people, but we can hold our own against it yet awhile in the East. If these racial distinctions are to be maintained, we shall never have any assimilated nationality of our own; and it is for us to see to it that we retain some independent, national, American, characteristic ideas and institutions, to which those who seek the shelter of our country shall conform. The determination to fight the battle of the Boyne annually in the streets of New York; the readiness to fling the bomb of the Russian nihilist or French anarchist in Chicago; the organization of a clan of certain citizens into a procession on St. Patrick's Day; the interpretation of the words "I am an American" to mean, as certain recent events indicate, "I am a hater of England"; and now the proposal to introduce that phase of "the sanctity of German family life" which frequents the beer-garden on Sunday,—such things as these are poor promises of any unification of "all peoples and kindreds and tongues" into an American nationality. There are no German-Americans. They ceased to be Germans in becoming Americans. Our civilization may be Germanic, because it unites Anglo-Saxon and Teuton, but Germanic is not German. This country was Anglo-Saxon before it was Teutonic. And Mr. Holls is too good an American—and I know none better—to want to maintain, in name, nature, or influence, these race lines and class distinctions.

But the gist of my argument touches a higher and a deeper question. I do not hesitate to say—and I should feel so if I lived in New York—that if this German-American vote is to be bought only at the cost of opening saloons on Sunday, any party, any people had better go without it. That sort of "declaration of independence" which cuts



itself free from existing law had better be relegated to “the forests of Germany” (I suggest the Black Forest), where Lord Acton “dimly descried it.” I shall emphasize by italics this expression of what Mr. Holls will call my fanaticism: *Better let Tammany rule and ruin the government of the city of New York than surrender to this demand for the Sunday sale of liquor*; and I base this fanaticism on three grounds:

First, and lowest, there will be a revolt, when it has gone far enough, which will bring back and establish law and order on positive principles of order and law. Second, the fact of *some* saloons being open on Sunday by violation of law paid for to Tammany officials is a disgrace to the guardians of the law; whereas *any* saloons open on Sunday by permission of the legislature is a disgrace to the State, a dishonor to immemorial principles, and a denial of the will of God. And third, the high ground to be taken is that every violation of the character of the Lord’s Day is “*malum in se*,”—a sin in itself.

There is a most persistent and inexplicable misconception of the moral element in this question. It is dismissed as Puritanism or Sabbatarianism. It is dealt with as a piece of recent Christian ethics or a remote relic of Hebrew morals. Curiously enough Mr. Holls says “(divinely inspired) early Hebrew precepts and traditions.” That means, if it means anything, laws laid down and handed down, from the creation of man, by the authority of God, before there were Hebrews, before Moses, of course before Christ. And this is the exact fact of the case. The setting apart of one day in seven runs back of the memory of man. It was in the very act of the creation, six periods of divine energy and one period of divine rest. And the only thing that the deliverer of the moral law had to do with it was to point back to it and say, “Remember.” By the faithful believer, Hebrew or Christian, it will be kept holy, as a day of worship and grateful joy. But with this, human law has nothing to do. Nobody proposes to compel any man to worship God by civil enactment. But the Sabbath’s elements of rest, of sacredness, of unsecularity, of difference from other days, are embodied in the creation of the world and in the constitution of man as a direct revelation of the will of God. It is a divine law. It is a moral principle of universal obligation. It is a human necessity. And the sale of anything not absolutely necessary (much more the sale of the most deleterious and dangerous element of commerce); the doing, or the forcing of others to do, any work that can be avoided,—are violations of the Sabbath commandment which is as old as Adam.

I do not care to press the many side arguments: seven days’ work

put upon the traffickers in this trade ; the certainty that if beer is to be sold by law there will soon come <sup>1</sup> the demand to legalize the opening of other shops, the employment of other labor ; the plain result that men will be doubly tempted to waste wages, to desert their homes, to dissipate their health and strength, and to unfit themselves for work.

I rest my contention simply on the fact that neither human law-making nor human law-breaking can alter any law which is an expression of the will of God. For many years the effort has been made by the great liquor trusts and corporations, which largely elect our legislators in Albany, to change the human expression of the divine law of the Lord's Day, because it could not be enforced. Now the cry is to change it because it has been enforced, against the wishes of a class of our city populations, and with, perhaps, needless elements of odium in its enforcement which ought to be done away with. But the cry in either case is to be unheeded. No so-called personal liberty, no momentary triumph of good government in other municipal matters (important as that is), no victory of the purest and best party in the world, can be purchased at the cost of a violation and defiance of God's declared will. This is the point to be insisted on. The statute-books of a State are to be, not only the expression of the law, human and divine, but the education of people until they know the meaning and the authority of law. The lowering of standards to suit the wishes and opinions of men cannot be dreamed of for a moment by any thoughtful man. The true function of civil law is not only to enforce the right, but to elevate man to a true perception of what is right ; and the theory of local option, or personal option, or legislative option, about any revealed expression of the divine law, strikes at the root of morality, saps the foundation of government, and leaves society exposed to whatever may be the passing passion, the political preference, the momentary madness of the hour. It is not a question of *Law*. It is not a question of drink. It is a question of the *Day*.

WM. CROSWELL DOANE.

<sup>1</sup> Since the writing of this article it has been proposed to introduce two bills into the legislature this winter, one of which—to "repeal the section of the Penal Code which prohibits selling merchandize on Sunday"—is the fulfilment of my prophecy. The other, couched in covert language, is to legalize the sale of "*milk and other beverages*." It should be remembered that milk is already allowed to be sold up to ten o'clock in the morning : yet this bill proposes to allow its sale for an hour in the evening also. This is the only reference to milk, but the term "*other beverages*" will certainly cover other and less innocent drinks.



## THE HEINE-FOUNTAIN CONTROVERSY.

As *Candide* was advancing along the highway into Eldorado his wondering attention was drawn to several youths of noble beauty who were playing marbles with golden spheres. He immediately considered that such luxury could be afforded only by the sons of the king, and that accordingly he had the extraordinary honor of being in the tremendous presence of the royal family. But presently he learned that gold was as plenteous in Eldorado as gold contracts were in the various silvern lands through which he had passed in his journeys, and, moreover, that those particular lads were not princes of the blood, but children of a struggling literary man whose miserable poverty made him an object of general commiseration.

This veracious and instructive history is mockingly instanced by Heine in relating the intellectual astonishments and subsequent intellectual disillusionments which an amiable friend of his was accustomed to experience when he read certain books penetrated with the most golden thoughts. The young gentleman in question ultimately found out that golden thoughts had become as frequent and ordinary in literature as gold marbles were in Eldorado,—a conventional truth that it is still desirable duly to understand, through diligent investigation, if need be; although it is all the better to be aware of it without too feverish an expenditure of difficult and exhausting brain labor.

Not exactly in the Heinean satirical way, but with discrimination, a witty philosopher might shrewdly inquire how far the most golden judgments of journalism (meaning the most confident and most serene) come within the same category. Suffice it here merely to suggest this inviting topic, which assuredly is a trifle dangerous; and I warn pessimistic writers especially to avoid it, lest they precipitate themselves upon a provocative for far too ridiculous severity and wantonness. My own balanced opinion is that editorial judgments are frequently of an excellent order,—are sometimes, indeed, decidedly fine and grand,—but occasionally may pass current among the public with quite as little value attaching to them as was ascribed to gold in Eldorado when *Candide* made his famous visit to that interesting land.

There was proffered to the Park Commissioners of the city of New York, about a year ago, under the auspices of the leading local German-American societies, a monumental fountain in commemoration of Heinrich Heine, to be executed under contract by Professor Ernst Herter, the well-known Berlin sculptor, and to be ready for erection in the spring of the present year. That proffer represented a singularly lively sentimental enthusiasm, occasioned by circumstances of peculiar interest not alone to German-Americans as such, but equally to all cultivated people. In two cities of Germany an attempt to set up an artistic memorial to Heine the poet had been defeated by the unforgiving bitterness which the official classes and narrow-minded conservatives and aristocrats cherished against Heine the political writer, satirist, and Jew. The City Council of Düsseldorf (Heine's birth-place), and afterward the authorities of Mayence, refused to grant any site for the desired memorial,—refused not with scant courtesy, but with no courtesy at all. A violent discussion was excited, which raged for a considerable time throughout the Empire; and from the spirit of the opposition it was manifest that the same inveterate resentments which had been encountered in Düsseldorf and Mayence would prevail against like applications in other cities. The whole Heine monument project in Germany was therefore abandoned, though very reluctantly.

Thus, on grounds of mere prejudice, Heinrich Heine—incomparably the most popular of all German poets, not excepting Goethe or any other; ranking, by universal recognition, with the very first men of genius of all the world's ages; whose creations have entered more largely and lastingly into the domain of music than those of any other writer—had been formally pronounced unworthy of monumental honors in the land of his birth. It was pointed out last summer, by a writer in the New York "Times," that the rejection of the memorial in the German cities was due to the peculiar electoral system whereby municipal councils in Germany are constituted,—two-thirds of the members being chosen by the classes paying the largest taxes, which necessarily gives permanent control to the aristocracy, the parvenu rich, and conservative individuals generally. This explanation helps to an understanding of the statement already made, which admits of no qualification whatever,—that considerations of aristocratic, political, and race animosity and sullenness, harbored against Heine because of the license of his pen and because of his Jewish birth, were exclusively accountable for the adverse decision. He satirized various German



institutions; laughed cynically at the exceedingly respectable and solemn "Altdeutschen"; published the most remarkable witticisms about the "*sechs und dreissig Monarchen*" in general and particular; ridiculed the deplorable conditions caused by the conglomeration of petty states of which disunited Germany consisted in his time; and wrote other things of like tendency that remain almost unprintable to this day. All of which was—

—"ja gegen allen Respekt  
Und alle Etikette:"

—hence the extreme and ineradicable repugnance with which Heine's name and writings are lastingly regarded by the representatives of officialdom and the old-fashioned order of things "*im lieben Vaterland.*"

This Heine-repugnance is, in truth, one of the most conspicuous temperamental peculiarities of very many sensitive Germans, who stubbornly stop short in their interest in him at the all-sufficient remembrance that Germany (that is, Germany of forty to seventy-five years ago) did not suit him, and he did not suit Germany. And there they take their stand—not to be moved except to wrath. Provoke them by proposing such a monstrous thing as an actual Heine monument on sacred German soil, and immediately you may have opportunity to read some of the choicest sarcasm and most furious invective ever produced in Germany since the author of the "Jackass" poems ceased to torture his foes. It is not enough, in the fearful case of condemnation which they make out, to describe Heine by the favorite characterization, "*Ein Talent, doch kein Charakter.*" They declare that he was not merely an unworthy son of Germany, but no German at all: on the contrary, a hater of the Fatherland; forever sneering at and ridiculing his countrymen, "those filthy Teutons"; equally malignant toward all of them, Prussians, Bavarians, Suabians, Westphalians, Hamburgers; utterly incapable of sympathy for any strictly German interests and aspirations; prating of republicanism and liberty, yet uniformly manifesting an insulting contempt and loathing for the common people, to whom he was pleased to apply such designations as "dirty," "unsavory," and the like. Proceeding with their arraignment, they next aver that he was essentially and always French,—from boyhood, when he wrote that passionate Napoleon ballad, "The Two Grenadiers," down to the mattress-grave, from which, in his last days, he addressed a note to his French publisher relating how several of his German compatriots who had come to Paris to see the Universal Exposition

of 1855 had decided to postpone their homeward journey "in the hope" of being able to attend his funeral. And finally, as the culminating feature of the denunciation, Heine was a Jew,—a baptized Jew, indeed, but all the more bitter-hearted and revengeful because the requirements of the society in which he lived obliged him to adopt the forms of the Christian faith as a prerequisite to a professional career; and as a Jew he was entirely un-Europeanized, an ideal Oriental in vindictiveness, hatred, and thirst for vengeance.

I have endeavored to give a frank indication of the amazing representations and arguments by which the authorities of the two German cities justified their unceremonious refusal of a monument to Heine. It would be quite superfluous to undertake any examination of them on their merits here,—or, for that matter, I think, in any other connection which assumes an average degree of intelligence and discrimination concerning Heine on the part of the reading public. The prompt and signal repudiation of them by the Germans in America, whose tender love for their native country and jealousy of its honor nobody will gainsay, sufficiently distinguishes them as the specialized judgments of very over-sensitive classes. In an address to the Park Commissioners the Heine Monument Committee of New York said:—

"We were actuated no less by a desire to honor a great and universally beloved German poet, than by the conviction that it would be in perfect keeping with American citizenship and the broadness of view and sentiment which distinguishes the American people, to pay a tribute to the memory of a man who, on account of his progressive and liberal views, incurred the hatred of the reactionary powers that ruled Germany during the supremacy of the Holy Alliance and Metternich's despotic sway; and to whose monument even now, although his songs are sung by millions of his countrymen and have become a precious part of the world's literature, political and race narrow-mindedness refuses a place in the land of his birth."

This explanation of the motives which led to the Heine memorial movement in New York plainly sets forth a perfectly proper and reasonable basis and spirit as characterizing that undertaking. Aside from the peculiarly interesting and important general considerations involved in the Heine Committee's application for a site, there were special circumstances deserving of respectful recognition. The Committee was in all ways a thoroughly representative body of substantial and cultured citizens. It proposed the gift of an ornamental fountain to the city, and took very unusual precautions to ensure a work of high merit, giving the commission to a European sculptor of eminent



reputation,—the identical artist previously selected by the projectors of the Heine memorial in Germany. The proffer to the Park Board was accompanied by an absolute guaranty of the full amount of the purchase money, the Arion Society having pledged itself to make good any possible deficiency in the popular subscription. No inconvenient conditions of any description were prescribed by the Committee, and the selection of a site was left altogether to the Board, the single suggestion being volunteered that “a suitable place” be assigned, either in Central Park or in the upper part of the city, “where the foliage of trees and shrubs will form a background showing to advantage the beautiful forms and exquisite details of the monument.” The German-American ladies of the metropolis displayed an enthusiastic interest in the success of the monument enterprise on popular lines, holding a fair in the Lenox Lyceum in November, from which more than \$10,000 was realized for the subscription fund, in addition to a large sum previously subscribed by a number of wealthy German-Americans.

Although the Committee's request for a site was submitted to the Park Commissioners early last year, action upon it was postponed to await the receipt of photographs of the sculptor's completed model. These came to hand in July. Meantime the Commissioners had decided to refer the question of the artistic quality of the design to the National Sculpture Society. The report of that body was delayed until November. Without entering into specifications, the Sculpture Society flatly advised against the acceptance of the work, characterizing it as belonging to a kind of monumental productions of which the city had too many.

This unfriendly judgment, although much regretted by all actively concerned, did not, upon reflection, appear either surprising or necessarily disconcerting. While not engaging in any critical controversy with the National Sculpture Society, the Heine Committee questioned the competency of that body to render a dispassionate verdict in the premises. The Hon. Carl Schurz, in a protest to the Park Board, took the ground that a committee of professional sculptors, all of whom had their personal ideals in art, was not a safe jury to pass upon the work of a competitor,—especially upon that of a foreign competitor. These gentlemen, moreover, had made up their opinion only from photographs of the design. On the other hand, art connoisseurs in Europe who had seen Professor Herter's model, both in his studio and when exhibited at the Berlin Art Exposition, had praised it without stint. Above all, the high standing of Herter among European sculp-

tors was certainly presumptive evidence that should receive at least equal weight with the recommendations of the New York censors. These representations in reply to the Sculpture Society were respectfully submitted to the Board, coupled with an offer to bring from Berlin a half-size model of the fountain. But the differences occasioned by the adverse report could not be so easily reconciled. The Commissioners proposed to refer the art question to other critics, to be designated by the Fine Arts Federation. The President of that body, however, at a meeting of the Board, and subsequently in a newspaper interview, very emphatically expressed his full agreement with the National Sculpture Society. To put an end to a disputation that was becoming unseemly and would certainly prove unprofitable, the Monument Committee, on the 12th of December, formally withdrew its application for a site. Thus terminated the Heine memorial enterprise so far as New York city was concerned.

As a debate respecting an art matter, the whole controversy presented only *ipse dixit* against *ipse dixit*; and it would not be at all ethical for a non-amateur to venture to decide between the two. The fountain will probably now be offered to and acquired by some other city; and with this in view a few words, aside from the recent curious æsthetic disagreement, are in order.

A very strange aspect of the New York controversy was the stubborn hostility of certain influential newspapers, on grounds entirely unrelated to the art question. Long before the photographs of the sculptor's model were received, one of the leading morning journals entered decided objections against granting a site to the memorial. Its chief reasons, as stated at the time and as elaborated subsequently, were that the city had in the past been far too generous in awarding choice locations for monuments to great foreigners, and ought to call a complete halt to that practice; and that, as to the specific proposal to honor Heinrich Heine with a memorial, it peculiarly lacked suitable urgency: first, because Heine was in no way identified with America, even by association; and second, because he "could not be credited" with "the overwhelming genius which compels recognition."

It is unfortunate that the Park Commissioners of New York did not find it convenient to express themselves officially on these propositions. Considering the importance of the newspaper in which they were urged, and its high reputation for catholic judgment, as well as the general indorsement of them by other New York journals, they induce interesting reflections.



As "patriotism" is one of the finest of all words, "nativism" is one of the most unpleasant. But it would be harsh to charge even a portion of the New York press with a nativistic spirit in its late opposition to the Heine memorial. There was undoubtedly a saving clause in that opposition,—the declination to recognize "the overwhelming genius" of Heinrich Heine. Never has the metropolitan press taken an indignant stand against monuments to celebrated characters, American or foreign, provided they have been able to establish due title to overwhelming genius. Among the practical evidences which may be mentioned to sustain the virtuous and intelligent integrity of the press in this respect, is our present enjoyment of those beautiful and patriotic works of art, the Bolivar, Garibaldi, Cox, Dodge, and De Peyster statues. If Heine had been correspondingly gifted with illustrious intellect, the decision in his case, as tried by newspaper, might have been different. Such, at all events, is the inference from the record of the past, and also from the words of the able New York press.

I fully appreciate the inexactitude with which phrasings are sometimes turned in the hurry of newspaper offices; and perhaps the one I have cited touching Heine's deplorable lack of overwhelming genius does not do complete justice to the editor. This seems the more possible because of some other erroneous statements in the same connection,—notably that the "Heine fountain was sent to New York out of determination to erect it somewhere"; which I describe as an erroneous statement because it might be discourteous to name it a deliberate misrepresentation.

The main objection to the Heine memorial—that it is time to quit giving away monument sites to foreigners—is based on the observation that "there are innumerable generations of statue-deserving men in the United States still to come," for whom places must be reserved. A proper reply to this is that there are innumerable generations still to come which, whether they produce statue-deserving men or not, will give the world none who can excel the dramas of Shakespeare, the tales of Boccaccio, the sustained poems of Shelley, or the lyrics of Heine.

The Heine fountain which the New York critics—for unexplained reasons—do not desire has for its distinguishing characteristic a representation of the charm and splendor of Heine's song. (Of course, with humble apologies to the National Sculpture Society, I mean by this an *attempted representation*.) On that account it has been criticised thus:—

“The main subject, Heine, is pretty deeply buried in the spirit of fairy lore which flourishes so delightfully in the Teutonic mind, but which shrivels too much when exposed to the sun of this hemisphere.”

Having already pointed out certain seeming deficiencies of the editorial discretion, I make bold to question whether the foregoing fairly represents the editorial wit at its best. We are accustomed to hear so much smarter things observed about the vagaries of the dreamy German mind. For example, there is the familiar saying that these Germans are the most curious people in the world: whenever they feel merriest they begin to sing Heinrich Heine's “Lorelei” song—“I know not what it meaneth that I am so sad.” It is somewhat in the same contradictory spirit that the Heine fountain is conceived,—to bring back to the beholder who knows his Heine well a throng of recollections of the fascinating yet mournful Heine imagery:—

Aus alten Märchen winkt es  
Hervor mit weisser Hand,  
Da singt es und da klingt es  
Von einem Zauberland.

. . . . .  
Und Liebesweisen tönen,  
Wie du sie nie gehört,  
Bis wundersüßes Sehnen  
Dich wundersüß bethört.

This expresses the real fairy lore in Professor Herter's Heine fountain; and if it has a tendency to shrivel when exposed to the sun of this hemisphere, so much the worse for tender sentiment and delicate refinement among us!

WILLIAM STEINWAY.



## NOTABLE SANITARY EXPERIMENTS IN MASSACHUSETTS.

MASSACHUSETTS, more than any other State in the Union, is a Commonwealth of cities. With a total population of less than 2,500,000, and with an area of only 7,800 square miles, it has no less than thirty-nine cities or towns of 10,000 or more inhabitants, and twenty cities of 25,000 or more. More than three-fourths of the people of Massachusetts live in cities or towns having more than 7,000 inhabitants. Here, also, for the last quarter of a century, perhaps even more rapidly than elsewhere, the cities have been gaining while the country has been losing population; and here, therefore, earlier than almost anywhere else in America, those sanitary problems have had to be met which inevitably arise when large communities occur in close proximity. Chief among these problems are those relating to water-supply and sewerage. In the early recognition, and especially in the practical and scientific solution, of these problems, so that their settlement by the legislature has become an easy matter, the State Board of Health of Massachusetts has performed a unique and remarkable service. Chief among the things which this Board has done for sanitary science since 1886 has been the establishment of a method of procedure and a fund of knowledge by which any American Commonwealth henceforward may, if it will, meet and scientifically provide for the often conflicting needs of neighboring communities of large size, in respect to water-supply and sewerage.

The year 1849 was one of unusual sickness and mortality in Massachusetts. Typhoid fever, dysentery, and scarlet-fever prevailed to an unusual extent, and Asiatic cholera destroyed about 1,200 of its population. By authority of the legislature, a Commission was appointed to report upon the sanitary condition of the State. One of the primary recommendations of this Commission advised the establishment of a "General Board of Health," the functions of which were very clearly stated; and when, twenty years later, such a Board was finally established (in 1869), under the title of the "State Board of Health and Vital Statistics," it was organized very nearly in ac-

cordance with the suggestions of the Sanitary Commission of 1849. The first chairman of the Board was Dr. Henry Ingersoll Bowditch, one of the pioneers in American sanitation, who, on assuming the office, affirmed for himself and his colleagues,—

“We feel the responsibilities of the position we hold. We accept them, with an earnest wish to be able to grapple successfully with the various difficulties that surround this very important branch of the public service.”

The composition of the original Board was significant. It did not consist of physicians alone, but included in its membership representative citizens from other professions and from the ranks of business and political life, thus at the outset recognizing the fact that the interests of life and health are many-sided, and intimately concern, not the medical profession alone, but the industrial, the financial, the legal, and other aspects of modern society as well.

From the very start questions concerning the water-supply and sewerage of cities and towns began to occupy the attention of the Board. In its first annual report the secretary states that “the drainage and water-supply of crowded communities is still insufficient.” In the second report (for 1870) we find a special paper on the pollution of Mystic Pond (a tributary of the Boston water-supply) by drainage from tanneries in Woburn: and we are warned that—

—“as the interests of life and health become more definite and more valued, and as manufactories and population grow and multiply, the apparent conflict between health and industry will yearly become more evident. It is our duty, if possible, to show that these important interests are not irreconcilable, and to give a word of warning in season to prevent their relations from being forgotten until it is too late to remedy the omission, except at enormous cost.”

In 1872 the legislature of Massachusetts resolved that—

—“the Board of Health be requested to consider the general subject of the disposition of the sewage of towns and cities, having in view, first, its utilization as a fertilizer; second, sanitary effects of draining the same into the waters of the Commonwealth; third, the increasing joint use of watercourses for sewers and as sources of supply for domestic use by the people of the Commonwealth.”

In compliance with this request the Board, in the following year, made (in its fourth annual report) a special, very interesting, comprehensive, and instructive report on sewage and sewerage, the pollution of streams, and the water-supply of towns. The fifth, seventh, eighth, and ninth reports contained, respectively, special papers on the condition of certain



rivers, with considerations touching the water-supply of towns ; on the pollution of rivers, the water-supply, drainage, and sewerage of the State from a sanitary point of view, and the disposal of sewage ; on pollution of streams, disposal of sewage, etc.; and on drainage and health, sewerage, and pollution of streams.

In 1881 the legislature requested the Board to report on the pollution of the Blackstone River by the city of Worcester, and in the same year authorized a Commission to consider the drainage of the valleys of the Mystic and Charles rivers with the estimate of cost. The chairman of this Commission was the well-known engineer, Mr. E. S. Chesbrough, and here, as has so often fortunately happened in Massachusetts, engineers and physicians worked together with great advantage to the public health. The report of these Commissioners was of special importance, inasmuch as they formally recommended "a metropolitan district system" which should "preserve, so far as is practicable by general sewerage, the purity of the water-supply of the cities included in this district." In 1882 the State Board of Health reported their investigations of the pollution of the Blackstone River. In February and March, 1884, the legislature's Joint Standing Committee on Health had a long and elaborate series of hearings in regard to the pollution of the Blackstone River by the city of Worcester, and also took a large amount of evidence in relation to preventing the pollution of water-supplies of cities and towns.

In 1884, also, a Commission, of which John Quincy Adams was chairman, and Eliot C. Clarke was chief engineer, was appointed to consider the question of a general system of drainage for the valleys of the Mystic, Blackstone, and Charles rivers. To enable this Commission to carry on its investigations the sum of \$20,000 was at the same time appropriated by the legislature. The report of this Commission, known as the "Report of the Massachusetts Drainage Commission," appeared in 1886, and is a sanitary document of very great interest and value. Time has abundantly proved that one, in particular, of the recommendations of this Commission, wisely adopted by the legislature of 1886, was pregnant with the highest consequences for sanitary science. In brief, this recommendation was that, in order to enable the legislature satisfactorily, equitably, and scientifically to settle the difficult and often conflicting questions of water-supply and sewerage for the various cities and towns of the Commonwealth, the whole subject be referred to some competent body for investigation, and that this body should consult with, and be ready to give expert

advice to, such cities and towns, or to the legislature itself. The Commissioners put the case as follows :—

“The growth of population, the spread of modern refinements of living, the increase in industrial establishments, and all the infinite multiplication of incidents appertaining to a prosperous and progressive community must naturally and perhaps inevitably tend to vitiate the water of its rivers and lakes. . . . We think it very desirable that there should be some expert authority to consult with towns and cities looking for pure and adequate water-supplies, or searching for unobjectionable methods of sewerage. The difficulties in these directions are becoming greater each year, and the resultant confusion and complication more embarrassing. . . . “We think it is high time that some steps should be taken to arrest the progress of rivers’ pollution at the point it has reached to-day in Massachusetts, and gradually to retrieve some portion, at least, of the ground we have carelessly yielded. . . . In the year 1879 the legislature entrusted the care of ‘the lands, flats, shores, and rights in tidewaters belonging to the Commonwealth,’ and the supervision of ‘all its tidewaters, and all the flats and lands flowed thereby,’ to a Board whom it empowered ‘to prevent and remove unauthorized encroachments’ or whatever ‘in any way injures their channels.’ . . . Precisely the same principle which enjoins a watchful care over the exterior waters of the State would seem to call for at least an equal solicitude concerning the abuse of its interior waters. . . . We think it would be well for the legislature to designate some one or more persons to look after the public interests in this direction. Let these guardians of inland waters be charged to acquaint themselves with the actual condition of all waters within the State as respects their pollution or purity, and to inform themselves particularly as to the relation which that condition bears to the health and well-being of any part of the people of the Commonwealth. . . . Let them make it their business to advise and assist cities or towns desiring a supply of water or a system of sewerage. They shall put themselves at the disposal of manufacturers and others using rivers, streams, or ponds, or in any way misusing them, to suggest the best means of minimizing the amount of dirt in their effluent, and to experiment upon methods of reducing or avoiding pollution. They shall warn the persistent violator of all reasonable regulation in the management of water, of the consequences of his acts. In a word, it shall be their especial function to guard the public interest and the public health in its relation with water, whether pure or defiled, with the ultimate hope, which must never be abandoned, that sooner or later ways may be found to redeem and preserve all the waters of the State.”

The time was ripe for action. The legislature adopted the recommendation of the Drainage Commission, and turned to the State Board of Health as the proper body to undertake the new and important functions which it was proposed to create. The Board was reconstituted and reorganized, being endowed not only with the usual powers and duties of a State Board of Health, but with entirely new and peculiar functions in regard to the water-supplies and sewerage of the towns and cities of the Commonwealth. The Board was to become the expert sanitary adviser of the towns, and *a fortiori* of the legis-



lature, in these particulars ; and it was to be liberally supported. As a special recognition of the new functions, Mr. Hiram F. Mills, of Lawrence, the most distinguished civil engineer within the State making a specialty of hydraulics, was persuaded to accept membership in the Board ; and subsequent experience has proved that a wiser selection could not possibly have been made.

The time was fortunate, also, in another direction. The germ theory of infectious disease, founded by Pasteur and established by Koch, had become immensely more practical and more widely accepted since the invention of improved methods by Koch in 1881, and the discovery, by the same investigator, of the germ of tuberculosis in 1882, and that of Asiatic cholera in 1883, and since the better knowledge of the germ of typhoid fever introduced by Gaffky in 1884, and of that of diphtheria brought to light by Löffler in the same year. The improved methods referred to had also begun to be applied to water analysis, having been first used by P. F. Frankland upon the London filters in 1885. New possibilities loomed up in public hygiene ; and it was therefore natural and fitting that a member of the medical profession distinguished in the department of State medicine should become a prominent member of the Board. Accordingly Dr. Henry P. Walcott, the highest authority in Massachusetts on public hygiene, was made its chairman, a position he has held with honor ever since. The medical profession was further represented in the Board (which consisted of seven members) by Dr. Frank W. Draper, a recognized authority in medico-legal affairs, and Professor of Legal Medicine in Harvard University ; and by Dr. Elijah U. Jones, of Taunton, Professor of Hygiene in Boston University. The other members were Messrs. Thornton K. Lothrop, of Beverly, a prominent lawyer ; Julius H. Appleton, a paper manufacturer, of Springfield ; and James White, a capitalist, of Williamstown. Dr. S. W. Abbott, an authority on vital statistics, was chosen secretary, and the Board began its new duties by appointing an engineer who was to give his whole time to its work. Mr. Frederic P. Stearns, who had already achieved high reputation in engineering work upon the so-called "Improved Sewerage" system of Boston, received the appointment, and remained as chief engineer of the Board until the present year, resigning only in order to carry out, as engineer-in-chief, the vast schemes of the proposed "Metropolitan Water-Supply" for "Greater Boston," a system involving an estimated expenditure of \$27,000,000, the entire planning of which, as will appear beyond, was the work of the State Board of Health.

The statute which provided the new functions for the Board was approved on June 9, 1886, and was entitled "An Act to Protect the Purity of Inland Waters." In substance, and to a large extent in form, it corresponds with that recommended by the Drainage Commission. It has proved to be one of the most novel and satisfactory enactments for the benefit of the public health ever undertaken in America. In one important respect the statute actually adopted differed from that recommended, namely, in providing that the members of the Board should serve without pay; and the value of this qualification can scarcely be over-estimated.

The special functions of the State Board of Health as laid down in this statute, concisely stated, were as follows:—

1. To have the general care and oversight of all the inland waters of the Commonwealth.
2. To recommend legislation and suitable plans for systems of main sewers for the State.
3. To cause examinations of the waters of ponds and streams to be made.
4. To recommend measures to prevent the pollution of waters.
5. To conduct experiments on the purification of drainage.
6. To conduct experiments on the disposal of manufacturing refuse.
7. To consult with and advise the authorities of cities and towns, or with others, with reference to water-supply and drainage.
8. To consult with and advise manufacturers with reference to the disposal of manufacturing refuse.
9. To bring to the notice of the Attorney-General all omissions to comply with existing laws.

The Act further provided that authorities of cities and towns, and all others intending to introduce systems of water-supply or sewerage, shall submit to the Board outlines of their proposed plans or schemes in relation to these subjects; and that manufacturers intending to engage in any business, drainage or refuse from which may tend to cause the pollution of any inland waters, shall also give notice to the Board of their intentions.

The Board immediately proceeded to carry out the provisions of the Act. A "Committee on Water-Supplies and Drainage," consisting of Messrs. Mills, Walcott, and Lothrop, was created; and an engineering department was organized, with Mr. Stearns as chief engineer, and Mr. X. H. Goodnough as assistant engineer. In its first report, dated January 10, 1887, the Board confirms the opinion of the Drainage Commission and says:—

"It is too soon to point out all the far-reaching consequences of the legislation contained in the Act above named. But we are more convinced from day



to day of the necessity of some control of the questions of water-supply and drainage, so removed from individual towns and cities, as to be able to consider dispassionately the interests of all parties who may be affected by the creation of a water-supply or a system of sewerage. . . ."

It then states *in extenso* precisely what it proposes to do if adequately supported, and concludes:—

"In order to make the series of examinations above outlined, including monthly analyses of all waters used for domestic supply in the State, and biological examinations of certain waters injuriously affected by animal life, together with chemical analyses of other inland waters ; to conduct contemplated experiments upon the purification of sewage and refuse from industrial establishments ; to make the necessary investigations in order to advise cities, towns, corporations, and individuals in regard to the best method of assuring the purity of intended or existing water-supplies, and the best method of disposing of their sewage ; and to carry out the other provisions of chapter 274,—the Board estimates that the sum of \$30,000 will be required."

The legislature cheerfully did its part, and granted the large sum asked for by the Board, which thereupon proceeded to complete its organization for work along the lines already marked out. It announced that it was ready to consult with and give advice to any Massachusetts city or town concerning its water-supply or sewerage. At the same time it was distinctly held by the Board that, in order to be able to give adequate and really expert advice, it must experiment and investigate. It was not to rest content with the scanty or imperfect knowledge of these subjects which was too often all that was available, or to accept without trial the methods or the results of scattered or local observers, but, first, to investigate for itself the actual condition of the various water-supplies of the State by all means in its power, whether engineering, chemical, or biological ; and, second, after having obtained all available information at home and abroad, to establish an experiment station and make for itself investigations upon the long-vexed questions of the purification of sewage and drinking-water.

The engineering department was already at work. A chemical department was next organized, under the personal direction of Professor Thomas M. Drown, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. All the resources of the latter institution, which, under the lamented William Ripley Nichols and his able lieutenant Mrs. Ellen H. (Swallow) Richards, had already very often been employed in the work of the Board, were enlisted in the new service, a special laboratory being set apart for the purpose. Harvard University and its Medical School contributed important aid to the initiation of the work

of the biological department, with Mr. G. H. Parker as biologist, and Dr. E. K. Dunham as bacteriologist; and in November, 1887, the work of the Lawrence Experiment Station was begun, under the personal oversight and direction of Mr. Mills.

This experiment station, the first of the kind in America, was located in a building adapted for the purpose, which had been constructed upon land, on the left bank of the Merrimack River, belonging to the Essex Company, and already used at an earlier date by Mr. Mills for his experiments in hydraulics. In 1888 Dr. Dunham, and in 1889 Mr. Parker, resigned, and both were succeeded by the writer.

The first problem attacked at the Lawrence Experiment Station was that of the best method for the disposal of sewage upon land. English and German experience had made it probable that much might be done in this direction in America; but the knowledge available was very limited and of little or no practical value to American engineers, because the climates, soils, sewages, and civil and economic conditions of America are so different from those of Europe. Accordingly, in November, 1887, a series of careful experiments was begun, to test the purifying capacity of various soils and sands occurring in Massachusetts. For this purpose a number of large wooden tubs or tanks built of cypress were cautiously filled with different soils, ranging from muck and garden loam, on the one hand, through fine sand and coarse sand to mixed gravel-stones, other materials, and pebbles, on the other. The soil or sand to be tested was in each case supported on a stratum of stones and gravel, and underdrained through an effluent pipe which emptied into a large measuring basin. The sewage was also measured as it flowed on at the top, and the whole experiment was under control in every respect. Each tank, or "filter," was sixteen feet in diameter, or one two-hundredth of an acre in area, and the filtering material in each case was five feet in depth. The sewage to be experimented with was drawn from one of the main sewers of the city of Lawrence, and was ordinary domestic city sewage free from manufacturing waste.

No experiments of this kind had ever been undertaken before on such a scale or with so much care. For the first time in the history of science, engineers, chemists, and biologists worked together, under the direction of a master in hydraulics, toward one common end,—the promotion of the public health.

The results crowned the endeavor. Intelligent bystanders who saw the sewage flowing upon the filters unhesitatingly predicted fail-



ure. They felt certain, and did not hesitate to express their belief, that in a fortnight, at the latest, the filters would become clogged and foul, and the whole neighborhood pestilential. They did not know that Berlin, the German capital, disposes of all its sewage upon land. They forgot that the farmer once a year or oftener manures his fields with filth, and that the hungry earth receives the gift with open mouth, devours it, and soon cries out for more. As soon as a few days had passed, and the filters had become established, the effluent began to grow bright and clear. Chemical analyses showed that it was now purified sewage, comparatively free from odor, and poor in organic matters. Bacterial analyses showed that while, as sewage, it was swarming with the germs of putrefaction and decay, it now contained only a few bacteria. Further studies revealed the fact that the foulness of the sewage was not held back as by a strainer, but as wood, by a slow fire, is turned to ashes, the organic matters were reduced to mineral substances. No disagreeable odor developed, and the filters showed no signs of clogging. Thus the very name "filter" became a misnomer. The bystanders were amazed, and could not repress their surprise and admiration.

Meanwhile the data of the experiments were accumulating. Winter came on, and still the "filters" did their work. Already it was proved that land disposal of sewage was possible for America. But, curiously enough, those soils—such as muck and garden loam—which the wiseacres had predicted would be the best, proved to be the worst. They were too close in texture, too fine, too impervious; while sand (such as ordinary mortar sand) or even fine gravel proved to be the most effective. And on looking into the reason why, it was soon learned that the whole process is a vital one. The soils are not mere strainers, for at first they fail to work. They are rather like the living sponge,—an animal whose body is everywhere channelled with fine passages lined with living cells. The fine passages in the body of the sand or soil are the spaces between the sand grains; the living cells are the micro-organisms which, after a few days, come to dwell upon the sand grains and line the passages. Very much as the living cells of a sponge absorb and destroy the organic particles passing by them, the bacteria resident upon the sand grains absorb and work over the organic matters of the sewage poured upon the filter. And exactly as the micro-organisms of which a sponge is essentially composed need oxygen to support their respiration, so those of a filter must have abundant air. This means that the sewage, which is always destitute

of oxygen, must not be applied continuously, but intermittently, so that air may follow it down through the filter and keep from suffocation the purifying micro-organisms. And this also explains why intermittent downward filtration is always successful under the right conditions, while continuous filtration or upward filtration of sewage fails.

With the main principles once established, it remained only to learn the details of their application. Sand proved better than loam, because it allowed better ventilation. Fine sand proved better than coarse sand, because it seems to be the happy mean, giving full exposure to the air by distributing the sewage in thin films over a great number of surfaces, but yet allowing sufficient ventilation.

The practical results were quick to follow. Once the purifying value of sands of particular sizes was established, it remained only to obtain samples of sand from any town desiring to dispose of its sewage on land, and to examine and compare it with known sands, to be able to predict for that community either success or failure. The town of Framingham soon constructed a large municipal filter under the advice of the Board, and it has proved an unqualified success. The city of Brockton has lately followed suit and built an admirable system of intermittent sand filters for the disposal of its sewage. Henceforward, any city or town—not only in Massachusetts, but in America, or, for that matter, in the world—may, if its soil be right, and other conditions favorable, adopt, with perfect confidence systems for the land-disposal of sewage.

This demonstration alone was a sufficient triumph. But this is only the beginning of what the Board has done in its investigations. Year by year the applications from the various cities and towns of the State for advice in respect to their water-supply or sewerage have been numerous and exacting. In May, 1888, the Act to Protect the Purity of Inland Waters was amended, so as to require cities and towns applying to the legislature for Acts relating to water-supply and sewerage to have appended to their applications the recommendation and advice of the State Board of Health in reference thereto; which practice has ever since been followed. This action was virtually a "vote of confidence" in the work of the Board, and eloquent testimony to its success.

In June, 1887, the legislature had imposed upon the State Board of Health the duty of considering and reporting upon a general system of sewerage for the relief of the valleys of the Mystic and the Charles, together with local systems for each of the towns in these valleys not



already having such systems, so that they might be served by the general system; and in 1888 a similar duty was imposed concerning a method for the disposal of the sewage of other towns and cities in the lower valley of the Charles. To enable it to carry out the necessary investigations the sum of \$15,000 was appropriated, which sum was later increased to \$25,000. In January, 1889, the Board made a very valuable and complete report on these subjects, with a plan for a system of sewerage called the "Metropolitan Sewerage System." This elaborate report (which was almost entirely the work of Mr. Mills) was so favorably received that the legislature adopted its recommendations, made the necessary enactments, and appointed Commissioners to carry its recommendations into effect. The Metropolitan Sewerage System is now just completed, and has required altogether an outlay of more than \$5,000,000.

Up to the year 1890 the Board in its investigations at Lawrence had been occupied mainly with problems of sewerage. The examinations of the water-supplies had meanwhile gone steadily forward at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, under the wise direction of Professor Drown, and, in particular, one achievement of high scientific interest and very great practical importance had been made. Chemists have long judged of the degree of purity of a water very largely by the amount of common salt that it contains,—in technical language, by the "chlorine." The reason for this lies in the fact that man is a salt-using animal. Wherever man is, salt is; and, conversely, wherever salt is found to any great extent in water (barring, of course, saline regions), the existence of pollution from human habitations may be inferred. But Professor Drown reasoned that, in order to make the chlorine test really valid, one must know the amount of chlorine present in unpolluted waters in the vicinity: in other words, one must compare the amount of chlorine found in any suspected water with that present in a pure natural water drawn near by. Following up this idea the Board set to work, and determined the normal chlorine for the whole State, finding a very curious and valuable result, namely, that the amount of chlorine present in unpolluted natural waters decreases steadily in departing from the sea: being in the Berkshire Hills only one fiftieth part as much as on Cape Cod or Nantucket. A natural water in the Berkshire Hills containing, for example, two parts of chlorine in 100,000 parts of water, would necessarily be grossly polluted; while on Cape Cod or Nantucket one containing only the same amount would be unpolluted and normal. Furthermore, by joining

points of equal normal chlorine by lines, curves ("isochlors") were obtained which near the sea followed closely the contour of the bays and peninsulas of the coast, but in the Berkshire Hills became more even and took only the general outline of the whole New England coast. This "Normal Chlorine Map" of Massachusetts is both novel and unique in sanitary science. Its practical value is immense, as it allows any competent chemist, studying any natural water from Massachusetts, to say with great certainty, if only he knows its geographical origin, whether it is or is not contaminated with material derived from human habitations.

In 1890 the attention of the Board was further concentrated upon the water-supply problem from another point of view. Typhoid fever, which had long been more than ordinarily abundant in the cities of Lowell and Lawrence, on the Merrimack, broke out in severely epidemic form at Lowell, and soon after, intensified, at Lawrence. I was ordered to make an investigation, and was soon able to show conclusively that the epidemic was due to a special infection of the polluted water-supplies of the two cities, which had long used for drinking the unpurified water of the Merrimack. Experiments upon the purification of water by intermittent filtration were immediately urged forward at the Lawrence Experiment Station, and with such success that in 1892 a municipal filter, two and a half acres in area, was designed for the city of Lawrence by Mr. Mills, acting for the State Board of Health. After some delay on the part of the city this was built and put in operation in 1893. It has now been in service for more than two years, and with the utmost sanitary success. Typhoid fever has sunk practically to the level of that in neighboring cities, such as Nashua and Haverhill, having uncontaminated water-supplies. It is impossible for any one unfamiliar with the condition of Lawrence in respect to typhoid fever before the filter was introduced, to realize what a profound change has taken place. Streets in which typhoid fever formerly abounded at certain seasons of the year are now entirely free from this dreaded disease.

The latest and in many respects the most important of the results of the investigations of the Board has gone into practical effect during the present year. This is the plan for a vast Metropolitan Water-Supply for Boston and its environs, including, in all, twenty-eight cities and towns within ten miles of the State House, and involving an estimated expenditure of \$27,000,000. Within this radius there dwell nearly 1,000,000 inhabitants. The water necessary for the present and



prospective use of this metropolitan district is to be collected on the south branch of the Nashua River, in the central part of the State, from an almost uninhabited watershed, and then conveyed and distributed to the people by an elaborate system of pipes and aqueducts. Provision has been made for future increase of population, and the whole scheme so commended itself to the people that after due deliberation it was adopted by the legislature of 1895. Commissioners have since been appointed by the Governor and Council to carry out the recommendations of the State Board of Health. Mr. Stearns, chief engineer of the Board, has, as mentioned above, become the chief engineer of this water-supply scheme.

The most striking testimony to the practical value of the investigations of the State Board of Health is to be found in the steady and generous financial support rendered to it by the people, as well as in the frequent reference to it, by the legislature, of special and difficult problems for investigation. In order to enable the Board to serve as the expert adviser of the various cities and towns, the successive legislatures, since 1886, have appropriated to the use of the Board, for general investigations upon water-supply and sewerage alone, the sum of \$242,000; and for special investigations of particular problems more than \$100,000 more, as appears from the following table:—

APPROPRIATIONS MADE FOR INVESTIGATIONS (MAINLY) UPON WATER-SUPPLY  
AND SEWERAGE, BY THE STATE BOARD OF HEALTH  
OF MASSACHUSETTS, 1887-1895.

For investigations on the purification of sewage and water in order to protect the purity of inland waters.....	\$242,000
For investigations and report upon a metropolitan system of sewerage..	25,000
For investigations of the Charles River.....	8,000
For investigations of the Concord and Sudbury rivers.....	20,000
For investigations of ice-supplies.....	1,750
For investigations of the sewerage of Salem and Peabody.....	3,000
For investigations of the Neponset River.....	3,000
For investigations and report upon a metropolitan system of water-supply .....	42,500
Total.....	\$345,250

The members of the Board serve wholly without pay, and the money goes to the salaries of engineers, chemists, biologists, and other experts; the pay of laborers; the purchase of chemical and other supplies; the buying of apparatus and instruments used in the work of investigation, etc. The central feature of the work is expert sanitary

service based upon actual scientific investigation of the whole water-supply and sewerage problem, and its relations to life, health, and disease. The service takes the tangible form of advice to the various cities and towns of the State in regard to their systems of water-supply and sewerage. Less obviously, but not less truly, it consists in making more secure, day by day, the life, health, and comfort of every citizen.

Beyond the borders of the State, also, the results of the work of the Board, as recorded in its various reports and formal publications, are having a profound influence for good; and other States, as fast as their cities and large towns multiply so as to come into close proximity, must follow the example set by Massachusetts and work out for themselves their own sanitary salvation. The labors and triumphs of Massachusetts in this direction are known and valued all over the civilized world. Within a few months the aid of the Board was invoked for solving an especially novel and difficult problem by a distinguished sanitary authority of London having in charge the oversight of the water-supply of that great city; and the following words of appreciation from the editorial page of the London "Engineering" are only typical of many which might be given:

"We cannot speak too highly of the intelligence and care with which the experiments [on the purification of water and sewage] have been conducted, nor of the sound common sense and public spirit of the State of Massachusetts in providing the funds required for such a complete and thorough course of investigation, which has now extended over several years. . . . As far as we know there is only one State in the world that takes active steps to keep its citizens well informed as to what they owe to sanitary science, and as to what they may expect to gain from it in the future if they will only make the necessary outlay. This is the State of Massachusetts, the annual publications of the Board of Health of which are read not only locally, but in all English-speaking countries. It sets an example that might well be followed elsewhere, and of which it is sure to reap the benefit in the higher intelligence and the better health of the people. . . . Such a record of sanitary work is most honorable to a State having a population of only two and a half million souls."

W. T. SEDGWICK.



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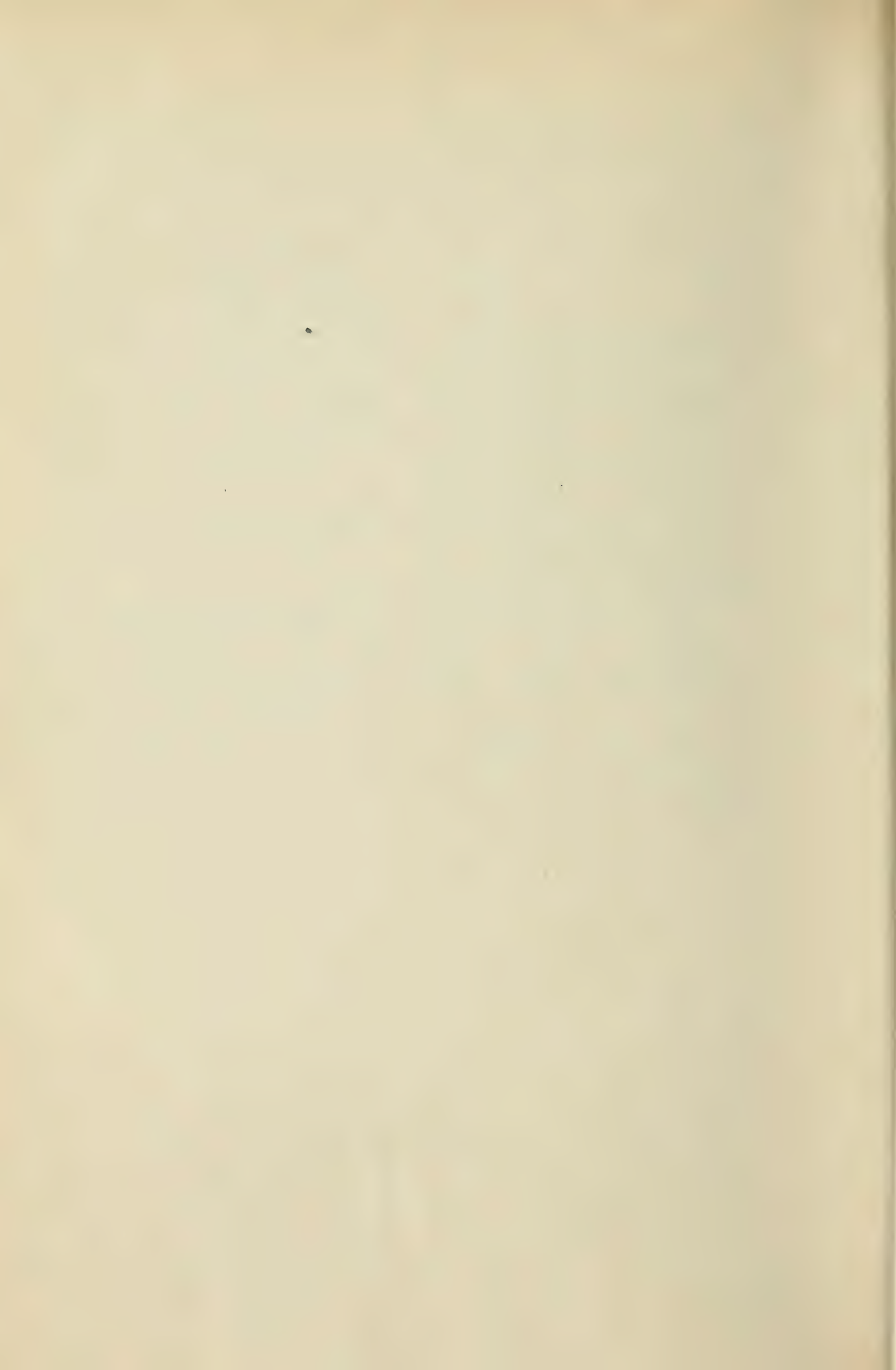


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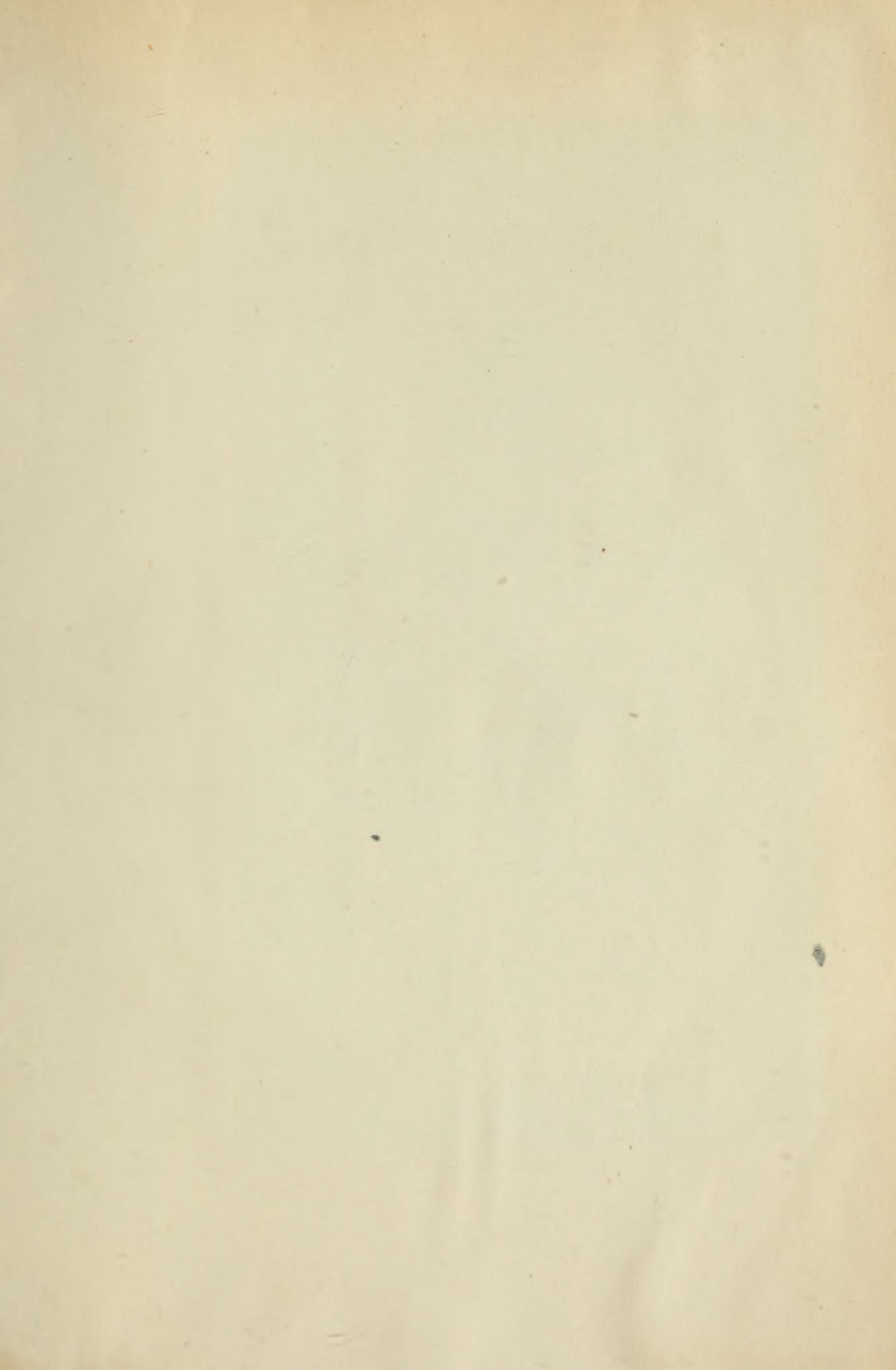
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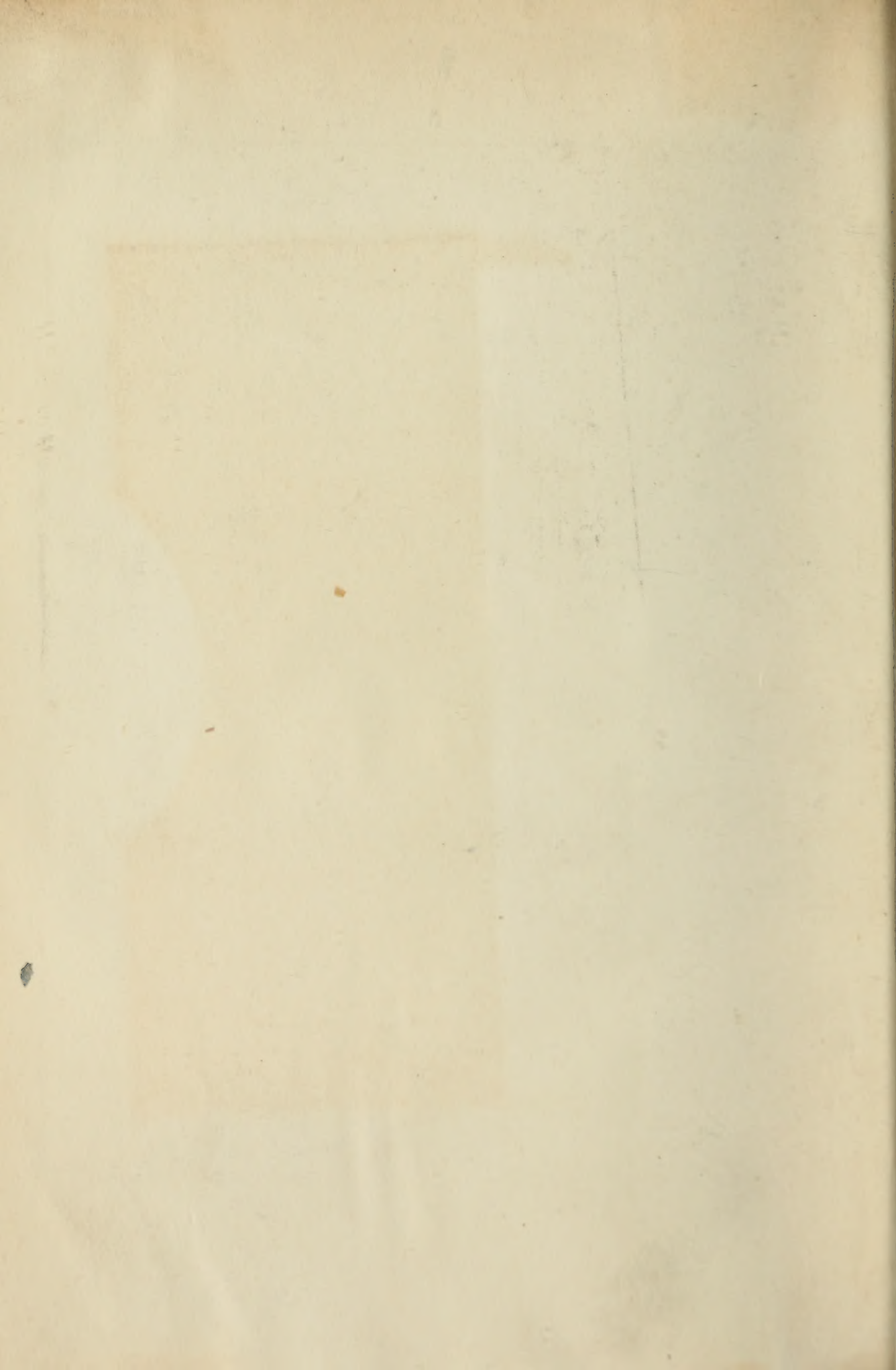














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